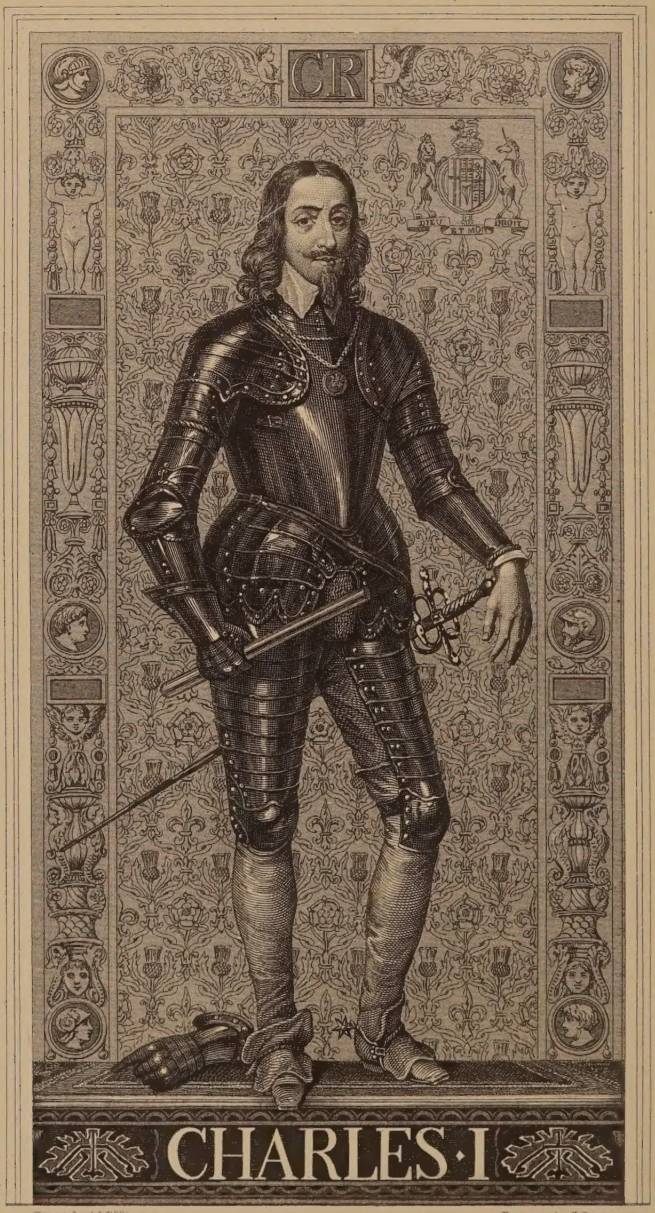
BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.



Drawn by J. L. Williams. Engraved by R. Bourne.

FROM THE PICTURE BY VANDYKE.

CHARLES I.

In March, 1625, Charles I. succeeded his father as king of England. As a child he had been somewhat sickly, but he had outgrown his defects, so that when he came to the throne he was a skilful tilter and marksman, as well as an accomplished scholar. His reign promised to be peaceful, but gradually he permitted himself to be swayed by his queen, Laud, and Strafford in his dealings with parliament. His claim for the Divine right of Kings was steadily resisted by the Puritan party in the nation, and the end was civil war. This struggle lasted for four years, and resulted in the complete defeat of the King's party at Naseby. Thereafter Charles was held in captivity for four months; then tried at Westminster; and finally beheaded in front of Whitehall.

BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME IV.

FROM THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II., 1628-1688.

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siege, and induced Louis XIII. to go thither in person to excite the zeal of his numerous troops. The king soon grew tired of the tedious operations, and returned to Paris: but Richelieu, a better soldier than priest, remained upon the spot, and superintended the construction of the celebrated dike, which was compared to the works raised by Alexander the Great for the reduction of old Tyre.

The Rochellers clamoured for succour where succour was due; the English people were much animated by religious sympathy; Charles was disposed to assist them, and Buckingham was burning to retrieve his honours and humble the French court. During the sitting of parliament preparations were made for another expedition, and the vote of the five subsidies might have enabled the king to do more than was really done. But the nation was vexed with rumours of some new intrigues set on foot between the French queen and the English favourite, and they might well doubt the result of any warlike enterprise that was to be conducted by so incapable a commander as Buckingham. The people of London had continued to express their detestation of this man, and their fury had broken out in one dark act, unusual to an English rabble even in the worst times of excitement. On the day on which the House of Commons had pronounced the duke to be the curse of the nation, they barbarously murdered, in the streets of London, Dr. Lambe, his physician, who was supposed to have a principal part in his evil counsels.[1] They then made a doggrel distich, which passed from mouth to mouth like some of the bloody rhymes of a more recent, but *not* English revolution:—

> Let Charles and George do what they can,
> The duke shall die like Dr. Lambe.[2]

A few days after the murder of Lambe a label was stuck upon a post in Coleman Street, which ran thus:—"Who rules the kingdom?—The king.—Who rules the king?—The duke.—Who rules the duke?—The devil."[3]

On the Wednesday of the following week "his majesty went with the duke (taking him into his own coach, and so riding through the city, as it were to grace him) to Deptford, to see the ships; where, having seen ten fair ships ready rigged for Rochelle, they say he uttered these words to the duke:—"George, there are some that wish that both these and thou mightst both perish. But care not for them. We will both perish together if thou doest."[4] After these unequivocal indications it scarcely required a spirit from the other world to intimate that the life of the favourite was in danger.[5] But the gay and confident Buckingham proceeded to Portsmouth, where he was to embark for Rochelle. Upon Saturday, the 23d of August, "being St. Bartholomew's Eve," writes Howell, "the duke did rise up in a well-disposed humour out of his bed, and cut a caper or two; and being ready, and having been under the barber's hand (where the murderer had thought to have done the deed, for he was leaning upon the window all the while), he went to breakfast attended by a great company of commanders, where Monsieur Soubise came to him, and whispered him in the ear that Rochelle was relieved: the duke seemed to slight the news, which made some think that Soubise went away discontented." This admirable letter-writer is generally well-informed as to passing events, but it should appear that it was Buckingham who attempted to persuade Soubise that Rochelle was relieved. Soubise knew very well that the place was *not* relieved, but he had other grounds for discontentment; and as no state secrets were kept, as scarcely a servant of the king or of Buckingham had the honesty to conceal what he could make money by disclosing, he probably knew that Secretary Carleton, who had at that moment arrived at Portsmouth with despatches, brought the duke orders to open a correspondence with Richelieu as soon as he should reach Rochelle, and abandon the French Protestants for the sake of an advantageous peace with Louis. Besides Soubise there were many refugees about Buckingham; and they were seen to gesticulate very violently in conversing with the duke. This was only the habit of their country when excited, but to the English it seemed as if they threatened his grace with actual violence. The duke left his chamber to proceed to his carriage, which was in waiting, still followed by the vociferating and gesticulating Frenchmen. In the hall he was stopped by one of his officers, and at that moment he received a knife in his left breast. He drew forth the weapon, staggered, and fell; and died with the word "Villain!" upon his lips. In the throng and confusion no one saw the hand that struck the mortal blow. Suspicion fell upon the Frenchmen, who were with difficulty saved from the fury of the duke's attendants. Then some ran to keep guard at the gates, some to the ramparts of the town. During this time there was a man who went into the kitchen of the very house where the deed was done, and stood there unnoticed of all. But when a multitude

[1] Whitelock, *Memorials*. [2] *Rushworth*.
[3] Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville; Ellis, *Letters*. [4] Ibid.
[5] Lord Clarendon, who was certainly not in advance of his age in philosophy, tells a long story about the ghost of Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, appearing three several times to an officer in the king's wardrobe, in Windsor Castle, to tell him to go to his son and warn him that, unless he did something to ingratiate himself with the people, or at least to abate the extreme malice they bore him, he would be suffered to live but a short time.—*History of the Rebellion*.

of captains and gentlemen rushed into the house, exclaiming, "Where is the villain?—where is the butcher?"—that man calmly came forth amongst them, saying, "I am the man!—here I am!" They drew their swords, and would have despatched him on the spot but for the timely interference of Secretary Carleton, Sir Thomas Morton, and some others, who took charge of him till a guard of musketeers arrived and conveyed him to the governor's house. The assassin, who might most easily have escaped, had he been so minded, had written a paper to declare his motive, imagining that he must perish on the spot, and leave no one to speak for him. This paper was sewed in the crown of his hat, half within the lining, and was to this effect:—"That man is cowardly base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or soldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his country. Let no man commend me for the doing of it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of it; for if God had not taken our hearts for our sins, he had not gone so long unpunished.—John Felton."[1]

Mr. John Felton, a gentleman by birth and education, was no stranger to many of the men and officers then collected at Portsmouth, amongst whom he had served on former occasions. He had been a lieutenant in a regiment employed the preceding year in the wretched expedition to the isle of Rhé, but he had thrown up his commission in disgust because he saw another man promoted irregularly over his head, and because he was refused payment of his arrears. According to his own account, he was a zealous Protestant; his zeal amounted to fanaticism. He was now thrust into a dungeon, and horribly laden with irons, and a royal chaplain was sent to commune with him. Felton understood that this clergyman came not merely to offer ghostly comfort, but to search him as to his motives and accomplices, and he said to him—"Sir, I shall be brief—I killed him for the cause of God and my country." The chaplain replied that the surgeons gave hopes of the duke's life. "It is impossible," exclaimed Felton, "I had the power of forty men, assisted by Him that guided my hand." The chaplain failed in his mission, and the enthusiastic assassin was conveyed from Portsmouth to the Tower of London, there to be examined by bishops and lords of the council. On his road he was greeted with prayers and blessings by the common people, who regarded him as a deliverer.[2]

"The court," says Clarendon, "was too near Portsmouth, and too many courtiers upon the place, to leave this murder (so barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in England many ages), long concealed from the king. His majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when Sir John Hippesly came into the room with a troubled countenance, and, without any pause in respect to the exercise they were performing, went directly to the king and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended, when he suddenly departed to his chamber and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the loss he had of an excellent servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him; and he continued in this melancholic discomposure of mind many days. Yet his manner of receiving the news in public, when it was first brought him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat), made many men believe that the accident was not very ungrateful, at least, that it was very indifferent to him, as being rid of a servant very ungracious to the people, and the prejudice of whose person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in parliament for his service. And, upon this observation, persons of all conditions took great license in speaking of the person of the duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the king; in which they took very ill measures, for from that time almost to the time of his own death, the king admitted very few into any degree of trust who had ever discovered themselves to be enemies to the duke, or against whom he had manifested a notable prejudice."[3]

For the present Charles took the duke's widow and children under his special protection, paid his debts, which were considerable, styled Buckingham his martyr, and ordered his body to be buried among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey. He could not, however, venture upon a grand public funeral. At ten o'clock at night, on the 18th of September, a coffin was borne on men's shoulders, and in a poor and confused manner, from Wallingford House over against Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, there being not much above a hundred mourners, who attended upon an *empty* coffin, for the duke's corpse itself had been secretly interred the day before, as if it had been doubted the people in their

[1] The original letter is in existence, and was a few years since in the possession of Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution.

[2] "As Felton the last week passed through Kingston-upon-Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him:—'Now God bless thee, little David!' quoth she—meaning he had killed Goliath. . . . Some confidently report he shall be reserved till the parliament; but others pray God he be not racked and put to death before."—Meade, in *Ellis.*

[3] *Hist.*

madness might have surprised it. As the empty coffin was carried along by night, to prevent disorder, the train-bands kept guard on both sides of the way, beating their drums to drown the voices of the people, and carrying their pikes and muskets upon their shoulders as in a march, not trailing them as was usual at a mourning.[1]

Felton, meanwhile, persisted in his assertion that he had no accomplices, and no motive but that of doing good to his country and the cause of the true religion.[2] The Earl of Dorset, who, according to some accounts, was accompanied by Bishop Laud, went to the Tower and threatened the prisoner with the rack. "I am ready," said Felton: "yet I must tell you that I will then accuse *you*, my Lord of Dorset, and no one but yourself." The king was desirous of employing the rack; but the House of Commons had of late given many salutary lessons and warnings, and the judges unanimously declared that the use of torture had been at all times unwarrantable by the laws of England; and upon this declaration Charles declined to use his prerogative. For some time Felton gloried in his deed; but at length, "through the continual inculcation of his majesty's chaplains and others of the long robe," he was induced to consider himself in the light of a foul murderer. It may be doubted, however, whether he ever really regretted that Buckingham was removed. When put upon his trial, he confessed the fact with which he was charged, but added, that he did it not maliciously, but out of an interest for the good of his country. The attorney-general made a speech in aggravation of the offence, showing the high quality of the person killed, who was so dear and near a subject of the king's, so faithful a servant to his majesty, so great a counsellor of state, a general, high-admiral, &c., &c.; and, producing the knife in open court, he compared Felton to Ravaillac, who had murdered Henry IV. of France. Judge Jones asked Felton what he could say why judgment should not be given against him, without impannelling a jury or examining witnesses. Felton answered that he was sorry *if* he had taken away so faithful a servant to his majesty as Mr. Attorney had described the duke to be, and, lifting up his arm, he said, "This is the instrument which did the fact; I desire it may be first cut off." The judge told him that, by the law, if a man strike in the king's palace, he is to lose his hand, &c.; but it was not his majesty's pleasure that they should proceed against him in any other way than that which the law had ordinarily determined in such cases. "You shall therefore," said he, "have the law and no more;" and so gave sentence he should be hanged until he were dead. Felton bowed and thanked his lordship. He was hanged at Tyburn, and his body, by the king's orders, was sent down to Portsmouth and fixed on a gibbet.[3]

In lieu of Buckingham as commander of the expedition to Rochelle, Charles appointed the Earl of Lindsey, who sailed on the 8th of September with a formidable fleet and army, which did no more than might have been done had they still been commanded by the favourite. At the same time private negotiations were carried on with the French court by means of Mr. Walter Montague,[4] who was then a Catholic in heart, and, as such, averse to the Protestant Rochellers. Lindsey returned with dishonour, and soon after Rochelle, the last bulwark of the Huguenots, was taken by Richelieu. When the siege began there were 15,000 souls within those walls; when it ended there remained but 4000, and these half dead from famine.

A.D. 1629. Parliament, which had been further prorogued from the 20th of October to the 20th of January, met when the spirit of Protestantism was embittered by these events. The first acts the commons did were to revive all committees of religion and grievances, and to take into consideration what things the liberty of the subject had been invaded in, against their Petition of Right, since the end of the last session. Mr. Selden soon after reported to the house that the unpalatable speech which his majesty made in the lords the last day of the last session had been entered on the journals along with the Petition of Right, and the proper answer, by his majesty's command. But in fact, to the country Charles had suppressed the proper document, and circulated in its stead a copy of the petition with his first answer to it, which parliament had rejected. The king's printer being sent for to know by what authority he had suppressed the original impression and printed another with unwarrantable additions, answered that he had a warrant for it; and upon sending some of the members to his house, it was found that the clerk of the lords had sent the proper papers; that, during the sitting of parliament, 1500 copies of them had been printed, but very

[1] *Meade.*

[2] Meade says that it was reported he affirmed in the Tower, "that his only confederate and setter on was the remonstrance of the parliament, which he then verily thought in his soul and conscience to be a sufficient warrant for what he did upon the duke's person." And Sir Dudley Carleton, who wrote a long account of the assassination to the queen, avers that Felton had said, at Portsmouth, on his first arrest, "that, reading the remonstrance of the house of parliament, it came into his mind that, in committing the act of killing the duke, he should do his country great good service."

[3] *Rushworth; State Trials;* Carleton and Meade, in *Ellis.*

[4] Montague was second son of the Earl of Manchester. He afterwards publicly recanted, settled in France, was made commendatory abbot of Pontoise, and a member of the council to the queen regent, Anne of Austria.

few divulged; and that the day after the session was ended the attorney-general had sent for the printer, and told him, as from the king, that he must not publish these papers—that the lord privy-seal, the Earl of Worcester, had told him as much; and that soon after the printer was sent for to court, and told that he must make a new impression, and print the Petition of Right with the king's first answer to it, and his majesty's last speech in the lords. The house was indignant at this double-dealing. "For this Petition of Right," said Selden, "we know how it has been invaded since our last meeting. Our liberties of life, person, and freehold have been invaded—men have been committed contrary to that petition. . . . No man ought to lose life or limb but by the law, and hath not one lately lost his ears by order of the Star Chamber? Next, they will take away our arms, and then our legs, and so our lives. Let all see we are sensible of this. Evil customs creep in on us: let us make a just representation thereof to his majesty." But the attention of the house was presently drawn away to the case of Mr. Rolles, a merchant and a member of the house, who complained that his goods were seized by the officers of the customs, for refusing to pay the rates by them demanded, although he told them what was adjudged to be due by law he would pay them. This case, which was only one of many, transported the commons. "Cast your eyes which way you please," exclaimed Sir Robert Phillips, "you see violations of the liberty of the subject. Look on the privileges of this house. . . They knew the party was a parliament man; nay, they said if all the parliament was with him, or concerned in the goods, they would seize them just the same." "We have had good admonitions," cried Littleton, "and we have followed them. We have had moderation preached to us in parliament, and we follow it. I would others did the like out of parliament. Let the parties be sent for that violated the liberties of parliament, that they may have their doom." The king sent a message commanding them to stay any further debate or proceedings in that case until the morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, when his majesty was resolved to speak with both houses in the Banqueting House at Whitehall. On the morrow—the 24th of January—the two houses attended at the time and place appointed, and Charles thus addressed them, paying a compliment to the lords at the expense of the commons: 'The care I have," he said, "to remove all obstacles that may hinder the good correspondency, or cause a misunderstanding betwixt me and this parliament, made me call you hither at this time, the particular occasion being a complaint lately moved in the lower house. For you, my lords, I am glad to take this and all other occasions whereby you may clearly understand both my words and actions: for, as you are nearest in degree, so you are the fittest witnesses for kings. The complaint I speak of is for staying men's goods that deny tonnage and poundage. This may have an easy and short conclusion, if my words and actions be rightly understood; for, by passing the bill as my ancestors have had it, my by-past actions will be concluded and my future proceedings authorized, which certainly would not have been struck upon if men had not imagined that I had taken these duties as pertaining unto my hereditary prerogative, in which they are much deceived: for it ever was, and still is, my meaning, by the gift of my people, to enjoy it; and my intention in my speech at the end of the last session was not to challenge tonnage and poundage as of right, but *de bene esse*, showing you the necessity, not the right, by which I was to take it until you had granted it unto me, assuring myself, according to your general professions, that you wanted time, and not good-will, to give to me." He proceeded to tell the commons he expected that they, without loss of time, would vote the tonnage and poundage, and so put an end to all questions arising out of this subject. "To conclude," he proceeded, "let us not be jealous one of the other's actions; for, if I had been easily moved at every occasion, the order made in the lower house on Wednesday night last might have made me startle, there being some show to suspect that you had given yourselves the liberty to be the inquisitors after complaints, the words of your order being somewhat too largely penned, but, looking into your actions, I find you only hear complaints, not seek complaints, for I am certain you neither pretend nor desire to be inquisitors of men's actions before particular complaint be made."

The truth was, the commons were resolute to be inquisitors of many men's actions—men like Laud and other bishops, counsellors, and ministers, who attacked their consciences and their property. The commons knew well that the voting of tonnage and poundage for life was a comparatively modern practice, and they were determined not only not to vote these duties for life, but not even for a term of years—no, not for a single year—unless they should see a change in the conduct of the king. They proceeded in the first place to the subject of religion, declaring that the business of the kings of this earth should give place to the business of the King of Heaven. For doctrine and discipline, and all matters connected with the church, Charles had given the reins to Bishop Laud, who was not only resolved to introduce great and manifold changes, which certainly went to assimilate more and more the

Anglican establishment to the Roman church, but also to tolerate no delay or dissent—to enforce conformity by imprisonment, the pillory, the hangman's whip and knife. Laud's creed was Arminianism in the widest sense. The commons coupled the two things together, and complained of the rapid increase of Arminianism and Papistry, much resenting the fact, that of late not one Papist had been hanged for receiving orders in the Church of Rome. Mr. Pym proposed that the house should take a covenant for the maintenance of their religion and rights, which were both in danger; and he and other members inveighed loudly touching the late introducing of idolatrous ceremonies in the church by Cosens and others. As the sins of the land were deemed to be greater than its troubles, they ordered that a conference should be desired with the lords about a petition to the king for the ordering of a general fast. The lords granted the conference and joined in the petition, which was granted by the king, with a few remarks which greatly irritated the petitioners. The king admitted the deplorable estate of the Reformed churches abroad, which was made the chief ground for the petition; but he told parliament that certainly fighting would do those churches more good than fasting. "Though," continued he, "I do not wholly disallow the latter, yet I must tell you that this custom of fasting every session is but lately begun; and I confess I am not fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time." A day or two after, the king sent a message to the commons to tell them that they ought to settle the question of tonnage and poundage before they meddled more with religion; and the court party, now weak and timid, made some speeches in recommendation of the message; but the Puritans only fell the more violently upon some of the bishops for introducing the new ceremonies. They again indignantly asserted that Popery and Arminianism were joining hands to produce a Romish hierarchy and a Spanish tyranny. On the 28th of January Secretary Coke delivered a second message from the king, telling the commons that his majesty expected rather thanks than a remonstrance; that still he would not interrupt them, so that they trenched not on that which did not belong to them. "But his majesty," added Coke, "still commands me to tell you that he expects precedency of tonnage and poundage." Dark rumours were abroad of the king's intention to dissolve parliament as soon as they should vote the tonnage and poundage for life, and "not soon to call another." The commons continued to occupy themselves with the subject of religion, and they drew up a brief resolution, stating that they held for truth the articles of religion as established by parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and utterly rejected the sense of Jesuits and Arminians. On the 2d of February, instead of their bill of tonnage and poundage, they presented to the king their "Apology" for delaying that bill. They complained of his majesty's sending them two messages in three days, telling him that that manner of pressing the house was inconsistent with their orders and privileges. On the following day Secretary Coke assured the house, in his majesty's name, that he was misunderstood as to a command, which was not the meaning, but simply a desire on the king's part, for the sake of concord; that his majesty was as anxious as they were for the true faith, but must needs think it strange that this business of religion should be only a hindrance of his affairs. And, in the end, the king insisted on their passing the tonnage and poundage bill, telling them they must not think it strange, if he found them slack, that he should give them *such further quickening* as he might find cause. This message did Charles far more harm than good: the house stuck to their grievances, and went on debating about Popery and Arminianism. Mr. Kirton declared that the "two great bishops" (Laud and Neile) were the main and great roots of all those evils which were come upon them and their religion. "Let us inquire," added he, "what sort of men they have preferred in the church, and why." Everybody knew that Mainwaring, and Sibthorp, and Cosens, and other men obnoxious for their Arminianism and their advocacy of an absolute monarchy—individuals condemned and sentenced by parliament—had been recently put upon the ladder of promotion; and the house now appointed a sub-committee to inquire into the pardons granted to those offenders, in scorn of their own justice.[1]

In the course of the debates on this subject

[1] "Proclaimed in England by a despot, the Reformation began there in tyranny; scarcely born, she persecuted her partizans and her enemies alike. Henry VIII. with one hand raised scaffolds for the Roman Catholics, with the other piled up faggots for the Protestants who refused to subscribe to the creed, and approve of the government which the new church received from him. There were, then, from the outset two reformations—that of the king and that of the people: the first unsettled and servile, more attached to temporal interests than to belief, alarmed at the movement which had given it birth, and thinking to borrow from Catholicism all that in separating from Catholicism it could retain; the other spontaneous, ardent, despising worldly considerations, accepting all the consequences of its principles—in a word, a true moral revolution, undertaken in the name and with the ardour of faith.

"United for some time—under Queen Mary by common suffering, and at the accession of Elizabeth by common joy—the two reformations could not long fail to separate and turn against each other. And such was their situation, that politics became necessarily mixed up in their debates. In separating herself from the independent head of the Catholic church, the Anglican church had lost all its own strength, and no longer held her rights or her power but as of the power and rights of the sovereigns of the state. She was thus bound to the cause of civil

there rose to speak, for the first time, a sturdy, somewhat clownish-looking man, of about thirty years of age, with a slovenly coat and a neglected hat. His speech was thick and graceless, but there was an earnestness in his manner, a look of command about his person, that imposed respect, if not awe. It was Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the new member for Huntingdon. "I have heard," said Cromwell, "from one Dr. Beard, that Dr. Alablaster hath preached flat Popery at St. Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) commanded him, as his diocesan, to preach nothing to the contrary. And Dr. Mainwaring, so justly censured for his sermons in this house, has been, by this bishop's means, preferred to a rich living. If these are steps to church preferment, what may we not expect?"

The result of the whole inquiry was, that the bishops and the court had in all cases taken the obnoxious preachers and their principles, both political and theological, into special favour. The commons, however, did not altogether lose sight of illegal taxation. They brought Acton, the sheriff of London who had seized the merchants' goods, on his knees to the bar of their house, and thence sent him to the Tower. They also brought to their bar some of the officers of customs, who declared that they had made the seizures by the king's warrant; and one of the officers said he had been sent for and commanded by the king to give them no further answer. The commons even brought the barons of the exchequer to account; and those high functionaries declined justifying the legality of the measures which had been pursued.[1]

On the 25th of February the sub-committee of religion presented a long and circumstantial report, under the title of "Heads of Articles agreed upon, and to be insisted on by the house." In this paper no quarter was shown to Laud and Arminianism. They complained especially of the publishing, by bishop's license, of books in favour of Popery, and of the suppressing of books against Popery. They asked, among many other things, for the removal of candlesticks from the communion-table, which they said was now wickedly called a *high altar;* for the removal of pictures, lights, and images, and of praying towards the east, and crossing *ad omnem motum et gestum.* They complained of the bishops bringing men to question and trouble for not obeying their commands in these respects; but they themselves called with stentorian voices for the persecuting of the Papists and the exemplary punishment of all teachers, publishers, and maintainers of Popish opinions. They required, moreover, that books like those of Montague and Mainwaring should be burned; that some good order should be taken for licensing books hereafter; that bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments should be conferred by his majesty, with advice of his privy council, upon learned, pious, and orthodox men; that the bishops and clergymen thus chosen should reside upon their charge, and that some course might be taken in the present parliament for providing competent means for the maintenance of a godly, able minister in every parish of the kingdom.[2]

In the face of this resolute opposition, Charles rashly determined, at all hazards, to maintain Laud and the hierarchy. Immediately after the reading of the above articles, he sent to command both houses to adjourn to Monday, the 2d of March, notwithstanding the right which the commons claimed to fix their own adjournment. Thereupon the house adjourned; but, on the 2d of March, Sir John Eliot stood up, and, after expressing his duty to the king, once more denounced Arminianism, and then fell with his whole weight upon the great Bishop of Winchester and his greater abettor—"that is," continued Eliot, "the Lord-treasurer Weston, in whose person all evil is concentrated, both for the innovation of religion and invasion of our liberties; he being now the great enemy of the commonwealth. I have traced him in all his actions, and I find him building on those grounds laid by his master, the great duke; he, secretly, is moving for this interruption; and, from this fear, *they go about to break parliaments, lest parliaments should break them.*" Then the speaker, Sir John Finch, delivered a message from the king, commanding him "to adjourn the house until Tuesday come seven-night following." Several members objected that this message was vexatious and irregular, and that it was not the office of their

despotism, and constrained to profess its maxims in order to legitimate her own origin—to serve its interests in order to preserve her own."—Guizot, *Hist. of the English Revolution.*

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; Parl. Hist.*

[2] "I will venture to give the reader two little pieces of advice, which, if his experience resemble mine, may prove furthersome to him in this inquiry; they include the essence of all that I have discovered respecting it:—

"The first is, by no means to credit the wide-spread report that these seventeenth-century Puritans were superstitious, crack-brained persons; given up to enthusiasm, the most part of them; the minor ruling part being cunning men, who knew how to assume the dialect of the others, and thereby, as skilful Machiavels, to dupe them. This is a wide-spread report, but an untrue one. I advise my reader to try precisely the opposite hypothesis—to consider that his fathers, who had thought about this world very seriously indeed, were not quite so far behindhand in their conclusions respecting it—that actually their 'enthusiasms,' if well seen into, were not foolish, but wise—that Machiavelism, cant, official jargon, whereby a man speaks openly what he does *not* mean, were, surprising as it may seem, much rarer than they have ever since been. Really and truly it may in a manner be said, cant, parliamentary and other jargon, were still to invent in this world. O heavens! one could weep at the contrast!"—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations,* by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i. p. 115.

speaker to deliver any such commands—for the adjournment of the house properly belonged to themselves. And then they said that, after they had settled a few things, they would satisfy his majesty. Sir John Eliot forthwith produced a remonstrance to the king against the illegal levying of tonnage and poundage, and against the lord-treasurer, who "dismayed the merchants, drove out trade," &c. Eliot desired the speaker to read this paper, but the speaker said he could not, as the king had adjourned the house. It was then proposed that the remonstrance should be read by the clerk of the house, at the table, but the clerk also refused. And thereupon Eliot read it himself with much more effect than either of the officials could have produced. When Sir John had finished the reading, the speaker refused to put it to the vote, saying, "he was commanded otherwise by the king." Mr. Selden then got up and said, "Mr. Speaker, if you will not put the question, which we command you, we must sit still; and so we shall never be able to do anything." The speaker replied, that he had an express command from the king, so soon as he had delivered his message of adjournment, to rise. And thereupon he rose; but Hollis, son to the Earl of Clare, Mr. Valentine, and other members of that stamp, forced him to sit down again, and held him fast to his chair. At the same time some of the patriots locked the doors of the house, and brought up the keys to the table. Sir Thomas Edmonds and other members of the house, who were privy counsellors or courtiers, rushed to the release of the pinioned speaker. "God's wounds!" cried Hollis, "he shall sit still till it pleases us to rise." A rude scuffle ensued, during which the speaker *shed an abundance of tears.* As the courtiers were too weak to release him, he at last sat still, and said, crying more than ever, "I will not say *I will not*, but *I dare not.* I have his majesty's commands. I dare not sin against the express command of the sovereign." Selden then delivered a constitutional speech on the duties of a speaker of the House of Commons, and told him that he ought to proceed and put the remonstrance to the vote; but the speaker "still refused, with extremity of weeping and supplicatory orations. Sir Peter Hayman, a gentleman of his own county and of his own blood, told him that he blushed at being his kinsman; that he was a disgrace to his country—a blot to a noble family; that all the inconveniences that might follow—yea, even to the destruction of parliament—would be considered as the issue of his baseness by posterity, by whom he would be remembered with scorn and disdain." Sir Peter ended by recommending, that if he would not do his duty, he should be brought to the bar of the house, and a new speaker chosen at once.[1]

As neither advice nor threats could prevail

[1] In the "*Relations of the most famous Kingdomes and Commonwealths thorowout the World*, published at the signe of the Sunne in Paul's Churchyard, London, 1630," we find a copious description of England as at this period, previous to the convulsions under Charles I, and fully justifying those authors who represent it as being eminently prosperous after the long peace the country had enjoyed under the pacific James. After comparing the English court, nobility, gentry, and citizens, with those of the continental nations, and finding the advantage everywhere on his own country's side, the author, who here at least is no Italian, speaks of the husbandmen or yeomen as follows:—

"But, indeed, if you would have cause of wonder, then looke upon the husbandman, and compare him to men of like ranke in other places, and I believe, upon mature consideration, our adversaries will repine at their felicities, and our friends embrace our noble freedomes with desire of imitation.

* * * * * * * * *

"In Ireland he is termed a churle, in England a clowne: but look on him truly as he liveth indeed, and you shall finde him a carefull maintainer of his family, in continued descents, and in time past he would not have altered his addition of rich Yeoman, for the vainglorious title of rich Gentleman: You shall see them dwell in neat houses, manors, lordships, and parks, to the annuall value of a thousand pounds sometimes: their sonnes knighted, their daughters well bestowed, their other children so dispersed, that lawyers, citizens, merchants, are raised throughout the kingdome, from the sonnes and kindred of these countrimen. Yea, you shall see them invited to the court by service, or promotion, and knowing that the breath of kings advanceth or dejecteth, can attend the good houre, and such graces as a prince's favour may distribute to a well deserving subject.

"Thus liveth our countriman, and is able, though but a farmer, to lodge you sweetly and handsomely, to set a peece of plate on the cupboord, five or six dishes of good fare on the table, with fresh and fine linnen, and a cheerefull welcome. He is so nurtured besides that he can tell his lawyer a formall tale, and complaine to the justice if a farre better man wrong him. And finally, in a carowse of good liquor of his own brewing, can chaunt it with the poet, *Anglia libera gens, cui libera mens*," &c.

From the picture that follows of the busy commercial activity, and industrial prosperity of England, one may easily imagine what an excitement and discontent must have been caused from the attempts made by the crown to interfere with the free course of capital and labour by the establishment of monopolies and other unjust and injudicious restrictions.

"Concerning traffike and imployment at sea; what kingdome hath more commodities within itselfe, wanteth lesse, or is better furnished from forraine parts? So that whether for gaine sake they make sale of the best things, or that there is a secret in importation, or that our merchants are curious in selecting the choicest, I know not, but am sure that our *England* is the very shop of the world, and magazine of nature's dainties. If it be a blessing for every man to eat under his owne roofe, to sit with the pleasure of conversation in his orchard or garden, to enjoy the fruits of the earth with plentie, to live in neighbourly gratuities, having in a manner our doores open all night, to have many children, servants, and store of cattell, to purchase great estates, marry our daughters beyond expectation, and strengthen one another in worthy families, and suitable kindred; then looke upon England and tell mee, where is the like?"

To the same effect is Mrs. Hutchinson's exquisite description of England at the time of her birth in 1620:—"Brittaine hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever forreigne countries yield to encrease admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forced to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and bene reckoned allmost in all ages, as vailliant warriours as any part of the world sent forth," &c.—See the Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, written by herself, prefixed to her *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

on the speaker, and as they well knew they would not again be allowed the opportunity of expressing their sentiments in parliament, the commons hastily drew up a protest under the following heads:—"1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true or orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 3. If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same." As Mr. Hollis read these articles he was loudly cheered by the house. While they were reading, the king, who had hurried down to the House of Lords, and who was perplexed at not seeing the speaker, sent a messenger to bring away the serjeant with his *mace*—a symbol almost as important as the speaker, and without which there could be no house. But the members stopped the serjeant, and, taking the key of the door from him, gave it to a member of the house to keep safe and sure. Not seeing serjeant or mace, the king despatched the usher of the black rod to call up the commons, that he might dissolve the parliament; but the commons refused to receive either the black rod or his black message. When Charles heard this he grew furious, and, sending for the captain of the pensioners and his guards, he ordered them *to force the door;* but the commons, in the meanwhile, having voted their protest, and adjourned themselves to the 10th of March, had risen and were gone.

Upon the 10th of March the king went down to the lords with the proclamation for the dissolution of parliament, which had been signed on the 3d. Several members of the lower house were in the lords when the king arrived, but the commons had not been summoned as was usual, and their speaker was not present as he ought to have been. "My lords," said Charles, "I never came here upon so unpleasing an occasion: therefore many may wonder why I did not rather choose to do this by commission; it being a general maxim of kings to lay harsh commands by their ministers—themselves only executing pleasing things. But, considering that justice is as well answered in commending and rewarding of virtue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here this day, to declare to you, my lords, and all the world, that it was only the disobedient carriage of the lower house that hath caused this dissolution at this time; and that you, my lords, are so far from being causers of it, that I have so much comfort in your lordships' carriage towards me, as I have cause to distaste their proceedings. Yet that I may be clearly understood, I must needs say, that they do mistake me wonderfully that think I lay the fault equally upon all the lower house; for, as I know there are many as dutiful and loyal subjects as any are in the world, so I know that it was only some *vipers* amongst them that had cast this mist of difference before their eyes; although there were some amongst them that would not be infected with this contagion—insomuch that some of their speaking (which indeed was the general fault of the house on the last day) did show their obedience. To conclude, my lords, as those evil-affected persons must look for their rewards, so you that are here of the higher house, may justly claim from me that protection and favour that a good king oweth to his loyal and faithful nobility. And now, my lord-keeper, do what I have commanded you." Then the lord-keeper said, "My lords, and gentlemen of the House of Commons, the king's majesty doth dissolve this parliament." And thus, flattering the lords, and threatening the commons, Charles ended his third parliament, on the 10th of March, 1629.[1]

But before the closing scene the king had laid his hands upon some of those whom he called the "*vipers.*" Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Valentine, Coriton, Hobart, Hayman, Long, and Strode, the members who had been the most active in getting up the protest, and keeping the speaker in his chair, were summoned by warrant (dated the 5th of March) before the privy council. With the exception of Long and Strode they all presented themselves, but refused to answer out of the house for the things they had said in it; and they were thereupon committed to the Tower. Long and Strode surrendered upon the issuing of a proclamation for their arrest, and they were sent to join their friends. The houses of Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Long, and Valentine were forcibly entered, their studies broken open, and their papers seized by the king's warrant.

Charles issued a long declaration to all his loving subjects, explaining the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament; but every step he now took only added to the exasperation of the people. Being fully resolved to proceed in the Star Chamber against the members of parliament whom he had committed to the Tower, he propounded a series of questions to the judges, who again were found somewhat less

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; Parl. Hist.*

complying than was expected. Judge Whitelock afterwards (and we believe timidly and privately) complained against this way of sending to the judges for their opinions beforehand, and said, that if Bishop Laud went on in this way, he would kindle a flame in the nation. At the same moment of excitement the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber passed several harsh sentences; and on the 22d of March the king issued a proclamation, which was interpreted by many as meaning a determination on his part to discontinue parliaments altogether, unless he could reduce the House of Commons to be the instrument of his will. "We have showed," said Charles, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love to the use of parliaments; yet, the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in our power; and shall be more inclinable to meet in parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our interests and actions, and when such as have bred this interruption shall have received their condign punishment." He afterwards graciously told the nation that he would not overload his subjects with any more burdens, but satisfy himself with those duties that were received by his father, which he neither could nor would dispense with, but should esteem them unworthy of his protection who should deny them.[1]

The apprehensive, or that numerous class which, for the sake of excitement, exaggerate calamities, spoke in corners of Tower-hill and the block, or Tyburn and the gallows; but the arbitrary faction could not venture upon such extreme measures, and the imprisoned members, in the end, met with nothing but illegal fines in addition to their harsh imprisonment. When they sued for their *habeas corpus*, and were brought up before the Court of King's Bench, the court lawyers made a return that they were detained for notable contempts, and for stirring up sedition, as alleged in a warrant under the king's sign manual. Their counsel argued against the legality of the proceeding, and made a stand on the king's explicit confirmation of principles and precedents in the Petition of Right. The king's counsel slurred over that great constitutional enactment, and the Attorney-general Heath —"a fit instrument for those times"—quibbled and evaded, and set up the old tyrannical doctrine of imprisonment at the king's will. In this manner—this wretched irritating manner—did Charles and his tools endeavour to explain away every confirmation of constitutional rights —every concession made to the people, till the people would no longer give the slightest credit to his most solemn promises. The Attorney-general Heath recited old authorities to prove that prisoners committed by the sovereign or the privy council were not bailable. The judges, however, wrote "a humble and stout letter" to the king, declaring "that by their oaths they were to bail the prisoners; but thought fit, before they did it, or published their opinions therein, to inform his majesty thereof, and humbly to advise him (as had been done by his noble progenitors in like case), to send a direction to his justices of his bench to bail the prisoners."[2] The Lord-keeper Coventry would not tell the judges whether he had shown this, their letter, to the king or not; but dissembled the matter, and told them that they must attend his majesty at Greenwich. There the king received them in a manner which showed he was displeased with them, and he commanded them not to deliver any opinion in this case without consulting with the rest of the judges. These judges, obviously by royal command, delayed the business, and so it was put off to the end of the term. When the Court of King's Bench was ready to deliver its opinion, the prisoners, by the king's command, were removed from other places of confinement to the Tower; so that the writs of *habeas corpus* having been addressed to their former keepers, who of course could not produce them, the prisoners were not forthcoming to claim the right of bail. They were thus detained in close custody during the whole of the long vacation which ensued.[3]

Towards the end of the vacation the judges were commanded to attend at Serjeants' Inn, as his majesty had urgent need of their services. Upon Michaelmas Day—the day appointed—the judges attended; and then the Chief-justice Hyde and Judge Whitelock were sent by the lord keeper to advise with the king at Hampton Court There the privy council was sitting; but Charle took the two judges aside, and told them he was willing the imprisoned members should be admitted to bail, notwithstanding their contumacy in refusing to declare that they were sorry for having offended him; and he also told them that he should abandon the Star Chamber proceedings, and prosecute them in the King's Bench. The answer of the judges, who felt what was right, but who were not bold enough to oppose the king, did not give entire satisfaction—for Charles spoke disrespectfully of their "oracles and riddles."[4]

[1] *Rymer.*

[2] *Whitelock.*

[3] *Whitelock; State Trials.* At the same time this paltry trick was played off upon other less conspicuous victims. "Some constables and other mean men, committed by the council, and bringing their *habeas corpora*, were removed from pursuivant to pursuivant, and could have no benefit of the law."—*Whitelock.*

[4] *Whitelock.*

Upon the first day of Michaelmas term, the prisoners, who had been already thirty weeks in close confinement, without resort of friends or family, debarred from the use of books, and pen and ink, were brought into court, and ordered not only to find bail for their present charge, but sureties for their good behaviour in future. They refused to give these sureties, but were ready with bail for their appearance to answer the present charge. The judges intimated that they would accept the same persons both for sureties and bail; but the captives were determined not to tie their tongues and fetter their own hands by making their friends answerable upon so ticklish a point as good behaviour, which was to be judged of by the king and his ministers. They all firmly refused to give the sureties in any shape, and thereupon they were all sent back to the Tower.

The attorney-general then exhibited an information in the King's Bench against Sir John Eliot, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Mr. Valentine. Sir John was charged with words uttered in the house of commons, and more particularly with saying that the privy council and judges had conspired to trample under foot the liberties of the subject —that no man was ever blasted in the House of Commons but a curse fell upon him, &c. Hollis and Valentine were charged with the tumult on the last day of the session, when the speaker was forcibly held down in the chair. The defendants put in a plea excepting to the jurisdiction of the court:—"Forasmuch," as it was alleged, "as these offences are supposed to have been done in parliament, they ought not to be punished in this court, or any other except in parliament." The judges, upon demurrer, overruled this plea, and the prisoners refused to put in any other. Upon the last day of the next term judgment was given against them upon a *nihil dicit* by Mr. Justice Jones. But, heavy as was their offence, Jones assured the prisoners that their punishment should be laid on "with a light hand;" and then he delivered sentence—"1. That every of the defendants shall be imprisoned during the king's pleasure: Sir John Eliot to be imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the other defendants in other prisons. 2. That none of them shall be delivered out of prison until he give security in this court for his good behaviour, and have made submission and acknowledgment of his offence. 3. Sir John Eliot, inasmuch as we think him the greatest offender and the ringleader, shall pay to the king a fine of £2000, and Mr. Hollis a fine of 1000 marks; and Mr. Valentine, because he is of less ability than the rest, shall pay a fine of £500." And to all this all the other justices, with one voice, assented.[1] Long, who had been pricked sheriff of Wiltshire, was not brought into the King's Bench for his conduct in the house, but into the Star Chamber, for attending in parliament when he was bound, as sheriff, to be present in his own county. This was a revival of an old manœuvre, and people understood perfectly well that Long's severe sentence, condemning him to a fine of 2000 marks, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and a public submission, was solely on account of his behaviour in the House of Commons.

The Star Chamber, Interior of the Principal Room.[2]

Previously to the passing of these tyrannical sentences against members of parliament, a merchant had felt the ruthless severity of the court.

Richard Chambers was summoned before the privy council for refusing to pay any further duty for a bale of silks than might be demanded by law. The bale of goods had been seized by the officers; but this was not deemed punishment enough, and Charles wanted an opportunity to re-state his principle, in scorn of the Petition of

[1] *Parl. Hist.; Rushworth; State Trials.*

[2] The Star Chamber stood on the eastern side of New Palace Yard, and was originally a portion of the royal palace. It obtained the name of *Camera Stellata*, or *Star Chamber*, from the walls or ceiling having been ornamented with stars; but the building in use for the meetings of this court from the end of the reign of Elizabeth until its abolition in 1641, although probably built on the site of the elder chamber, was evidently of the Elizabethan era, as the letters E. R., and the date 1602, appeared over one of the doorways. It was pulled down in 1836, for the erection of the new houses of parliament. Our view exhibits the interior of the principal room, from a sketch made just before its demolition.

Right, that he could lay on duties by prerogative. Smarting under his wrongs, and foreseeing the deplorable consequences that must ensue if this arbitrary principle were established, Chambers told the privy council "that merchants had more encouragement, and were less screwed and wrung, in Turkey than in England." For these words an information was preferred against him in the Star Chamber; and that detestable court, declaring itself of opinion that the words were intended to make the people believe that the *happy government* under which they lived was worse than a Turkish tyranny, forthwith sentenced Chambers to pay a fine of £2000, and to sign a written acknowledgment that he had spoken the words insolently, contemptuously, seditiously, falsely, and maliciously. The honest merchant signed a paper, but of a very different kind from that required, for it was to this effect:—"All the above contents and submission, I, Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false, and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof." And being a devout man, a Puritan or Precisian, he subjoined several texts of Scripture, one of which was—"Woe unto them that devise iniquity, because it is in the power of their hand." His fine was immediately estreated into the exchequer, where he pleaded Magna Charta and other statutes against the fine by the king and his council, it not being by legal judgment of his peers; but the barons would not suffer his plea to be filed. Afterwards Chambers brought his *habeas corpus*, but the judges remanded him; and after twelve years' imprisonment, and a long waiting for satisfaction for his losses from the long Parliament, this champion and martyr of law and right died at last in want.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1629—1635.

CHARLES I.

Symptoms of Charles's arbitrary purposes—Sir Thomas Wentworth goes over to the Royalists—His rise and ascendency—Others follow Wentworth's example—Counsellors of Charles—Wars of England at this period—The Thirty Years' war—Victories of Gustavus Adolphus—Capture of Magdeburg by Tilly—Contrast of the Swedish with the Imperial armies—Charles signs a treaty of peace with Spain—His secret agreement with Spain against the Netherlands—Counter-proceedings of Charles in Flanders and Brabant—His negotiations there through Sir Balthazar Gerbier—Gerbier's report of his proceedings—Charles offers to become the protector of these states against France and Spain—The negotiation terminates unsuccessfully—Charles sends aid to Gustavus Adolphus—Charles persists in levying tonnage and poundage—He revives old feudal imposts—His oppressive modes of raising money—Their injurious effects—Intolerant conduct of Bishop Laud and the High Church party—Laud's persecution of Alexander Leighton—Resistance of the Puritans—Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix*—Character of the work—Trial of Prynne for publishing it—Severe sentence passed upon him—Visit of Charles to Scotland—His coronation there—Arbitrary proceedings against the Scottish church—Duplicity of Charles's proceedings in the Scottish parliament—Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury—His offensive measures in the building of churches—His Romish form of consecrating them—His imposition of fines for repairing St. Paul's—His partiality for clerical celibacy—His defence of painted church windows—His innovations among the clergy—His promotion of his creatures—Dislike of the Puritans at these proceedings—The *Book of Sports* republished and restored—Laud's growing influence and rule—His spiritual despotism over the United Kingdom and its dependencies.

EVERYTHING now went to spread the conviction that Charles intended to throw off for ever the restraint of parliament, and to rule undisguisedly as an absolute king. The orthodox pulpits were made to shake with loud expoundings of the Divine right; and about this time a pamphlet was put forth advising the king to have no more parliaments, recommending to him the example of Louis XI. of France, who had put down parliaments in that kingdom, and submitting a regular scheme of despotism to be upheld by a military police.[2] But still there were circumstances which might seem to indicate that Charles thought rather of managing the House of Commons, by winning over some of its most influential members, than of taking the more des-

1 *Whitelock; Rushworth.*

2 It was proved, however, that this precious production was not written for Charles, but for his father James, many years before; and that it was now made public and "bruited" by the patriotic party in order to put their fellow-subjects on their guard against the encroachments of despotism. But the pamphlet scarcely contained a principle that was not cherished, and even acted upon more or less openly, either now or soon afterwards, by Charles, and Laud, and Wentworth. At court the queen was constantly talking of the difference between a *quasi* king, like the Kings of England, and a *real*, mighty king, like the absolute sovereigns of her own country and family.

perate step alluded to. Perhaps, however, he considered the services of such eminent men as Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Dudley Digges, Noye, and Littleton, to be worth the purchasing, parliament or no parliament; for the country contained none more able, and their promptness in apostatizing gave him a reasonable ground for believing that they would not be deterred by a sense of shame, or by scruples of conscience, from going any lengths in the service of their new master. Wentworth, the most renowned of the company, had gone over to the court some time before this. After being one of the sturdiest of the reformers and boldest declaimers in the House of Commons—after suffering imprisonment for refusing to contribute to the forced loan—this eminent person, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who boasted his descent, by bastardy, from the royal line of the Plantagenets, out of a very ignoble rivalry, and an ambition for rank and titles (even his friends could find out no purer motives), made his peace with Buckingham a short time before that favourite's death, and sold himself, body and soul, to the court. He had his reward; and the splendour of it, no doubt, served as a decoy to other patriots of his stamp. He was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Wentworth; he was caressed by the king: he was taken to the bosom of Laud; and by the end of the year 1628 he was made a viscount and lord-president of what was called the Court of York, or the Council of the North. From the first moment he obtained power he used it against his former political associates without mercy or remorse; and it may be that, from that very moment, the party set down the renegade for a sacrifice whenever the wheel of fortune should turn in their favour. The indisputable and commanding abilities of the man also made them hate him the more because they feared him. Sir Dudley Digges, though a spirited debater and a man of talent, had been known for some time to be without principle; and, upon being offered the post of master of the rolls, he closed at once with the bargain, and turned round upon "the vipers," as the king called his former friends, the leaders of the opposition. Noye and Littleton, both distinguished lawyers, followed the same course: Noye was made attorney-general, Littleton solicitor-general. Being thus placed in a position to explain and stretch the prerogative, they did that work apparently without a blush at the recollections which were but as of yesterday, when they combated for the rights of parliament and the liberties of the people. There was no new king's favourite in lieu of Buckingham, for the Earl of Holland was rather the favourite of the queen (scandal said her paramour) than of Charles. Holland, however, like the extravagant Hay, Earl of Carlisle, had a seat at the council table, where also sat the pompous Arundel, earl-marshal; the contemptible, horse-whipped Earl of Montgomery; his brother, the Earl of Pembroke; and the Earl of Dorset; who, one and all, thought more of pleasure than of business, and were content that the king should ruin himself or the nation, provided they could have their enjoyments. Charles's two secretaries of state at this time were Sir John Coke and Sir Dudley Carleton; his chancellor, or rather lord-keeper, was Lord Coventry; his lord privy-seal the Earl of Manchester; and his lord-treasurer the Lord Weston, whom Eliot had denounced in the last session as the great enemy of the commonwealth. But all these counsellors together had not the power over the king of Wentworth and Laud. The rise of the churchman had been forwarded rather than checked by the assassination of his great patron Buckingham. Charles knew that he had long been in the habit of writing for the duke, and guiding him in matters of business: he called Laud into the privy council, and promised to raise him to the primacy as soon as it should please Heaven to remove old Archbishop Abbot. It should seem that, on a closer acquaintance, the sympathies of the king and bishop chimed together wondrously well; and that, while Laud adored the Divine right of kings, Charles embraced with the zeal of a crusader the right of the bishops to coerce the faith of his people.

All this time England was at war with France, Spain, and, in effect, with the Emperor of Germany; but so insignificant were the events that rose out of this state of hostility, compared with the events at home, that the minutest historians scarcely devote a page to them. Indeed, without any comparison with the important transactions at home, the warlike operations in which the English were actively concerned were paltry and worthless in themselves, being, in fact, little more than an exhibition of Charles's weakness. With France he had gone to war without reason, and he was glad to make a peace without honour, abandoning the French Protestants to their fate, and scarcely mentioning the cause of his sister and brother-in-law the Palatine. This peace with France was made public in the spring of 1629, and in the following year, notwithstanding the prayers and tears of his wife, who would have prolonged the war, *because* France was still at war with Spain and the whole house of Austria, Charles concluded a peace with Philip, the pacification of King James being assumed as the groundwork of the treaty.

But the other belligerents on the Continent were carrying on the Thirty Years' war, which arose out of the Bohemian insurrection, with a very different spirit. The Lion of the North had

started from his lair—Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic on the 24th of June, 1630, and rushed into Germany for the support of Protestantism and the humbling of the Emperor Ferdinand. A series of most brilliant victories was obtained by the daring Swede, who was in close league not only with the Protestants of the Empire but with the French, who, guided by the bold policy of Cardinal Richelieu, now omnipotent in France, stretched their arms in all directions, across the Alps, the Pyrenees, to the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, to the Rhine and the Elbe. Savoy was not only overrun, but almost entirely conquered; and in Italy the cardinal dictated terms to the pope, who, as much out of necessity as out of inclination, had adhered to the house of Austria and to the emperor, who was considered as waging a religious war against heretics. When Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, the power of the emperor was almost everywhere predominant. His generals, the ferocious Tilly, the bloody Pappenheim, the ambitious Maximilian of Bavaria, and Wallenstein, in whom all these qualities were united in their extreme proportions, had crushed the power of the Protestant states, and laid waste, with every circumstance of cruelty, the territories of friends and foes. Wallenstein had been removed from command by the jealous fears of Ferdinand, who at one time fancied that the fortunate and aspiring general aimed, if not at the imperial crown, at the old crown of Bohemia; Maximilian of Bavaria was rejoicing in the possession of the Palatinate, which he had helped to win from his cousin Frederick; but Tilly and Pappenheim were still in the field with a vast army of veteran troops, so flushed with their many recent victories, that they called themselves invincible. But they were soon found to be no match for the highly disciplined, hardy troops from old Scandinavia, led on by a hero and great tactician. The courtiers at Vienna told the emperor that the Swede was but a king of snow, who would melt away as he approached the south; but the Swede continued his onward course, and there was no melting away, or, if there was, it was of that nature which releases the avalanche from the mountain, to thunder through and overwhelm the valley beneath. The only event that clouded the joy and success of the Protestants was the capture of the rich and Protestant city of Magdeburg, which was effected by Tilly and Pappenheim while the Swedes were occupied in another direction. The ferocious Tilly let loose his wild Croats, Walloons, and Pandours upon the devoted citizens, who were massacred without distinction of age or sex. When they had sacked the richest houses they set fire to the rest, and, a violent wind rising, the whole town was soon wrapped in flames, which consumed both quick and dead. In less than twelve hours one of the finest cities of Germany was reduced to an unsightly heap of ruins and ashes, and 30,000 of its industrious inhabitants had perished by different kinds of deaths, but all horrible. Such a tragedy had not often been perpetrated in modern wars: the sack of Magdeburg excited horror throughout the civilized world; but the Protestants consoled themselves with the belief that it must be followed by the curse of the Almighty—and, in fact, it was the last of the emperor's successes in this war. We are called upon to mention the moral and devout bearing of the victorious Swedes, both because it was rare and beautiful in itself, and because, in the course of a few years, it became the model of that English army which terminated the Civil war. In the Imperial army, which also professed to fight for the blessed cause of religion, there reigned only immorality, lust, cruelty, and disregard of all the virtues and decencies of life: in the army of Gustavus, on the contrary, every fault was punished with severity; but, above all, blasphemy, violence to women, stealing, gaming, and fighting duels. Simplicity also of manners and habits was commanded by the military laws of Sweden; and in the whole camp, and even in the king's tent, there was neither silver nor gold plate. The eye of the sovereign observed as carefully the morals of his troops as their bravery. Every regiment was obliged to form itself in a circle round its chaplain for morning and evening prayers; and this pious act was then performed in the open air.[1]

It was in the month of November, 1630, that Charles signed his solemn treaty of peace with Spain. Philip, not in the treaty, but in a private letter, promised Charles to restore to his brother-in-law, the Palatine, such parts of his territories (they must have been very inconsiderable) as were then occupied by Spanish troops, and to use his best endeavours with his near relative, the emperor, to reinstate the expelled prince as he was before his acceptance of the Bohemian crown. And Charles, as a fitting return, entered upon a secret contract, whereby he agreed to unite his arms with those of Spain for the subjugation of the Seven United Provinces, which his great predecessor Elizabeth had so largely contributed to free from the oppressive Spanish yoke. Charles, as a share of the spoil, was to have and to hold Zealand and other territories. There had been a talk of this precious scheme before, when Charles and Buckingham were at Madrid wooing the infanta. But now the matter went so far that the agreement was signed by Charles's ambassador, Cottington, and by Olivares, who was still the favourite and prime minister in Spain. All this

[1] Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War.*

had been done in the closest secrecy—not a breath of the mystery had got abroad; but Charles, seeing the violence of his Protestant subjects, even when they knew nothing of this projected league with Papists against a Protestant people, might easily divine what would be their fury when the scheme should be broached and carried into operation. It appears to have been this consideration that induced him to hesitate in ratifying the agreement which he had allowed his minister to sign. Thereupon Philip, of course, considered himself freed from the promises he had made concerning the Palatine. A few months after, Charles went into a project the very reverse of that he had recently entertained. Flanders and Brabant, which remained to Spain and the pope after so many years of sanguinary warfare, had become the scenes of discontent; or, at least, a certain party had conceived the notion of erecting them into independent states. The King of England forthwith despatched to them Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a native of Antwerp, a good painter, a distinguished critic in the fine arts, an excellent penman, and a very accomplished man of business or intrigue, who had passed from the service of Buckingham into that of Charles. On the 14th of August,[1] 1632, Gerbier, writing from Brussels, informed his employer that those states, perceiving that the Spaniards were no longer able to defend them and their religion, were determined to make themselves free states, drive out the Spaniards, contract alliances with their neighbours, and conclude a peace with the Hollanders. The infanta and the Spanish council, he said, were already greatly alarmed and on the alert, for they had received advertisements from England, that those states were resolved to shake off the Spaniards and make themselves free. "The infanta," continues Gerbier, "showed the said letters to *Sir Peter Rubens*, who told me that they bore such information as would hazard the lives of many in these countries." The French had been already in this field of intrigue, offering assistance; for it was an idea among them at least as old as the time of Henry IV., if not of Louis XI., that the Rhine was the proper and natural boundary of their fine kingdom, and nobody better understood how to work by indirect means than Cardinal Richelieu. The party with whom Gerbier was intriguing in Flanders and Brabant, indeed, suspected that the French aimed at a conquest, nor were they less suspicious of the intentions of their neighbours the Hollanders, who also had offered them assistance. These particulars, Gerbier says, were communicated to him by a person in disguise, who had chosen an hour in the night for the dangerous conference, and who had the appearance of being a man of high rank. "He spoke to me," continues the secret agent, "as in the name of a whole body which aimed to be supported by an alliance with England, to counterbalance France, who, instead of a confederacy, prepared means to bring these provinces into subjection; which to prevent, the support of England was conceived to be the strongest remedy, and therefore it was desired I should procure, under your majesty's hand and seal, power to hear (under profound secret) what was so considerable; that, showing my authorization, and engaging my word for secrecy, I might know not only the party, but be sure it was no French." The party, however, were no patriots, for one of the first of their proposals was to obtain for themselves English court distinctions—ribbons and garters.[2] "I was very attentive," says Gerbier, "unto this discourse, my mind still fixed on the proverb, *Diffidentia est mater prudentiæ*, not being certain but that this person might be sent on purposely to sound me, if England was desirous of the subversion of the Spanish government. Wherefore my first answer was with admiration, feigning not well at first to comprehend their design, and with much difficulty these high resolutions, less their success; considered the troubles past and present amongst them, intimating thereby that I lived not here to forge factions; but that, withal, England ought to be accounted as their best and most considerable neighbourhood, both for its situation, strength by sea, commerce, and affection of the people, who have always lived in good intelligence with these countries, being from France whence all the stirs proceed, as the histories do bear record. The said person promised then that, upon the procuring of my authorization, he would make known himself, desiring that no time might be lost. . . . And seeing the lives of great persons might run hazard by the discovery of these designs, I find myself bound in charity and loyalty not to communicate them any further than to your majesty, who may impart them unto your prudent council, as in your royal wisdom shall be thought fitting, it being the request made by the secret party. Your majesty may be pleased to weigh the glory which will redound unto your majesty from this alliance, which, excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of the world, will serve as an assured rampart to other countries, neighbours, and allies of your majesty, and free them from any change or invasion." Gerbier went on to give the king more particulars touching "the great business," telling him how cautious he had been to prevent all subject of suspicion in the King of Spain's ministers, and how he had

[1] From an allusion in this letter to a previous despatch, it appears that Gerbier had been at his secret work ever since the month of June.—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] Gerbier's letter to Charles, in *Hardwicke State Papers.*

been continually pressed by the person in disguise to know whether they could count upon Charles's assistance. Charles immediately replied by letter, *written secretly, and all in his own hand.* The business, he said, was so great that, merely to manage it, he was forced to trust somebody, but, as secrecy was especially necessary, he had only trusted Secretary Coke. He told Gerbier that, as he was in peace and friendship with the King of Spain, it would be against both honour and conscience if, without any just cause or quarrel, he debauched his subjects from their allegiance. "But," continued the king, "since I see a likelihood (almost a necessity) that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other king's or state's protection, and that I am offered, without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein, the second consideration is, that it were a great imprudence in me to let slip this occasion, whereby I may both advantage myself and hinder the overflowing greatness of my neighbours." He was willing, he said, to take the protection of these people into his hands, as they flew to him without his seeking: if he did not protect them others would; and the King of Spain, instead of being offended, ought to be pleased; for if he, Charles, did not interfere, then the States would fall into the hands of Philip's enemies or rebels. "And therefore," continued the royal casuist, "upon great consideration I have sent you power to treat with these disguised persons, and do hereby authorize you to promise them, in my name, protection against anybody but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world else from injuries." This letter, with a commission to Gerbier, was inclosed in a despatch written by Secretary Coke, who told the agent that the commission was as full as could be expected, secrecy not now permitting more formalities. "Your instructions," said the secretary, "will be made more particular and full when the parties discover themselves, and when you send word *what they offer* and what they require." On the 24th of September, Secretary Coke wrote again to instruct him how to convince the Catholic states of Flanders and Brabant that France was not to be thought of, and that England was their surest refuge, which would best agree both with their ecclesiastical and temporal estates, "both which," continues the secretary, running in search of arguments to prove how nicely and nearly the Anglican church could agree with the Roman, "you must endeavour to persuade to be of the same; for their churchmen, you say, are the most active for this change, and, if it had not been for the scandal of religion, they would have expressed themselves for a treaty with England before others. . . . Yet England, in respect of religion, is far more proper for them to join withal than the Seven United Provinces can be." Having arranged for the clergy, who were to be raised from the lowly condition of Presbyterian pastors depending on the voluntary contributions of their flocks, into richly-endowed and high-titled Episcopal dignitaries, Secretary Coke, who, no doubt, wrote under the dictation of Charles, proceeded to deal with the nobility, bidding Gerbier to declare to them at large, and on all occasions, how much better it would be for them to adhere to a potent king like the King of England than to a popular and factious government like that of the Hollanders. "Amongst *those boors*," continues the secretary, "where all are equal and capable of the highest places, their honours and degrees can have no pre-eminence, but be subject to the affronts of the baser sort, without civility or respect, which noble minds cannot endure." From the nobility he passed to the merchants and base traders, and from these to the native soldiery, telling Gerbier how to deal with these classes in order to draw them to the king's interest. This underhand negotiation was prolonged through many months, the King of England wishing the conspirators to declare their country independent, and the conspirators wishing him to give them something more than general and vague promises. At last the Spanish court, which had some clue to the secret correspondence from the beginning, discovered the whole,[1] and reinforced its army in Flanders and Brabant; and thereupon the plot fell to the ground. If such proceedings had taken place between private individuals, no one would hesitate as to the proper epithet to be applied to them; but they had been so common between kings and governments, that we think Charles's conduct on this occasion has been censured with undue severity. He acted precisely as the great Elizabeth had done; and even at a much later and morally better age, English statesmen would not have hesitated to do as much in the same dark manner to counteract the intrigues of other states, and more especially to prevent the French from making themselves masters of the Low Countries.

Charles now concluded, or rather renewed, a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, and undertook to send 6000 men to join that victorious sovereign in the heart of Germany. But, as there was no declaration of war with the emperor, he thought it proper and delicate to make it appear as if this force was raised in Scotland by the Marquis of Hamilton on his own account, and without the king's knowledge. When Hamilton was getting ready, Donald, Lord Reay, and Major Borthwick accused the marquis of raising troops to

[1] Lord Cottington, then ambassador at Madrid, was accused of divulging the whole business to the Spanish court.

usurp the crown of Scotland. Hamilton embarked with his little army—"but so little care was taken of provisions and accommodations for his men that they were brought into a sick and shattered condition, so that they mouldered away in a short time; and the marquis was forced to return to England without gaining any great renown by this action, wherein he neither did service to the King of Sweden nor to himself, or to the Protestant cause in Germany."[1] When Hamilton returned, Charles received him into as great favour and trust as ever.

We cannot condense half of the circumstances which occurred at home between the dissolution of the parliament of 1629 and the calling that of 1640—circumstances which discontented the mass of the English people, and which gave zeal to the timid or lukewarm—fury to the zealots. We shall, however, try to explain, in as few words as possible, the most important of these provocations. In contempt of the Petition of Right, the king persisted in levying tonnage and poundage, even augmenting the rates on sundry kinds of goods, and ordering that the goods of such as refused payment should be instantly seized and sold. The commons had denounced the man as a traitor that should pay these illegal taxes. And, at the same time that Charles thus availed himself of the resources of modern commerce, he arbitrarily revived certain feudal uses or abuses. Henry III. and Edward I., when their poverty obscured their chivalry, had introduced the practice of summoning their military tenants, worth £20 per annum, to receive at their hands the costly honour of knighthood: many declined this honour, and were allowed to compound by paying a moderate fine. Elizabeth and James had both availed themselves of this ancient prerogative; and the change in the value of money rendered it more oppressive than formerly, though only persons esteemed worth £40 per annum were now subjected to it. In many instances, in James's time, the sheriffs purposely neglected to serve these writs, and many persons, when they were served took no notice of them; but now Charles appointed a regular commission to attend solely to this vexatious method of raising money; and these commissioners called upon all landed proprietors, rated at £40, to pay their fines for not being knighted. When any resistance was offered, the parties were dragged into the expensive law courts, and there invariably cast, and forced to pay, or thrown into prison. Nor was there any fixed rule or rate; for, when any man was a known Puritan or Precisian, or otherwise obnoxious to the court, he was made to pay a great deal more than another. Nor was the practice limited to those who were liable as military or feudal tenants; lessees who held no land by any such tenure, merchants whose fortunes had risen from bales of goods, and not from the sword or lance, were called upon to pay, were prosecuted and persecuted. It is said that £100,000 were thus screwed and squeezed out of the subject; and the king preferred this method to meeting and agreeing with the House of Commons. The most intolerable sufferings of the people had arisen in the old time from the atrocious game or forest laws. This bloody and disgraceful code had been allowed in good part to drop into desuetude, but Charles resolved to revive at least all such parts of it as might tend to the increase of his revenue. The Earl of Holland was appointed to hold a court for the recovery of the king's forestal rights, or those lands which had once belonged to the royal chases. In this manner people were driven from many tracts which they and their fathers had long occupied as their own; gentlemen's estates were encroached upon, and, as he king was the litigant, the opposite party, even if he gained his cause, which in such circumstances he had but slight chance of doing, was distressed or ruined by the costs of the action, which he had to pay whether he was the loser or the winner. The Earl of Southampton was reduced almost to poverty by a decision which deprived him of his estate adjoining the New Forest in Hampshire. In Essex the royal forests grew so large that people said they had swallowed up the whole county. Rockingham Forest was increased from a circuit of six miles to one of sixty miles, and all trespassers were punished by the imposition of enormous fines. "Which burden," says Clarendon, "lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness."[2] To enlarge Richmond Park, Charles deprived many proprietors, not merely of their rights of common, but also of their freehold lands. It should appear that he afterwards gave some compensation; but the act at first had in it all the worst features of a cruel and plundering despotism. The House of Commons had scarcely rendered a service more important to the nation than by insisting on the suppression of monopolies: but now the king began to revive those abuses also; and, for the sum of £10,000, which they paid for their patent, and for a duty of £8 sterling upon every ton of soap they should make, which they promised to pay the king without vote of parliament, he chartered a company with exclusive privileges to make soap. These incorporated soap-boilers, as a part of their bargain, received powers to appoint searchers, and they exercised a sort of inquisition over the trade. Such dealers as resisted their

[1] *Whitelock.*

[2] *History of the Rebellion.*

interference, or tried to make soap on their own account, were handed over to the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. This precedent was followed in the erection of a similar company of starch-makers, and in a great variety of other grants, till monopolies, in transgression or evasion of the late statute, became as common as they had been under James and Elizabeth.[1] And no less unjust proceedings of other kinds, some of them ridiculous, some scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which (we should say *justly*) fell to the king, the profit to other men—for the expense of collection was enormous, and only a small portion of the money ever reached the royal coffers.[2] Proclamations, which James had carried to such excess, and which had been branded by parliament, were again brought into play, and arbitrary fines were exacted from such as disobeyed these proclamations, which were in themselves illegal. The late British Solomon had decided in his wisdom that the plague and other great mischiefs were solely owing to the excessive and constantly increasing size of London, and he had proclaimed over and over again that people must not be so wicked and so foolhardy as to build any more houses in the metropolis. But his proclamations were disregarded—the judges had declared them not to be according to law; and the Londoners had gone on building faster than ever. Charles, who was more steady in wrong proceedings than his father, appointed a commission to examine into this growth and increase, and to make money of those who had built the new houses. In general the latter got off by paying a fine equivalent to three years' estimated rent of their houses, and an annual tax to the crown; but in some instances the houses were knocked down, and the owners made to pay a penalty, besides suffering this destruction of their property.[3]

And, as if all these were not sufficient causes of disgust and irritation, there were the galling and high-handed proceedings of the earl-marshal's court, which will be described more particularly hereafter. But what more than anything heaped fuel on the doomed head of the king was the conduct of the High Church party, led on by Laud. This bishop is allowed, by one of his warmest admirers, to have been a zealot in his heart, "of too warm blood and too positive a nature;"[4] but he followed the course of Archbishop Bancroft, and was an emphatic flatterer of the king. When in the month of May, 1630, Henrietta Maria gave birth to a prince, afterwards that godly king Charles II., Laud baptized the infant, and composed a prayer upon the occasion, in which was the petition—"Double his father's graces, O Lord! upon him, *if it be possible*." Bishop Williams, the ex-lord-keeper, now in disgrace, and almost a patriot, forgetting his own performances in former times, called this "three-piled flattery and loathsome divinity." A few months after composing this prayer, Laud called before him, in the Star Chamber, Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman and a Puritan preacher, for writing against the queen and the bishops in a book, entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against Prelacy*. The tone of the book was disrespectful and fanatic, but we lose sight of its demerits in the atrocious punishment of the author, who vainly pleaded, in the Star Chamber, that he had offended through zeal, and not through any personal malice. He was degraded from the ministry, publicly whipped in Palace Yard, placed in the pillory for two hours, had an ear cut off, a nostril slit, and was branded on one of his cheeks with the letters S. S., for "Sower of Sedition." After these detestable operations he was sent back to his prison; but, at the end of one short week, before his wounds were healed, he was again dragged forth to public whipping, the pillory, the knife, and the brand; and after he had been deprived of his other ear, split in the other nostril, and burned on the other cheek, he was thrust back into his dungeon, there to lie for life. After ten years, indeed, Leighton regained his liberty; but it was by the mercy neither of Laud nor Charles, but through that parliament which destroyed alike the bishop and the king.[5]

Blind to the almost inevitable consequences of persecution, Laud neglected no opportunity of enforcing conformity. By his advice Charles had issued a proclamation forbidding all preachers to condemn Arminianism or to enter upon that controversy. Though not yet the chief of the Anglican church, for old Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was still living, Laud wielded or directed all its thunders. In consequence of the increasing severities of his ghostly rule, the Puritans now began to emigrate in large numbers to North America, preferring a wilderness with religious liberty to their native country without it. The pilgrim fathers chiefly settled in New England. Those who remained at home were sharp-

[1] For a full list of these monopolies, see *Rymer*, and the reports of the debates of the Long Parliament.

[2] Clarendon says, that of £200,000, drawn from the subject by such ways, in a year, scarce £1500 came to the king's use or account.

[3] Rushworth gives several most arbitrary proceedings in the Star Chamber against men who had built houses in contravention of the king's proclamations.

[4] Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*.

[5] "The severe punishment of this unfortunate gentleman many people pitied, he being a person well known both for learning and other abilities; only his untempered zeal (as his countrymen gave out) prompted him to that mistake."—*Rushworth*. He was the father of the celebrated Archbishop Leighton.

ened and embittered by persecution, and by the whole tone and manner of Charles's court, which, be it said, though moral, or at least decent, compared with that of James, was far from being so pure and exemplary as it has been described by certain writers.[1] Being pretty well shut out from the pulpit, and hunted down in their conventicles—having no other valve through which to let off their rarified feelings—they had recourse to the shackled press. In Hilary term, 1634, by which time Laud was primate, Mr. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn,

William Prynne.—From a print by Hollar.

was brought into the Star Chamber, together with Michael Sparkes, "a common publisher of unlawful and unlicensed books," William Buckmer, and four other defendants, upon informations filed by the Attorney-general Noye.[2] The offence charged was, that Mr. Prynne, about the eighth year of Charles's reign (being the current year), had compiled and put in print a libellous volume, entitled by the name of *Histrio-Mastix; the Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedie;* which was directed against all plays, masks, dances, masquerades, &c. "And although he knew well that his majesty's royal queen, the lords of the council, &c., were, in their public festivals, oftentimes present spectators of some masks and dances, and many recreations that were tolerable and in themselves sinless, and so declared to be by a book printed in the time of his majesty's royal father; yet Mr. Prynne, in his book, had railed not only against stage-plays, comedies, dancings, and all other exercises of the people, and against all such as frequent or behold them; but further in particular, against hunting, public festivals, Christmas keeping, bonfires, and maypoles; nay, even against the dressing up of houses with green ivy." He was also accused of directly casting aspersions upon her majesty the queen, and of stirring up the people to discontent against his majesty the king, whom he had treated with "terms unfit for so sacred a person." The fact was that Prynne was a learned ascetic, who conscientiously believed that plays, and masks, and other sports, in which the queen and court indulged to excess, were unlawful to Christians; and he particularly attempted to demonstrate, in his book *of a thousand pages*, that "by divers arguments and by the authority of sundry texts of Scripture—of the whole primitive church—of fifty-five synods and councils—of seventy-one fathers and Christian writers before the year of our Lord 1200—of above 150 foreign and domestic Protestant and Popish authors since—of forty heathen philosophers, &c.—and of our own English statutes, magistrates, universities, writers, preachers—that popular stage-plays are sinful, lewd, ungodly spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions." Against masks and dancing (the last a dangerous thing to touch when there was a French queen on the throne) Prynne was equally severe. But the whole tenor of the book, according to Noye, was not less against the orthodox Church of England, than against their sacred majesties. "The music in the church," said the attorney-general, "the charitable term he giveth it is, not to be a noise of men, but rather a bleating of brute beasts: choristers bellow the tenor as it were oxen, bark a counterpoint as a kennel of dogs, roar out a treble like a sort of bulls, grunt out a bass as it were a number of hogs." Laud was also incensed at Prynne's bestowing some praise upon the factious book of Dr. Leighton. Prynne's book had been written four years ago, and the greater part of it had been printed, if not published, two years ago; but it happened that, at the moment it was mentioned to the king by the bishop, Henrietta Maria was rehearsing a part which she shortly afterwards acted in a play or pastoral with her maids of honour.[3] Hence every abusive term

[1] The letters of Garrard and of Conway, in the *Strafford Correspondence*, several of the contemporary memoirs, and even occasional passages and hints in Clarendon's great but one-sided work, will fully bear out our statement as to the morals of Charles's court. The words of Lord Sunderland have often been quoted. That nobleman, writing from the army *to his wife*, says that the indecency of the language he heard in the camp was so great, that it made him fancy himself *at court.—Sydney Papers.*

[2] Prynne had already undergone some persecution. He was one of the first to attack the arbitrary doctrines of Montague.—*Heylin*

[3] "That which the queen's majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour, are now practising upon, is a pastoral penned by Mr. Walter Montague, wherein her majesty is pleased

was held to be directed against her majesty. Charles was greatly exasperated, but it is said that he would have let the matter drop, and the author go unpunished, if it had not been for the activity of Laud and his chaplains. In mentioning that the tribunal was the Star Chamber, we have sufficiently indicated that Prynne's sentence must be atrocious. "For the book," said the Lord Chief-justice Richardson (encouraged into eloquence by the approving nods of Laud, who was present during the whole trial, as he generally was at all the most important or most arbitrary Star Chamber prosecutions), "for the book, I do hold it a most scandalous, infamous libel to the king's majesty, a most pious and religious king; to the queen's majesty, a most excellent and gracious queen (*he could not praise her religion because she was a Roman Catholic*), such a one as this kingdom never enjoyed the like, and I think the earth never had a better. It is scandalous to all the honourable lords and the kingdom itself, and to all sorts of people. I say eye never saw, nor ear ever heard of such a scandalous and seditious thing as this mis-shapen monster is. . . . . Yet give me leave to read a word or two of it, where he cometh to tell the reasons why he writ this book:—because he saw the number of plays, play-books, play-haunters, and play-houses so exceedingly increased, there being above 40,000 play-books, being now more vendible than the choicest sermons. What saith he in his epistle dedicatory, speaking of play-books?—They bear so big a price, and are printed on far better paper, than most octavo and quarto Bibles, which hardly find so good a vent as they; and then come in such abundance, as they exceed all number, and 'tis a year's time to peruse them over, they are so multiplied: and then he putteth in the margin Ben Jonson, &c., printed in better paper than most Bibles. . . . Stage-players, &c., saith he, none are gainers and honoured by them but the devil and hell; and when they have taken their wills in lust here, their souls go to eternal torment hereafter. And this must be the end of this monster's horrible sentence. He saith, so many as are in play-houses are so many unclean spirits: and that play-haunters are little better than incarnate devils. He doth not only condemn all play-writers, but all protectors of them, and all beholding of them; and dancing at plays, and singing at plays, they are all damned and not less than to hell. I beseech your lordships, but in a word, to give me leave to read unto you what he writes of dancing. It is the devil's profession, and he that entereth into a dance entereth into a devilish profession; and so many paces in a dance, so many paces to hell." All this was Puritanism run mad—the being righteous overmuch, at the expense of the lightest and brightest enjoyments of all ages and all climes; but how it could be made sedition, and almost high treason, we know not, unless it were by connecting it with the fact—which was not done openly—that the queen was a great dancer, and by holding it to be seditious and treasonable to hint that a queen could go to the place so often mentioned by the lord chief-justice. This high functionary, however, went on to make out his case upon other grounds. "He writeth thus: that Nero's acting and frequenting plays was the chiefest cause that stirred up others to conspire his death . . . . . And, in another place, that Tribellius Pollio relates that Martian, Heraclius, and Claudius, three worthy Romans, conspired together to murder Gallienus, the emperor, a man much besotted and taken up with plays, to which he likewise drew the magistrates and people by his lewd example. . . . . Now, my lords, that they should be called three worthy persons that do conspire an emperor's death, though a wicked emperor, it is no Christian expression. If subjects have an ill prince, marry, what is the remedy? They must pray to God to forgive him, and not say they are worthy subjects that do kill him." After sundry invectives, which the prisoner heard, standing behind that other fierce persecutor of the Puritans, Bishop Neile, the lord chief-justice concluded:—"Mr. Prynne, I must now come to my sentence; though I am very sorry, for I have known you long; but now I must utterly forsake you, for I find that you have forsaken God, his religion, and your allegiance, obedience, and honour, which you owe to both their excellent majesties, the rule of charity to all noble ladies and persons in the kingdom, and forsaken all goodness. Therefore, Mr. Prynne, I shall proceed to my censure, wherein I agree with my Lord Cottington:—First, for the burning of your book in as disgraceful a manner as may be, whether in Cheapside or Paul's Churchyard; for though Paul's Churchyard be *a consecrated place*, yet heretical books have been burned in that place.[1]

to act a part, as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English. Ben Johnson (who I thought had been dead) hath written a play against next term, called the *Magnetic Lady*."—Letter from Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, in *Sir H. Ellis.*

[1] In proposing the sentence of Michael Sparkes, the printer of Prynne's book, Cottington had said, "I do fine Sparkes £500 to the king, and to stand in the pillory, *without touching of his ears*, with a paper on his head to declare his offence, and it is most necessary in these times; *and for the pillory to be in Paul's Churchyard.*" Here Laud had exclaimed, evidently to the annoyance of Cottington, "*It is a consecrated place!*" "I cry your grace mercy," said my Lord Cottington; "then let it be in Cheapside."

This talking of consecrated places was rather new to the English Protestants; but Laud was now ceremoniously consecrating churches, churchyards, &c., to the horror of the Puritans. The lord chief-justice might have said that not only had heretical books been burned, but blood also spilt in St. Paul's Church-

And because Mr. Prynne is of Lincoln's Inn, and that his profession may not sustain disgrace by his punishment, I do think it fit, with my Lord Cottington, that he be put from the bar and degraded in the university; and I leave it to my lords the lord-bishops to see that done; and for the pillory, I hold it just and equal, though there were no statute for it. In the case of a high crime it may be done by the discretion of the court; so I do agree to that too. I fine him £5000; and I know he is as well able to pay £5000 as one-half of £1000; and perpetual imprisonment I do think fit for him, and to be restrained from writing—neither to have pen, ink, nor paper; yet let him have some pretty prayer-book, to pray to God to forgive him his sins; but to write, in good faith, I would never have him: for Mr. Prynne, I do judge you by your book to be an insolent spirit, and one that did think by this book to have got the name of a Reformer, to set up the Puritan or Separatist faction." Mr. Secretary Coke next fell upon the condemned prisoner, beginning with an unquestionable truth. "By this vast book," said the secretary, "it appeareth that Mr. Prynne hath read more than he hath studied, and studied more than considered, whereas if he had read but one sentence of Solomon, it had saved him from this danger. The preacher saith, Be not over just nor make thyself over wise, for why wilt thou destroy thyself?" Coke then proceeded to show the necessity of mildness and toleration to the vices of society, quoting Scripture again and again, but in rather an awkward manner, considering the monstrous intolerance which the court had shown to the prisoner. He insisted particularly that every man was not a fit reprehender of folly and vice—that Mr. Prynne had no invitation, no office, no *interest* to make himself a censor. But everything hitherto said was milk and honey compared to the gall poured forth by the noble Earl of Dorset. After complaining of the swarms of murmurers and mutineers not fit to breathe, he exclaimed, "My lords, it is time to make illustration to purge the air. And when will justice ever bring a more fit oblation than this Achan? Adam, in the beginning, put names on creatures correspondent to their natures. The title *he* hath given this book is *Histrio-Mastix*, or rather, as Mr. Secretary Coke observed, *Anthropo-Mastix;* but that comes not home—it deserves a far higher title, *Damnation*, in plain English, of *Prince, Prelacy, Peers, People*. . . . . My lords, when God had made all his works, he looked upon them and saw that they were good. This gentleman, the devil having put spectacles on his nose, says that all is bad; no recreation, no vocation, no condition good; neither sex, magistrate, ordinance, custom Divine or human; things animate and inanimate, all, my lords, wrapped up in *massa damnata*—all in the ditch of destruction." In some respects this was a just criticism of Prynne's book; but their lordships showed they could be more abusive than the Puritan. "Do you, Mr. Prynne," said the Earl of Dorset, "find fault with the court and courtiers' habits, with silk and satin divines? I must say of you, you are all purple within—all pride, malice, and all disloyalty; you are like a tumbler, who is commonly squint-eyed, who look one way and run another way; though you seemed, by the title of your book, to scourge stage-plays, yet it was to make people believe that there was an apostasy in the magistrates; but . . . . when did ever church so flourish, and state better prosper?" The courtier, who was an adept at long speeches, proceeded to draw an oratorical eulogium of the immeasurable virtues of Henrietta Maria. Nay, in the swing of his eloquence, he did not scruple to praise her religion, saying that her zeal in the ways of God was unparalleled, and if all its saints were as she, the Roman church was not to be condemned. Going even farther than this, he spoke as if he were privy to what passed between the queen and her confessor. "On my conscience," said he, "she troubleth her ghostly father with nothing, but that she hath nothing to trouble him withal." But then, changing this gentle tone, the noble Dorset again addressed the Puritan in the following words, which should be remembered whenever the reader is startled by the denunciations of the religious party:—"Mr. Prynne, I do declare you to be a schism-maker in the church, a sedition-sower in the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing, in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him £10,000, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth; I will not set him at liberty, no more than a plagued man or a mad dog, who, though he cannot bite, he will foam: he is so far from being a social soul that he is not a rational soul; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers like himself: therefore I do condemn him to perpetual imprisonment as those monsters that are no longer fit to live among men, nor see light. Now, for corporal punishment, my lords, I should burn him in the forehead and slit him in the nose, for I find that it is confessed of all that Dr. Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's; then why should Mr. Prynne have a less punishment? He that was guilty of murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loath he should escape with his ears,

yard. The horrid execution of the gunpowder conspirators, Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, Bates, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Guido Fawkes, had been performed at "the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard."

for he may get a periwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his conscience to make use of his unlovely love-locks on both sides. Therefore I would have him branded on the forehead, slit in the nose, and his ears cropped too."[1] The infamous sentence was executed with the additional barbarities proposed by the noble and gallant Earl of Dorset.

Between the first arrest and the punishment of Prynne, Charles had made a magnificent journey into Scotland, where the people, too forgetful of the effects of the last royal visit they had received from James, had been complaining of neglect—as if the king thought the ancient crown of Scotland not worth his journey thither. Charles was attended in this journey by Laud, it being a principal object with him to force the Liturgy, with all the innovations in the Anglican church proposed, or about to be proposed, by his favourite bishop, upon his Scottish subjects. The Scots received him with great demonstrations of joy; many of the nobility ruined themselves by feasting and entertaining his numerous court; and on the 18th of June, 1633, Charles was crowned at Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed, as of right, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews; but there were several circumstances in it which gave offence to the people. Laud, for example, rudely jostled and displaced the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was standing by the king's side, because that prelate had scrupled to officiate in the embroidered habits—very like the robes of the Roman hierarchy—which the English bishop had prescribed.[2] The introduction of a high altar, tapers, chalices, and genuflections, recalled the memory of the old religion, and the oil, and the unction, and other parts of the performance, all savoured to the majority of the Scots of the rankest idolatry.[3] The coronation was succeeded by a parliament—stratagem having been employed to secure the election of such lords of the articles as were noted for their entire and unscrupulous devotion to the royal will. They voted supplies with unprecedented liberality and promptitude. A land-tax of £400,000 Scotch, and the sixteenth penny of legal interest, were granted for six years. The harmony of the parliament was first disturbed by a question about the attire of the clergy; Laud and the king having made up their minds that the Scottish ministers should wear precisely the same garments as their English brethren. The subject seemed one of awful importance to many of the Scotch; and it was not trivial if taken in connection with other circumstances and the temper of the government. If Charles, by his arbitrary will, should impose the embroidered cope and the white surplice—which the people abominated as vestiges of Papistry—he might, by a like process, interfere with the most important rights and privileges of the nation. Silence now would assuredly be taken as a tacit submission to further encroachments. But the Scottish lords were not disposed to be silent. The aged Lord Melville, addressing himself to Charles, exclaimed, "I have sworn with your father and the whole kingdom to the *Confession of Faith*, in which the innovations intended by these articles were solemnly abjured." Charles was disconcerted and confounded by this bold remark; he rose, and withdrew to take council of himself and others. But soon he returned, repossessed of his authoritative tone; and when they resumed their deliberations, he haughtily commanded them not to debate, but to vote; and, refusing to separate the questions which they were willing to approve, from his copes and surplices, to which they objected, he produced a paper containing a list of the members, and said, "Your names are here; I shall know to-day who will do me service and who will not." The articles were rejected by fifteen peers and forty-five commoners, making a clear majority of the house: and yet the lord-register impudently reported them as affirmed by parliament. The Earl of Rothes boldly declared that the votes were erroneously collected, or falsely reported, and demanded a scrutiny. If Charles's conduct be correctly reported, it is decisive in itself of his whole character and temper. It is said that he stood up, and refused the scrutiny, unless the Earl of Rothes would, at his peril, take upon himself to arraign the lord-register of the capital and treasonable crime of falsifying the votes—a proceeding which would

[1] The very loyal Sir Philip Warwick, who never even mentions or alludes to the trial and barbarous punishment of Prynne, calls the Earl of Dorset, "a gentleman of great parts and elocution." Clarendon, as is usual with that great penman, gives the earl's character at greater length; but, though eulogistic, the violence, dissipation, and other vices of the man, shine through all his rhetorical varnish. Some years before this, Dorset, then Sir Edward Sackville, signalized himself by a murderous duel. According to Clarendon, "he entered into a fatal quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young nobleman of Scotland, the Lord Bruce, upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and, attended only by two surgeons, placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but upon the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, where the Lord Bruce fell dead upon the place; and Sir Edward Sackville being likewise hurt, retired into the next monastery."—*Hist.*

[2] Immediately before the coronation a sermon was preached by David Lindsey, then Bishop of Brechin, upon the text, 1 Kings v. 39—"And all the people said, God save King Solomon." During the coronation "it was observed that Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, who attended the king, being a stranger, was high in his carriage, taking upon him the order and managing of the ceremonies; and, for an instance, Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, being placed at the king's right hand, and Lindsey, then Archbishop of Glasgow, at his left, Bishop Laud took Glasgow, and thrust him from the king, with these words—'*Are you a churchman, and wants the coat of your order?*'"—*Rushworth.*

[3] *Rushworth; Spalding; Burnet.*

have involved the unsuccessful accuser in ruin; and, from the tone of the king and the timidity or subservience of that parliament, Rothes might well despair of establishing his accusation, however just. He was silent; the articles, though really rejected by a majority, were ratified in the Scottish manner by the touch of the sceptre; and the parliament was forthwith dissolved upon the 28th of June. Charles did not venture upon his English practice of imprisoning refractory members, but he studiously testified his high displeasure against those who had opposed his will. They were excluded from a lavish dispensation of honours and promotions; were received at court with reproaches or sullen silence; were turned into ridicule; were set down as schismatic and seditious men. Having made Bishop Laud a privy counsellor of Scotland, and heard him preach *in pontificalibus* in the royal chapel of Holyrood; having established "singing men"

Laud's Palace at Fulham.—Falkner's History of Fulham.

Archbishop Laud.—After Vandyke.

in the said chapel, and set up an episcopal see at Edinburgh, with a diocese extending over ancient Lothian from the Forth to Berwick, and with rich endowments in old church lands, which certain great nobles had, by a private and not unprofitable bargain, agreed to surrender, for the sake of example, to others; Charles made a posting journey to the queen at Greenwich, where he arrived after four days on the 20th of July. Laud, who was not so good a traveller, followed him by slow stages, and reached his palace at Fulham on the 26th. "On Sunday, August the 4th" (we use the prelate's own words) "news came to court of the Lord-archbishop of Canterbury's death, and the king resolved presently to give it me, which he did, August 6th. That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me seriously that vowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a cardinal. I went presently to the king, and acquainted him both with the thing and person." To be promised the primacy of the Anglican church, and a cardinal's hat from the pope, upon one and the same day, was a combination of circumstances of a very extraordinary kind! Under date of Saturday, August the 17th, he says: "I had a serious offer made me again to be a cardinal (*this seems to prove that he had not rejected the first offer in a very angry or decided manner*); I was then from court, but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, August 21st) I acquainted his majesty with it; but my answer again was, that *somewhat* dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is." At a later period, when the scourged, mutilated, and maddened Puritans were hunting Laud to the scaffold, he said, in alluding to this remarkable passage of his life: "His majesty, very prudently and religiously, yet in a calm way, the person offering it having relation to some ambassador, freed me from that both trouble and danger."[1] Some agent in the singular transaction let out the secret of the hat, the effect of which upon the Puritans may be conceived.[2] As he had already

[1] *Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud.*

[2] Hobbes, in his tractate *De Cive*, published some nine years after, alludes to the strange rumour, but treats it as an absurd

led the National church so far in its way to Rome, where would he stop short when he had become a prince of the Holy See? Having definitely settled the business of the cardinalate, Laud was formally installed in the archbishopric of Canterbury on the 19th of September.

He went on fearlessly with his high-handed proceedings in the church. But he had not waited for the primacy to begin these; for even during old Abbot's life he had obtained the almost entire disposal of bishoprics, and, as Bishop of London, had introduced numerous changes into the churches of his diocese, and the cathedral of St. Paul's, which he began to rebuild and beautify with money obtained, for the most part, in an irregular and oppressive manner. According to the doctrine of the majority of the English preachers and of the Reformed churches abroad, the Almighty cared not for temples built with hands; simplicity, as far as possible, removed from the pomp, the glare and glitter of the Roman church, was most acceptable unto Him, and a barn as good a temple as the vast and wondrous dome of St. Peter's itself, provided only those within it worshipped in sincerity and truth. Laud thought differently, as no doubt did many good and conscientious persons, who had long been representing that it was indecorous to worship God in places no better than stables. Soon after the death of Buckingham, when, as Bishop Laud, he "had great favour with the king," a proclamation was issued to the bishops for the repair of decayed churches throughout the kingdom. It was asserted in this royal ordinance, that by law the same ought to be repaired and maintained at the charge of the inhabitants and others having land in those chapelries and parishes respectively, who had wilfully neglected to repair the same, being consecrated places of God's worship and Divine service. His majesty charged and commanded all archbishops and bishops to take special care that these repairs were done, and by themselves and their officers to take a view and survey of them. The parishioners and landlords thought that a part, if not the whole of the expense, instead of falling solely upon them, ought to be defrayed out of the tithes which they paid; but what was calculated to produce still greater disgust was the concluding clause of the proclamation, wherein the bishops were ordered "to use the powers of the Ecclesiastical Court for putting the same in due execution; and that the judges be required not to interrupt this good work by their too easy granting of prohibitions."[1] That is, the judges were not to interfere to stop the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court in extorting money from the subject for the repairing and adorning of churches and chapels. Nor did Charles and Laud stop here; for in the month of May, 1631, a commission was issued, with the usual arbitrary forms, empowering the privy council "to hear and examine all differences which shall arise betwixt any of our courts of justice, especially between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."[2] Some three months before the issuing of this commission, Laud astonished the people of London by his newly made or revived ceremonial of consecrating churches. The first which he so consecrated was that of St. Catherine Creed, a London church, which had not been rebuilt, but only repaired, but which was pronounced by him to require the ceremony, because new timber and other materials, not consecrated, had been introduced. He proceeded to St. Catherine's in the greatest state, an infinite number of people of all sorts "drawing together," says his sympathizing biographer, Heylin, "to behold that ceremony to which they had so long been strangers, ignorant altogether of the antiquity and the necessity of it." In fact, the Romish aspect of the ceremony, from beginning to end, gave scandal and alarm to the majority of the spectators. To begin his repairs at St. Paul's with pomp and effect, he conducted the king thither in state, and after a fitting sermon Charles took a view of the dilapidations of the church, which appear to have been very serious. Soon after a commission was issued under the great seal, appointing money brought in for the purpose of repairs to be paid into the chamber of London, and declaring further, that "the judges of the prerogative courts, and all officials throughout the several bishoprics of England and Wales, upon the decease of persons intestate, should be excited to remember this church out of what was proper to be given to pious uses."[3] The clergy, being summoned by their ordinaries, gave towards the repairs of St. Paul's a kind of annual subsidy; Sir Paul Pindar gave £4000 and other assistance; the king contributed altogether about £10,000, Laud himself only £100 per annum. As more money was wanted, it was sought for in the arbitrary fines extorted in the Star Chamber and in the High Commission Courts, in which Laud was all prevalent, and where he carried two great objects at once, by intermeddling with men's consciences and private conduct, and by making their punishment contribute to his great object of rendering St. Paul's a kind of rival of St. Peter's. "He intended the discipline of the church," says Clarendon, in a striking passage, "should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid trans-

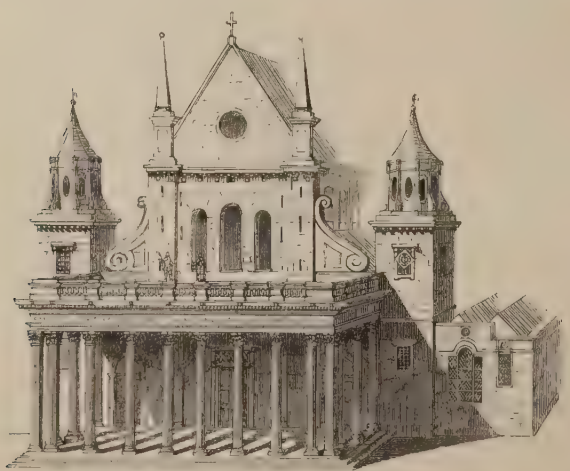
and malicious party calumny. But Laud's own diary had not then been made public, to show the man in his true colours as painted by himself.

[1] See the proclamation, dated the 11th of October, 1629, in *Rushworth*.

[2] *Rymer*.

[3] *Life of Laud*.

gressors as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished, the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment; and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the fines imposed there were the more questioned and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding St. Paul's Church, and thought, therefore, to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star Chamber more felt and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the church."[1] Well supplied with money from this curious variety of sources, and spurred by the active, impatient spirit of Laud, the workmen proceeded apace, but with more rapidity than good taste or attention to congruity. Inigo Jones restored the sides with a clumsy Gothic,



Inigo Jones' Portico, west end of Old St. Paul's.—After Hollar.

and threw up in the western front a fine Corinthian portico; but before the body of the work was finished the bishop was brought to the block; and during the Civil wars St. Paul's was converted into barracks for the parliament's dragoons. It got abroad that Laud, in speaking before his majesty, had expressed himself in favour of the rule of celibacy as imposed on all Roman priests by Pope Gregory, and in disparagement of the married clergy, saying that he, for his part, other things being equal, should, in the disposal of benefices, always give the preference to such clergymen as lived in celibacy. This was touching a most sensitive chord: there were some things in which the churchmen of the Establishment would willingly have resumed the ancient usage, but a return to celibacy was horrible and atrocious in their eyes. A loud and universal murmur warned Laud that he had gone too far. His retractation was adroitly managed. He immediately got up a marriage between one of his own chaplains and a daughter of his friend or creature Windebank, performed the nuptial service himself in a very public manner, and gave the married chaplain preferment. We have deplored the fanatical and barbarous destruction of works of art connected with the old religion: Laud—we can scarcely believe from mere taste—was most anxious to preserve such fragments as had hitherto escaped, and to supply the places of some of those which had perished. But the way in which he went to work only gave a fresh impetus to the iconoclastic fury. Mr. Sherfield, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder of Sarum, by direction of a vestry, and in accordance with acts of parliament and canons of the Reformed church, caused a picture on glass to be removed from the window of a church and broken to pieces.[2] Laud, thereupon, brought him up in the Star Chamber, maintaining that he had usurped on the jurisdiction of the bishop and that of his majesty as supreme head of the church. He there ventured to defend the use of painted images in places of worship, and counted among the evils which attended their destruction the keeping moderate Catholics away from church. Some members of the court presumed to hint that Laud was leaning towards Popery: but the majority sentenced Sherfield to pay £500 to the king, to lose his office of recorder, to find security that he would break no more images, and also "to make a public acknowledgment of his offence, not only in the parish church of St. Edmond's, where

[1] *History of the Great Rebellion.*

[2] The particular picture destroyed by Mr. Sherfield appears to have been barbarous in taste and offensive in other respects. The subject was the Creation. The poor recorder said in defence, "That the true history of the Creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one."

it was committed, but in the cathedral church itself, that the bishop, in contempt of whose authority he had played this pageant, might have reparation."[1] Upon Laud's first removal to the see of London, he presented to Charles a list of "considerations for the better settling of the church government." He proposed that the bishops should be commanded to reside in their several dioceses, *excepting those which were in attendance at court;* that a special charge should be given them against frequent and unworthy ordinations; and that especial care should be had over the lecturers, which, by reason of their pay, were the people's creatures, and blew the coals of their sedition. "For the abating of whose power," continues Laud, "these ways may be taken:—That the afternoon sermons in all parishes be turned into catechizing; that every lecturer do read Divine service according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, if in church or chapel, and if in a market town, then in a gown, and not in a cloak; that the bishop should suffer none under noblemen and men qualified by law to keep any private chaplain in their houses; that his majesty should prefer to bishoprics none but men of *courage*, gravity, and *experience in government;* that Emmanuel and Sydney Colleges, in Cambridge, 'which are the nurseries of Puritanism,' be from time to time provided with grave and orthodox men for their governors; that more encouragement should be given to the High Commission Court; that some course should be taken to prevent the judges from sending so many prohibitions,"[2] &c. Charles regulated his conduct according to these suggestions, and shortly after he issued his "regal instructions," which differed very slightly from the considerations presented by Laud, and included all the clauses except those relating to the Cambridge colleges and the High Commission Court, which it was neither necessary nor expedient to mention in public. Laud, upon the appearance of these instructions or injunctions, which were of his own devising and composition, summoned all the ministers and lecturers within the city and suburbs of London, and, making a solemn speech, pressed them all to be obedient to his majesty's orders, as being full of religion and justice, and advantageous to the church and commonwealth, although they were mistaken by some hasty and incompetent persons. But, at the same time, Laud projected several things which were good and laudable in themselves, without being opposed to the national liberties. Such were the buildings at St. John's College, Oxford, wherein he had been bred; the setting up a Greek press in London;[3] the appointment of a professor of Arabic at Oxford; the foundation of an hospital at Reading; all of which works were perfected in his lifetime. He had proposed to find a way to increase the stipends of poor vicars, but this remained an intention.

Maintaining the closest correspondence with Viscount Wentworth, now (1632) not merely President of the North, but also Lord-deputy of Ireland, Laud endeavoured to surround the king with persons devoted to his own views and interests. On the 15th of June, 1632, Francis Windebank, his old friend, whose daughter he had married to his chaplain, was sworn secretary of state; and in the month of July another old and sturdy friend, Dr. Juxon, then dean of Worcester, at his suit, was sworn clerk of his majesty's closet. "So that Windebank having the king's ear on one side, and the clerk of the closet on the other, he might presume to have his tale well told between them, and that his majesty should not easily be possessed with anything to his disadvantage."[4] If Laud had taken all to himself in the business of the church while only Bishop of London, he became far more absolute on his promotion to the primacy. He commanded like a pope of the fourteenth century. The communion-table, which, according to Clarendon, had not been safe "from the approaches of dogs," was, by an order of council, directed to be removed, in all cases, from the centre to the east end of the church, to be railed in, and called by its old Roman name of altar. Against disobedient priests, nay, even against neglectful churchwardens, were hurled the thunders of excommunication. Not merely painted glass began to reappear in the windows, but pictures in the body of the churches and over the altars. Laud was inexorable on the subject of surplices and lawn sleeves. Everywhere great pains were taken to give pomp and magnificence to the national worship, and a dignified or imposing appearance to the persons of the officiating ministers.

The more religious part of the Protestant com-

[1] *Cyprianus Anglicus.*

[2] *Rushworth.* Just at this time Mr. Bernard, lecturer at St. Sepulchre's Church, London, said, in his prayer before sermon—"Lord, open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry." For these words he was questioned in the High Commission Court, which declared the same to be scandalous and unadvised, and not to be repeated. The zealous preacher, however, escaped any severe punishment by making a very humble submission.—*Ibid.*

[3] The whole or part of the Greek type was, however, obtained in an arbitrary manner truly characteristic of Laud. The king's printers, in an edition of the Bible, had committed the very awkward mistake of omitting the word *not* in the seventh commandment, by which omission the decalogue was absolutely parodied. The bishop called in the impression, and called up the poor printers to the High Commission Court, which sentenced them to pay an exorbitant fine, with part of which Laud provided the Greek type for printing ancient manuscripts, &c.

[4] *Heylin.*

munity—the classes branded with the general name of Puritans—regarded these attempts with horror, and considered them as nothing less than an engine to batter down the pure worship, and destroy the pure worshippers of God.[1] They had delighted especially in evening lectures and extemporary prayers, wherein they were often carried away by their fervour to utter things displeasing to the court; Laud, by a stroke of his pen, suppressed the evening meetings and the extemporary praying. In the beginning of the month of October, 1633, there were complaints made to the council concerning church-ales and revels upon the Lord's-day in Somersetshire. The Lord Chief-justice Richardson and Baron Denham, being on the circuit in that county, thought it incumbent on them to issue an order, similar to divers others that had been made heretofore by the judges of assize, for the suppressing of these noisy sports. As soon as intelligence of this proceeding reached the ears of Laud, he complained of it to the king as an insolent invasion of his province; and the chief-justice was commanded to attend the council, where he was not only made to revoke his order, but also received "such a rattle, that he came out blubbering and complaining that he had been almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves."[2] The justices of peace, being much troubled at the revocation of the order, drew up a petition to the king, showing the great mischiefs that would befall the country if the Sabbath were not better kept, and if these meetings at church-ales, bid-ales, and clerk-ales, condemned by the laws, should now be set up again. The petition was subscribed by Lord Poulet, Sir William Portman, Sir Ralph Hopeton, and many other gentlemen of rank and fortune; but before they could deliver it to the king, a declaration came forth concerning "lawful sports to be used of Sundays," which was little more than a republication of King James's *Book of Sports*, which, after a time, had been disregarded and cast aside. After giving the whole of that document, Charles, or Laud, added, that his present majesty "ratified and published this, his blessed father's declaration; the rather because of late, in some counties, under pretence of taking away of abuses, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called wakes. Now," continued this *renvoi*, "his majesty's express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed. . . . And his majesty further commands all justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his majesty's laws. . . . And doth further will, that publication of this his command be made by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively."[3] The bishops, it should appear, were obedient enough; but many ministers, very conformable to the church in other respects, refused to read this order in their churches; for which some were suspended, some silenced from preaching and otherwise persecuted. This made men to look again beyond the Atlantic for some place where they might be free from the "haughty prelate's rage." At the same time Laud stretched his hands to Scotland and Ireland, making a sad turmoil in both countries; and Charles continued to issue proclamations without number, and on an infinite variety of subjects, from fixing the religion that people were to profess, down to fixing the price of poultry—from a prohibition of heresy to a prohibition of the abuses growing out of the retailing of tobacco. The power of Archbishop Laud kept daily on the increase, and certainly the proud churchman neglected none of the arts of a courtier, or those adroit compliances which smoothed his ascent. He had, however, now and then to sustain a check from the queen, whose influence over Charles seemed to grow with years and troubles, and with his now cherished plan of governing like a king—like a very King of France—without intermeddling and impertinent parliaments. Henrietta Maria's temper was almost as difficult to manage as a sturdy Puritan's conscience; at times she conceived plans connected with her religion, and exacted services which startled even the boldness of the primate. But, soon after, Laud was put into the Commission, or, as he calls it, the Great Committee of Trade and the king's revenue. On March the 14th of the following year he was named chief of the Board of Commissioners of the Exchequer, appointed upon the death of Lord Weston (recently created Earl of Portland), the lord high-treasurer. After presiding over the board for about a year, he induced the king to make his friend Juxon, Bishop of London, lord high-treasurer; in doing which, he did not "want some seasonable consideration for the good of the church."[4] His biographer says that Bishop Juxon was a most upright man, yet it was generally conceived that the archbishop, in making this appointment, neither consulted his present ease—for which he should have procured the treasurer's white staff

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.*

[2] *Heylin.*

[3] *Rushworth.*

[4] *Heylin.* "No churchman," says Laud himself, "had it since the time of Henry VII. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the church may have honour, and the king and the state service and contentment by it."—*Diary.*

for Cottington, who had long been chancellor of the exchequer, and who looked to the staff almost as his due[1]—nor his future security; for which he ought to have advised the delivery of

Bishop Juxon.—From a print by Vertue.

the staff to some popular nobleman, such as the Earl of Bedford, Hertford, or Essex, or Lord Say.[2] It is quite certain that several great noblemen, who had borne rather patiently with Laud's tyranny in church and state, became very patriotic after the disposal of this high and lucrative office; and it is almost equally certain that Juxon was an honester man than most of his predecessors. It is difficult to conceive a learned body carrying baseness and adulation farther than was practised at this time by the university of Oxford, the proceedings of which, in Puritan notions, verged on idolatry and blasphemy. They gave Laud the title of Holiness, which the Papists bestowed on the pope, and they applied to him the other title attached to the tiara, of "Summus Pontifex." They told him in their Latin epistles that he was "Spiritu Sancto effusissime plenus," "Archangelus, et ne quid minus," &c.[3]

And even when this vision of vain-glory was departing from him, Laud maintained that these expressions, so offensive to Protestant ears, so inapplicable to frail humanity, were proper and commendable, *because* they had been applied to the popes and fathers of the Roman church. Not satisfied with coercing men's consciences in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was determined to establish an uniformity of worship, including all his innovations, wherever there was an English colony or factory—wherever a few subjects of the three kingdoms were gathered together for the purpose of commerce, or even for the military service of foreign states. In 1622, when his power and influence were in their infancy, he offered to the lords of the council certain considerations for the better and more orthodox regulation of public worship amongst the English factories and regiments beyond sea. He never forgot or neglected a scheme of this kind; and as soon as he attained to the primacy he procured an order in council for the observance of the Anglican Liturgy by the factories in Holland and the troops serving in that country, and a chaplain of his own choice was sent to the factory at Delft to establish this orthodoxy, and to report the names of all such as should prove refractory. What made the case the harder, was the fact that nearly all the soldiers, and most of the merchants, were Scotch or English Puritans who had abandoned their own country for the sake of liberty of conscience. "The like course was prescribed for our factories in Hamburg, and those farther off; that is to say, in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian islands, the plantations in Virginia, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade. The like was done also for regulating the Divine service in the families of all ambassadors abroad."[4] In his paper, presented to the council in 1622, Laud had also proposed reducing the French and Dutch churches in London to conformity; and now, having vexed the Scotch and English who had fled abroad for religion, he proceeded to harass the Dutch and the French who had fled to England for the same cause. The French were all Huguenots, or extreme Calvinists, and, as such, hateful in the eyes of this Summus Pontifex. Without condescending to ask the concurrence of his master, he addressed to the French church in Canterbury, and to the Dutch churches in Sandwich and Maidstone, the three following questions:—1. Whether they did not use the French or Dutch Liturgy? 2. Of how many descents they were, for the most part, born subjects of England? 3. Whether such as were born subjects would conform to the Church of England? These foreign congregations in Kent declined answering these interrogatories, and pleaded the national hospitality which had been extended to them when they fled from Papal persecution, and the privileges and exemptions which had been granted to them by Edward VI., and which had been confirmed, not only by Elizabeth and James,

[1] In his diary Laud marks the months of May, June, and July (1635), as being stormy or troublesome months on account of the commission for the treasury, "and the differences which happened between Lord Cottington and himself." And upon Sunday, the 12th of July, he notes that his old friend Sir F. W. (Francis Windebank), forsook him, and joined with the Lord Cottington, which put him to the exercise of a great deal of patience, &c. [2] *Heylin.* [3] *Troubles and Trials.* [4] *Heylin.*

but also by Charles himself. Laud, who cared little for these solemn pledges given to industrious and ingenious classes of men, who, in some respects, had essentially improved the country which they had chosen for their home, issued an order as absolute as a pope's bull, that such as were natives should regularly attend their parish churches, and (a condition as weighty as their conformity) contribute in money to the support of the Anglican clergy; and that such as were aliens should use the English Liturgy in their own places of worship, faithfully translated into their own language. The Protestant refugees were troubled and dismayed as if a new Duke of Alva was thundering at their doors: they sought a respite by addressing a humble petition to the primate. Laud answered it in the very tone of a Hildebrand of the old time; and finally told them that he had the power and the right of enforcing obedience, and that they must conform at their peril by the time appointed. Hereupon the refugees presented a petition to the king, who left it without any answer. Soubise, who, like many others of the French Protestants, had been precipitated into ruin by the mad expedition ordered by Charles and conducted by Buckingham, was now in England, and he took charge of a second petition, and pleaded to his majesty of England the danger of fresh persecutions of the Protestants in France, if it should be seen that their brethren were discountenanced and oppressed in the country of their choice.[1] The reasonings of this nobleman made a deep impression; but all that Charles would grant was, that those who were born aliens might still enjoy the use of their own church service. But even this concession was limited to the province of Canterbury: in the province of York, where the foreign congregations were weaker in numbers, money, and friends, Laud's original injunctions were imposed. In consequence of this persecution, some thousands of industrious families quitted the kingdom.

Laud, primate and first peer of England, seems to have imagined that there could be no limits to his authority. He was already chancellor of Oxford, and now he would visit both universities by his metropolitan right, and not by commission from the king as had been customary. It appears to have been proved that no Archbishop of Canterbury, since the beginning of the fifteenth century, had ever visited either university *jure metropolitano*. But after much talk Laud had his will, and, "plumed thus in his own feathers, all black and white, without one borrowed from Cæsar, he soared higher than ever."

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1635—1638.

CHARLES I.

Laud's aversion to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln—Its causes—Persecution of Williams by the archbishop—The bishop tried in the Star Chamber—He is heavily fined and imprisoned—Laud's proceedings against the liberty of the press—His severe censorship of publications—His persecution of Bastwick, Prynne, and Burton in the Star Chamber for their writings—Severe sentence passed upon them—Similar persecution and punishment of Lilburne and Warton—Negotiation of Charles with the court of Rome—The negotiation followed by fresh concessions to the Catholics—Power of Wentworth—His proceedings as president of the Council of the North—His despotic government in Ireland—He convokes the Irish parliament, and browbeats it into submission—The whole of Connaught claimed as crown land—Wentworth's iniquitous proceedings to make good the claim—Trial and punishment of Lord Mountnorris—Wentworth perseveres in his tyrannical rule—His attacks on the Presbyterians of Ulster—The war of the Palatinate—Gustavus Adolphus slain at Lützen—Death of the Palatine Frederick—His sons invited into England—War between Holland and Flanders—Controversy about the dominion of the sea—War in Westphalia by the sons of the Palatine—The levying of ship-money in England—Its origin—Its conditions—Resistance made to its imposition—Account of John Hampden—His love of independence—His uncompromising career as a patriot—He refuses to pay ship-money—The trial on the occasion—Arguments on the trial for and against the levying of ship-money—Resistance encouraged by the trial.

THE intriguing Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and ex-lord-keeper, was not only still alive, but a sort of favourite with the people on account of his unquestionable talent, eloquence, and address, his munificence, his hospitality, and his harsh treatment by the court, which had induced him, like many

[1] Charles was also told that Cardinal Richelieu had said, that if a King of England, who was a Protestant, would not permit two church disciplines in his kingdom, it could not be expected that the King of France, who was a Catholic, would allow of two religions in his kingdom. From the beginning to the end of the chapter, Protestant intolerance was the best whetstone for the sharpening of Roman persecution.

others, to lean to the side of the patriots. At the instigation of his lord and master, Buckingham, this prelate had helped Laud over the first difficult steps of church promotion, and Laud had assured him that his life would be too short to requite his lordship's goodness. But when Laud rose, and Williams declined, the former hated the latter as the only churchman and statesman that was likely to check his absolute dominion. The intensity of this feeling on the part of Laud was a tribute to or acknowledgment of the abilities and *savoir faire* of Williams. He dragged the ex-lord-keeper into the Star Chamber,[1] for, in addition to his former ground of enmity, Williams had published a tract entitled *The Holy Table*, in which he lashed with much wit and some learning Laud's love for high altars, &c., and he had, moreover, refused to surrender his deanery of Westminster, which the primate would at one moment have accepted as a peace-offering, *because*, lacking the deanery, Williams would have had no pretexts for his frequent visits to London, and the primate, by a high exercise of his authority, could have kept him to his diocese among the fens of Lincolnshire, far away from court and the resort of public men and politicians. "Would he have quitted his deanery, perhaps he might have been quiet;"[2] but Williams had lost his old pliability, and his indignation against Laud made him bold. After a series of iniquitous and arbitrary proceedings on the part of Laud, his servant Windebank, and his master Charles, who threw witnesses into prison to make them swear what they wanted, browbeat the judges, and removed Chief-justice Heath, putting in his place one "who was more forward to undo Lincoln than ever the Lord Heath was to preserve him;" a compromise was effected, chiefly by the means of Lord Cottington. The business was made the easier by the king's great want of money. Cottington, as the result of his negotiations to save the ex-lord-keeper from entire ruin, told Williams that he must part with £4000, with his deanery, and two commendams. Williams did not object to the money, but he stickled about the preferments. Cottington returned to court, and then to the disgraced bishop with new terms, that is, that he should pay another £4000 in lieu of surrendering the deanery and commendams. The bishop held up his hands in amazement at it. "But you will lift your hands at a greater wonder," said Lord Cottington, "if you do not pay it;" and he consented to "satisfy the king." The money was paid wholly or in part, and in return a royal pardon was proffered to Williams, who hesitated at accepting it, because it contained a statement of offences of which he held himself to be entirely innocent. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Laud worked afresh upon the king, who, without restoring the money he had received for a free and full pardon, allowed of a new prosecution in the Star Chamber. Williams was there charged with tampering with witnesses in order to procure evidence favourable to his cause.[3] (The court and the archbishop had not merely tampered with witnesses to elicit evidence *unfavourable* to the accused, but had also imprisoned witnesses, threatened them with ruin, and menaced the judges;[4] and there was not a member sitting in the Star Chamber but must have known these notorious facts.) On the ninth day of the proceedings, Cottington, who had forsaken Williams probably from a fear of consequences, stood up and said, that the bishop had sought and wrought his own overthrow; and then, proceeding to sentence, Cottington proposed that Powel should be fined £200, and Walker, Catlin, and Lunn, other servants or agents of the bishop, £300 a-piece. "And," said this gentle friend in conclusion, "for my Lord-bishop of Lincoln, I fine him at £10,000 to the king, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, and to be suspended from all his ecclesiastical functions, both *ab officio et beneficio;* and I refer him over to the High Commission Court to censure him as they think fit."[5] After Finch, Sir John Bamston, Secretary Windebank, Sir Thomas Germine, the lord-treasurer (Bishop Juxon), and the three noble Earls of Lindsey, Arundel, and Manchester, had spoken in the same sense, most of them paying a compliment to Williams' abilities, learning, and high rank in church and state, but not one of them recommending any diminution of his punishment, the triumphant Laud stood up and delivered a speech, which has justly been characterized as one of the most detestable monuments of malice and hypocrisy extant.[6] He openly declared that the new offence was Williams' *not submitting in silence to the accusations laid against him.* When St. Cecilia was charged unjustly with many things, and all the stream and current was quite against her, she called no one to prove her innocence, but used the saying of holy Job, *testis meus est in cœlis*—my witness

[1] Before star-chambering Williams, Laud indirectly got a bill filed against him for betraying the king's counsels, but the charge was so frivolous, that it was thrown out by the privy council. At this juncture, Williams made a humble submission, and presented a petition to the king, who promised that this accusation should be quashed; but Charles afterwards permitted it to be made one of the charges against him in the Star Chamber processes.—*Life of Williams.*

[2] Letter from Garrard to Wentworth, in *Strafford Papers.*

[3] During the iniquitous process other charges were introduced

[4] When Williams asked Lord Finch, one of his judges, why he had so used an old acquaintance, Finch replied, "he had been soundly chidden by his majesty, and would not destroy himself for any man's sake."

[5] *Rushworth.*

[6] Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles I.*

is in heaven—and so, said Laud, ought the Bishop of Lincoln to have done.[1] He assured the Star Chamber that many ill-disposed persons had boldy given out that Williams had not committed any fault whatever, "only that he was rich, and must be let blood, and the king wanted £10,000 or £12,000. But," continued Laud, "howsoever these reports go, the king is just as he is honourable." He concluded his very long speech by saying that he should, therefore, agree with my Lord Cottington, and the rest that went before him, for the fine of £10,000 to his majesty, for the imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, for the suspension from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, and for turning Williams over to be proceeded against in the High Commission Court.[2]

The Bishop of Lincoln, who had revelled in the good things of the church, who had been a whole diocese in himself, was forthwith shut up in the dismal state prison, and the agents of government, amongst whom, by special appointment, was a furious enemy, were let loose to fell his timber, to kill his deer, to consume his stores, and to sell his moveable property for payment of his enormous fine. But this was not revenge enough for Archbishop Laud, who wanted to change suspension into deprivation, imprisonment into deportation. Soon after he got possession of some private letters from Osbaldeston, the learned master of Westminster School, which letters were addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, and contained much scurrilous abuse of the "little urchin," the "vermin and meddling hocus-pocus"—terms which Laud maintained could apply only to himself. Upon the evidence of these letters, or rather of the archbishop's interpretation of the offensive passages, the Star Chamber sentenced Osbaldeston to deprivation and branding, and to stand in the pillory with his ears nailed to it in front of his own school; but the poor schoolmaster was fortunate enough to escape the search of the officers, and he left a note to say that he was "gone beyond Canterbury." All the wrath of the primate fell, therefore, upon Williams, who was condemned to pay a further fine of £8000.

The licensing of all new books was in the power of Laud. There was nothing new in this; Milton had not yet written his glorious argument in defence of unlicensed printing; the liberty of the press, which was not established in reality till long after, had scarcely entered as an idea into the head of any one; and the Archbishops of Canterbury had long been considered censors by right of their spiritual dignity and office. But what was really new was Laud's method of exercising this function. Hitherto many works, not strictly in accordance with the views of the High Church party and of the court, had been permitted by indolence or indifference, or connivance, to go abroad into the world. Now, on the contrary, such strictness was used, that nothing could pass the press without the approbation of Laud, or of his substitutes and dependents. The printers, finding that their business was almost destroyed by the tediousness, uncertainty, and severity of his censorship, bethought themselves of employing their type in reprinting old books of divinity, and works already licensed by former archbishops. But Laud would allow of neither new nor old without his *imprimatur*, and against some of these old books he had a particular spite; and he procured from the Star Chamber, which was now set above all law and all reason too, a decree, of the most sweeping and tyrannical kind, which went to hinder the printing at home, and the importing from abroad, any manner of book that did not please him.[3] There was one particular book which had gone through various editions, and which all zealous Protestants loved, and perhaps esteemed next to the Bible; it was the *Acts and Monuments*, more commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*, of the Puritan Fox. This book was unsavoury to Laud on many accounts, and forthwith he struck it with his fiat that it should be printed no more. At the same time he refused new licenses to Bishop Jewel's works, and to other books formerly printed by authority.[4] Divinity and law had suffered the most degrading punishments and the mutilation of the hangman's scissors, in the persons of Leighton and Prynne, and now, while one of those sufferers was to pass through fresh tortures, the other faculty was to be struck in the person of Bastwick, a physician. In Trinity term, 1637, this Dr. Bastwick, together with Prynne, still a prisoner in the Tower, and Henry Burton, a bachelor in divinity, were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy of the church, and to the scandal of the government. The details we have given of preceding cases will have sufficiently explained the course of Star Chamber proceedings. We may therefore pass at once to the sentence, which was—"That each of the defendants should be fined £5000; that Bastwick and Burton should stand in the pillory at Westminster, and there lose their ears; and that Prynne, having lost his ears before by

[1] *Rushworth.* Laud said that "for his majesty he was very inclinable to have had a fair reconcilement, as might appear by his often asking *what* Lincoln *did; doth he seek to repair my credit? hath he any show of sorrowfulness for his fault?*"

[2] *Rushworth.*

[3] *Rushworth.*

[4] Among these was the *Practice of Piety*, a work which had gone through thirty-six editions.

sentence of this court, should have the remainder of his ears cut off, and should be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L., to signify a seditious libeller." These execrable barbarities were all publicly performed on the 20th of June, the hangman rather sawing than cutting off the remainder of Prynne's ears; and then they were sent to solitary confinement in the castles of Launceston (in Cornwall), Lancaster, and Caer-

Launceston Castle, Cornwall.—Devon and Cornwall Illustrated.

narvon.[1] The king was told that not less than 100,000 persons had gathered together to see Burton, the minister, pass by, and that much money had been thrown to his wife, who followed him in a coach; but Charles would not be warned. As Prynne went through Chester, on his way to Caernarvon Castle, one of the sheriffs with several other gentlemen met him, and conducted him to a good dinner, defrayed his expenses, and gave him some coarse hangings or tapestry to furnish his dungeon at Caernarvon. Money and other presents were offered, but refused by Prynne. Laud forthwith despatched a pursuivant to bring the sympathizing sheriff to London.[2] The three captives were afterwards removed out of the way of their friends to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly; "the wives of Bastwick and Burton not being allowed, after many petitions, to have access unto them, nor to set foot in the island; neither was any friend permitted to have access to Mr. Prynne."[3]

A.D. 1638. About six months after the punishments above described, John Lilburne and John Warton were *star-chambered* (the practice had become so prevalent that people had made a verb for it) for the unlawful printing and publishing of libellous and seditious books, entitled *News from Ipswich*, &c. The prisoners both refused to take an oath to answer the interrogatories of the court, Lilburne saying that no free-born Englishman ought to take it, not being bound by the laws of his country to accuse himself.[4] Upon the 9th of February the Star Chamber ordered that, as the two delinquents had contemptuously refused to take the oaths tendered to them, they should be remanded to the Fleet prison, there to remain close prisoners, and to be examined; and that, unless they yielded to take the said oaths, they should be proceeded against for contempt on the Monday following. Upon the 13th of February they were again brought to the bar of the Star Chamber, and still continuing in their former obstinacy, their lordships adjudged and decreed that Lilburne and Warton should be sent back to the Fleet, there to remain until they conformed themselves—that they should pay £500 a-piece as fines, for his majesty's use—and, before their enlargement, find good sureties for their good behaviour. "And," continued the sentence, "to the end that others may be the more deterred from daring to offend in the like kind hereafter, the court hath further ordered and decreed that the said John Lilburne shall be whipped through the streets from the prison of the Fleet unto the pillory, to be erected at such time and in such place as this court shall hold fit; and that both he and Warton shall be set in the said pillory, and from thence returned to the Fleet."[5] To make the whipping the longer, and to have the punishment performed near to the court which had decreed it, the pillory was placed between Westminster Hall gate and the Star Chamber; and to that point Lilburne was smartly whipped all the way from his prison. But this enthusiast had a spirit which was not to be subdued by the scourging of his body. "Whilst he was whipped at the cart, and stood in the pillory, he uttered many

[1] "The main scope of their libels," said Laud in the Star Chamber, "was to kindle a jealousy in men's minds, that there are some great plots in hand; dangerous plots (so says Mr. Burton expressly) to change the orthodox religion established in England, and to bring in I know not what Romish superstition in the room of it: as if the external decent worship of God could not be upheld in this kingdom, without bringing in of Popery."—*Rushworth.* [2] *Strafford Letters.* [3] *Rushworth.*

[4] In consequence of this speech, John Lilburne was ever afterwards called "Free-born John."

[5] *Rushworth.*

bold speeches against tyranny of bishops, &c.; and, when his head was in the hole of the pillory, he scattered sundry copies of pamphlets (said to be seditious), and tossed them among the people, taking them out of his pocket; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then sitting, being informed, immediately ordered Lilburne to be gagged during the residue of the time he was to stand in the pillory, which was done accordingly; and, when he could not speak, he stamped with his feet, thereby intimating to the beholders he would still speak were his mouth at liberty."[1] The Star Chamber, moreover, ordered that Lilburne "should be laid alone, with irons on his hands and legs, in the ward of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put;" and that the warden should prevent his getting any books, letters, or writings, or his seeing any of his friends; taking care at the same time to note who the persons were that attempted to visit him, and

John Lilburne.—From a picture by Glover.

report their names to the board. Soon after, however, a fire breaking out in the prison, he was removed to a better place, where he had more light and air.—We shall soon meet John Lilburne again.

While these transactions were spreading horror and disgust through England and Scotland, fresh religious alarms were excited by a mysterious negotiation with the court of Rome, and the arrival of Gregorio Panzani, an envoy from the Vatican, who was courteously received by Charles and his queen, by Lord Cottington (a Catholic in disguise), and by Secretary Windebank. Panzani had frequent interviews with Montague and some other of the bishops; but Laud cautiously kept away from these conferences, which are said to have turned almost entirely on the possibility of re-uniting the Anglican and Roman churches. The Italian had a very limited commission, and, as an acute and observing man, it was not difficult for him to perceive the insuperable obstacles which existed in the resolute opinions of the English people. He soon returned to Rome; but two accredited agents to the queen, Rosetti, an Italian priest, and Con, a Scotch priest, arrived, and were entertained at London. At the same time Henrietta Maria sent an agent of her own to reside at Rome. And though proselytism, which the queen ever had much at heart, made no progress among the people, it was otherwise with the court gentry, among whom several sudden conversions were witnessed and paraded. Not only were the old penal laws allowed to sleep, but fresh favours and indulgences were daily shown to the Catholics—not out of toleration, for that blessed spirit would have prevented Charles from persecuting the Protestant sectarians, but as a tribute paid to the still increasing influence of the queen, and to the slavish devotion to the crown professed by the members of the old church.

By this time Laud had accumulated upon himself a burden of hate heavy enough to crush any man; but his bosom friend Wentworth was not much behind-hand with him, having been as tyrannical in state matters as Laud had been in ecclesiastical. From the moment of his apostasy, his rise, or, as it has been rather happily called, his "violent advancement," was most rapid. President of the North, a privy councellor, baron, and viscount—"the Duke of Buckingham himself flew not so high in so short a revolution of time." But if his promotion was rapid, his devotion to the principle of despotism, his activity, his boldness, and, for a time, his success in serving the government as Charles wished to be served, were all extreme. There was no post in England which offered so large a field for tyranny and lawlessness as that of the presidency of the Council of the North; and

[1] No doubt Laud had the gags ready; for Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, while suffering their punishment, had addressed the people, "who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropped." In writing to the Lord-deputy Wentworth, the primate says—"What say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city; and that, when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else. . . . You observe most rightly that these men do but begin with the church, that they might after have the freer access to the state; and I would to God other men were of your lordship's opinion, or, if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal, for timely prevention; but, for that, we are all too secure, and will not believe there is any foul weather toward us till the storm break upon us."—*Strafford Letters.*

there never was a man put in it so apt to take the full range of the power it conferred as Thomas Wentworth. The Council of the North—an offspring of blood and tyranny—was first erected by Henry VIII. after the suppression of the great insurrection of the northern provinces, known by the name of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This council had a criminal jurisdiction over all Yorkshire and the four more northern counties, in cases of conspiracies, riots, and acts of violence. It had also, in its origin, a jurisdiction in civil suits, or at least the faculty of deciding causes, when either of the parties litigating was too poor to bear the expenses of a process at common law. But, as far back as the time of Elizabeth, the judges had held this latter authority to be illegal. Indeed the lawfulness of the whole tribunal, which was regulated at the arbitrary will of the court, expressed in instructions under the great seal, had always been very doubtful; and, unless it was pretended to exclude that important part of England from the benefits of that great national act, it had become more problematical than ever since the passing of the Petition of Right. But, heedless of these considerations, Wentworth immediately began to enlarge the jurisdiction of his court; and he was seconded by the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the privy council. It has been fairly observed that the soliciting or procuring such inordinate powers as these, and that too, by a person so well versed in the laws and constitution of his country, was of itself ground sufficient for an impeachment. But Wentworth not only obtained these powers, but abused them when he had got them, to gratify his own pride and lust for domineering, or to strike terror into the hearts of the party he had abandoned, and of all who sought to oppose arbitrary measures. He ruled like a king, and like a despotic king, uncontrolled by parliaments or laws, and his name became a word of terror through all the north. Several of his prosecutions of gentlemen of rank and influence were personally vindictive, and carried on with a most rancorous spirit. In 1633, without resigning the presidency of the North, he obtained the still more important and unchecked post of Lord-deputy of Ireland. Dublin was as much better a field for such a man than York, as York was better than London. The ordinary course of affairs in Ireland was in the main lawless and absolute. Even in times when the sovereign professed more reverence for the laws and constitution, the Irish people were treated by the lord-deputies in much the same fashion in which the rayah subjects of the Turkish empire were treated by the pashas. It was in Ireland chiefly that Wentworth raised himself to that bad eminence which is now as everlasting as our annals and language: and yet, in spite of all his dark deeds, his government was for a time in some respects advantageous to the country. Before his arrival there were hundreds of tyrants, but where Went-

THOMAS, BARON WENTWORTH, Earl of Strafford.
After Vandyke

worth was there could be no tyrant save himself; his bold and grandiose despotism swallowed up all smaller despotisms. He put down at once the oppressions and malversations of his subordinates; and in the offices of government and the whole administration of affairs, where there had been nothing but a chaotic confusion and unprofitable waste, he introduced and maintained something like economy and order. He saw, however, from the beginning, that little or nothing could be done without calling together an Irish parliament; and, confident in his own powers of intriguing, imposing, and domineering, he ventured to recommend that measure to his master as one of expediency, and which, under his management and control, would be perfectly harmless. His arguments were put with great skill and force; but he encountered some difficulty in obtaining the consent of Charles, who now hated the very name of parliament. "As for that hydra," writes the king, "take good heed; for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid; and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than is fit for me to give. This I would not say if I had not confidence in your courage and dexterity, that, in

that case, you would set me down there an example what to do here."[1]

Wentworth omitted no arts, no cajolery, promises, or threats, to prepare beforehand for a submissive assembly. He told some of the leading men that it was absolutely in their power to have the happiest parliament that ever was in that kingdom; that nothing was wanting thereunto but their putting an absolute trust in the king, without offering any condition or restraint at all upon his royal will. The bronze-faced renegade, who had himself made the loudest thunder that had been heard in the English House of Commons, bade them take warning by the fate of *that* house, and be wise by others' harms. They were not ignorant, he said, of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years, and therefore they were not to strike their foot upon the same stone of distrust.[2] Even his admiring friend, Archbishop Laud, appears to have blushed at this daring piece of effrontery. Wentworth, however, obtained his object in a promise that no bills should be introduced but such as were agreeable to him; and he then opened the parliament with royal pomp, delivered a speech which might have served Milton as a model for the harangue of the proud Lucifer himself, and forthwith demanded and obtained the extraordinary grant of six subsidies. When the second session came, in which the parliament were to debate upon the grievances of the country, they were cut short, *ab initio*, taunted, reviled, menaced, by the man who had made them solemn promises in the king's name, *and by the king's express orders*, but who, by his commanding person and manners, and overwhelming eloquence, made them appear like criminals before an inflexible and upright judge, and hold their timid tongues. He was not backward in claiming his reward for these very acceptable services; he wanted to change his viscountship for an earldom, and applied to his master, "not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting any body with it." Charles acknowledged "that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambition;" but he would not give him what he asked for; and the reason for his refusing is as clear as it is characteristic of the king: he wished his lord-deputy to bear the whole odium of deceiving and tyrannizing over the parliament; and, therefore, he abstained from hastening to honour his true and accepted servant. If Wentworth's mad ambition, and his enjoyment in the present possession of arbitrary power, had permitted him to reflect upon these things, and upon the mind of his master, as partially disclosed in his letters,[3] he must inevitably have foreseen his own fate; but he went on as he had begun, sharpening the axe for his own neck, whenever it should suit Charles to deliver him up as a sacrifice.

Charles and his lieutenant, not satisfied with refusing any more grants of the crown lands in Ireland, suddenly laid claim to all the lands in the province of Connaught. It was maintained that this great province had fallen to the crown through the forfeiture of an Irish rebel, as far back as the reign of Edward IV. Since that time it had been granted out in parcels by patents, which the occupants and the courts of law also long considered to be good titles in all respects. James had listened to the tempting arguments of his crown lawyers, who undertook to demonstrate that the said patents were worth nothing, and that all Connaught was his; but he had not ventured upon the experiment of actually seizing it. Nor was it the design of his son to take absolute possession of all the province; it was rather to frighten men out of their money, by making them believe that they held their property by an insecure tenure. The men of Connaught were told that they must produce their titles, and surrender them, when proved defective, to the king's majesty, who, upon such terms as he might choose, would grant them valid titles to their property. The lord-deputy, who had told Charles that he had made him as absolute a king in Ireland as any prince in the whole world could be,[4] proceeded, at the head of a commission, to hold an inquisition in each county of Connaught. Beginning at Roscommon, he summoned a jury composed of "gentlemen of the best estates and understandings." These gentlemen were instructed beforehand, that it would be best for their own interests to return such a verdict as his majesty desired, since he was able to establish his right without their consent, and wished only to settle the cause on a proper basis, intending graciously to reinvest them legally with what they now held unlawfully. These threats and the artful and

[1] *Strafford Letters.* Of the arguments used by Wentworth to persuade the king to permit the calling of the Irish parliament, that which had the most weight with the king was, that if the parliament, when called, did not vote its money freely, and behave submissively in all things, it could be summarily dissolved, and then its misconduct would be a good cover to whatever arbitrary proceedings Charles might please to institute. Or, in Wentworth's own words, "then their unthankfulness to God and the best of kings becomes inexcusable before all the world, and the regal power more warrantably to be thereafter extended for redeeming and recovering your majesty's revenues thus lost, and justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them."—*Ibid.* It will be understood that both the king and the lord-deputy wanted nothing of parliament but its money, and that this want alone reconciled them to the necessity of calling it.

[2] *Strafford Letters.*

[3] In the very letter in which Charles refuses to gratify Wentworth with the earldom, he says:—"I must tell you, that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for keeping of the envy of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that that people expected from me."—*Ibid.*

[4] Ibid.

imposing eloquence of Wentworth, prevailed in the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo; but in county Galway, which was almost entirely occupied by Irish and Catholics, a jury stood out manfully against the crown, and, as Wentworth expressed it, "most obstinately and perversely refused to find for his majesty." The lord-deputy, who had not threatened without a resolution to execute his threats, forthwith levied a fine of £1000 on the sheriff, for returning so improper a jury, and he dragged all the jurymen into the Castle Chamber, which was *his* Star Chamber, where they were condemned in fines of £4000 a-piece. He then endeavoured to bring about the destruction of the Earl of Clanricarde and of other great proprietors of the county; to seize the fort of Galway; to march a good body of troops into the county, and take possession of the estates of all such as were not ready to comply with the king's will.[1] Some of these suggestions, and the mode proposed for carrying them into execution, were detestable; but Charles hastened to express his cordial approbation of them. The Galway proprietors, who were certainly not aware of this fact, for they had been by Charles's management induced to believe that the harshness proceeded, not from him, but from the malice and tyranny of his lieutenant, sent over agents to represent their case to his majesty. Charles received them at Royston, and met their complaints with reproaches, telling them how undutiful they had been; and, in the end, he sent them back to Ireland as state prisoners. Old Clanricarde, whose virtuous and high-minded son had headed the deputation, died a few weeks after these tyrannical proceedings. "It is reported," says Wentworth, in a letter to his master, "that my harsh usage broke his heart: they might as well have imputed unto me for a crime his being threescore and ten years old." Lord Mountnorris, Vice-treasurer of Ireland, after enjoying for a brief space the friendship of Wentworth, incurred his high displeasure, which blighted every object upon which it chanced to fall. The vice-treasurer was accused of extortion and corruption; but Wentworth and his creatures could not make good this charge. A gouty foot and some hasty words stood him in better stead. It chanced that a relation of Lord Mountnorris, in moving his stool, struck Wentworth's gouty member, and that the accident was spoken of at the table of Loftus, the chancellor. "*Perhaps*," said Mountnorris, "it was done in revenge; but he has a brother who would not have taken such a revenge." For these hasty words, which were repeated by some spy, Mountnorris was proceeded against as a "delinquent in a *high and transcendent* manner against the person of his general and his majesty's authority." As he held a commission in the Irish army, it was resolved to try him by a court-martial, over which Wentworth presided as commander-in-chief. This court sentenced his lordship to be cashiered, to be publicly disarmed, and then to be shot. It was not the intention of the lord-deputy to take his victim's life in this manner; he only wanted to grind him to the dust—to humiliate him by making it appear that he owed his life to his enemy. He recommended the prisoner to the royal mercy, and Charles remitted the capital part of the sentence. But Mountnorris was kept a close prisoner, separated from his wife and children, stripped of all his offices and emoluments, and treated in other respects with the greatest harshness. But the tale of infamy is not yet complete. Strafford wanted Mountnorris's place of vice-treasurer for Sir Adam Loftus; and, knowing that such patronage was generally sold, he placed £6000 in the hand of his friend Lord Cottington, who was to distribute it in those quarters where it would prove the most effectual. "I fell upon the right way at once," said Cottington, in return; "which was, to give the money to him that really could do the business—*which was the king himself;* and this hath so far prevailed, as, by this post, your lordship will receive his majesty's letter to that effect; so as there you have your business done without noise."[2] Soon after this precious transaction, Wentworth came over to pay a visit to court, where his master received him with open arms, but where the Earl of Holland and the queen's party were intriguing to bring about his overthrow. After visiting his presidency of the North, he returned to Dublin, to lengthen and darken the list of his iniquities. Wentworth, though long passed the heyday of youth, was a notorious libertine; and one of the victims of his seduction was the daughter of Loftus, the Lord-chancellor of Ireland, the wife of Sir John Gifford. Sir John claimed from his father-in-law, the chancellor, a large settlement on his wife and her children. The chancellor refused. Thereupon Wentworth offered the dishonoured husband the resources of his Star Chamber, and the head of the law in Ireland was brought into the Castle Chamber at the suit of Gifford. That board decided against the chancellor, who challenged its authority, and maintained that the cause ought to be tried in the ordinary courts of law. As Wentworth was well aware of the existence of powerful enemies in court and country, as his connection with the lady, the wife of the plaintiff, was no secret, it might have been expected that he would have been glad to let this

[1] As the Galway lawyers had incensed him by their courageous pleadings, he also proposed that they should be called upon to take the oath of supremacy, or to abandon their profession.

[2] *Strafford Letters.*

delicate matter drop; but any opposition to his arbitrary will blinded him to all considerations of danger or shame. He represented to his master that this was pernicious contumacy; and Charles, who had a wonderful reverence for Star Chamber tribunals, sent him what he wished—an order to take the seals from Loftus, to turn him out of the council, and to throw him into a prison until he should submit to the award. The lord-chancellor, who was a very old servant of the crown, appealed to Charles, but without any effect; and, to regain his liberty, he complied with the award of the Castle Chamber, and made his submission to the man who had first seduced his daughter, and then sought to enrich her by forcing money from her parent. The outcry was now tremendous, but, loud as it was, Wentworth deafened the king's ear to it, by constantly urging the licentiousness of the people's tongues, and their proneness to censure all such as were by the will of God placed in authority over them. He made it a merit in the eyes of his master that he was so unpopular, which he said arose solely from his contending to establish and enforce his majesty's authority.

Wentworth proposed making a settlement on a grand scale in Connaught, where the lands, which had been seized for the crown, were to be occupied by a very obedient and thoroughly orthodox (in Laud's sense) set of English, if such could be found; but there were several serious obstacles to this scheme, and before he could make much progress in it the Civil war broke out in England. He, however, made a beginning to plantations in Ormond and Clare, and this Laud declared to be a marvellous great work for the honour and profit of the king, and safety of that kingdom. It appears, however, that Wentworth's tyranny, both in religious and civil matters, made the English and Scottish emigrants, who were all Dissenters, prefer the wilds of America to the pleasant banks of the Shannon.[1]

The lord-deputy also began a crusade against the Presbyterians established in Ulster. It will be remembered that a very unsuccessful attempt had been made to colonize that great province in the time of Elizabeth. It is an anomaly, but quite certain, that James met with better success in the same enterprise. Soon after the flight of the great Earl of Tyrone, the brave O'Dogherty, the leader of the insurgents, was driven back to the bogs and mountains, where he was killed by a chance shot. His followers thereupon dispersed; and nearly the whole of the country, or 2,000,000 acres, was declared to be the lawful prey of the crown. This enormous tract of land was separated into lots or portions, varying from 2000 to 1000 acres each. The larger lots were reserved for undertakers, or adventurers of capital from England and Scotland, and for the military and civil officers. The smaller lots were divided among these and the Catholic natives of the province. It was regulated that the Scotch and English colonists should occupy the hilly country and all the strong positions, and thus isolate and gird in the native Irish, who were to have their allotments in the plains; but this scheme was widely departed from in practice, as the settlers naturally preferred the fertile soil of the plains to the moors and morasses of the mountains. Several of the native chieftains were allowed to retain possession of the poor and hungry country, but some 100,000 acres were planted by the new comers, who were chiefly Scotch, and who, not less by their prudence than their bravery, kept the province in a tranquil state. Now Wentworth, who was called by Laud a glorious champion of the church, and who was resolved to make all Ireland as conformable as England, fiercely interfered with the kirk of these spirited and industrious colonists, threw many of their elders into prison, and banished many of their ministers who would not conform to what they considered an idolatrous form of worship. These preachers returned to their parent hive in Scotland, whence there soon issued such a swarm as darkened the sun of the house of Stuart.

During the whole of this interval the apparently interminable business of the Palatinate had engaged such a portion of public attention as the people of England could spare from their home affairs. From the first entrance into Germany of Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of Protestantism, the weak Frederick had adhered to the victorious Swede, who had promised to reinstate him in the Palatinate, upon condition of his holding it as a dependency and tributary of the Swedish crown. But Gustavus Adolphus ended his extraordinary career on the 6th of November, 1632, when he was killed in the battle of Lützen, near Leipsic. The Swedes, notwithstanding his loss, gained a complete victory; but the Palatine Frederick saw in his death the ruin of all his hopes, and exclaiming, with a broken heart, "It is the will of God!" he took to his bed, and expired eleven days after at Mentz, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. In dying he expressed a faint hope that the King of England would show his fraternal affection for his widow, and be a protector or father to his children. But Elizabeth applied in the first place to the States of Holland, as her best friend next to Heaven, imploring their protection for herself and her orphans; and the States continued to her the same pensions they had paid to Frederick. Charles

[1] *Strafford Letters.*

sent over the Earl of Arundel to condole with his sister, and then to proceed on a mission to the emperor. Elizabeth was indignant at what she called her brother's meanness of spirit, and she predicted that Arundel's mission, which was to intercede for the restoration of the Palatinate to her innocent children, would be altogether fruitless: and so indeed it proved. Soon after this Charles rejected a treaty proposed by Cardinal Richelieu, in which a leading clause was the restitution of the Palatinate to his nephew, and was well-nigh forming an alliance with Spain and Austria against the Dutch, his sister's only friends. In the year 1635 he, for the first time, invited into England Charles Louis and Rupert, sons of the Palatine, whose conduct and behaviour, particularly in church-time, was closely watched by Archbishop Laud, for their father had been hated on account of his Calvinism or Puritanism, and it was suspected that the taint was strong upon his children.[1]

In the same year the Dutch in league with the French invaded Flanders by land, and invested Dunkirk by sea. It should appear that some of the Flemish plotters, upon the failure of their secret negotiations with his English majesty, had bargained with the United Provinces; but the Dutch were very odious to the common people of Flanders on account of their religion, and both they and the French troops behaved so insolently that the country people rose against them and drove them out, while the English fleet "persuaded powerfully the Hollanders to remove from before Dunkirk."[2] In the month of December, shortly after the arrival of the Princes Charles Louis and Rupert, when Henrietta Maria was delivered of a second daughter, the States "sent hither to congratulate her majesty a solemn embassy and a noble present." But it was not a compliment and a present of this kind that could make up the differences between Charles and the Dutch, or between the Dutch and the English people; for the latter felt that the massacre at Amboyna, and other injuries, had not yet been avenged, and there was an old and increasing jealousy about the Hollanders fishing in their waters, and almost monopolizing the profitable trade in herrings—circumstances which could hardly have arisen except from their own inferiority as fishermen, their want of industry and enterprise, or the want of a proper navy to protect them.[3] For a time the Dutch had paid a certain sum yearly, even to King James, for the privilege of taking herrings off the Scottish coast, but they had now not only ceased to make these payments, but had encroached in other places, and had attempted to establish as a point of international law that the seas and every part of them, wherever salt water flowed, were free to them and other nations, without any limitations as to coast lines, &c. In this sense they had employed the great publicist Grotius to write his *Mare Liberum*. Our great Selden took up his pen and answered Grotius, in his treatise (published in 1635,) entitled *Mare Clausum*, wherein he laboured to establish the British right of dominion over the narrow seas. But this was a question not likely to be settled by the pens even of great writers; and in the following year, 1636, Charles, who, by means presently to be described, had got together a fleet, gave the command of sixty sail to the Earl of Northumberland,[4] who seized and sunk a few of the Dutch busses in the northern seas, near to the Scottish coast.

After this assertion of dominion over the circumjacent seas, the States hastened to acknowledge the right of our island over its own friths, bays, and shores, and agreed to pay Charles £30,000 a-year for liberty to fish there. In the same year Captain Rainsborough sailed with a small squadron to the Barbary coast, where, being assisted by the Emperor of Morocco, he destroyed the shipping and town of Sallee, whence daring pirates had been accustomed to watch the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, and even to extend their depredations to the English coast. In the month of February, 1637, the Emperor Ferdinand II., the inveterate enemy of the Palatine Frederick, departed this life, and was succeeded by Ferdinand III., who, it was imagined, might be more favourably disposed towards the outcasts. Therefore, Charles again despatched the pompous Earl of Arundel into Germany. The embassy was of no effect.[5] To free himself from the importunities of his nephews, who had now been nearly two years in England, Charles gave them £10,000, with his permission to make war in whatever manner they might think fit for the recovery of their inheritance.[6] The young men sailed to Holland with the assistance of Lord Craven, who was chival-

[1] Laud says in his diary, "December 25, Christmas Day. Charles Prince-elector received the communion with the king at Whitehall; he kneeled a little beside on the left hand; he sat before the communion on a stool by the wall, before the traverse, and had another stool and a cushion before him to kneel at."

It is evident that the young elector knew the archbishop's consequence, and endeavoured to win his favour.

Other entries in the diary about the same time show this. We find the king's nephew at Lambeth Palace "at solemn evening prayer." On another occasion he comes suddenly upon the archbishop, dines with him at Lambeth, &c.

[2] *Whitelock.*

[3] The Dutch sent out ships of war with their fishing smacks or busses, and the fire of their guns often drove the English and Scots from their fishing-grounds on their own coasts.

[4] Northumberland's commission, under the privy seal, was signed on the 23d of March.—*Rymer*

[5] *Whitelock.*

[6] *Strafford Letters.*

rously attached to their mother—still the Queen of Hearts—raised an insignificant force, and threw themselves into Westphalia, where there remained about 2000 Swedish veterans still in arms against the emperor. When the prince's mercenaries joined the Swedes, they gained a few trifling advantages; but they were driven from their siege of Lippe, and in their retreat were intercepted by the Imperial general, Hatzfeldt. Charles Louis, the elder brother, fled like a selfish coward, abandoning his friends on the field; but young Rupert gave proof of that fiery courage which the soldiers of the English parliament afterwards experienced to their cost; he fought till victory and escape were alike hopeless, and then he would have died rather than surrender his sword, if it had not been for Lord Craven. Charles Louis, the elector, was arrested some time after, as he was attempting to pass in disguise through France; and Cardinal Richelieu, with very little regard to his quality and high connections, shut him up in the castle of Vincennes. That great master of his craft, before their hair-brained expedition into Westphalia, had endeavoured to drag the English into a war with Spain, and the emperor into an alliance offensive as well as defensive with France; and Charles, who was apt to be transported with sudden passion, and who never had any fixed system of foreign policy, in his first rage at the failure of the earl-marshal's negotiations in Germany, gave ear to the charmer. But the Spanish ambassador, who had obtained an inkling of these secret negotiations, came forward with new delusive promises about the Palatinate, and Charles remained firm to the advice of Wentworth, who was of opinion that no foreign war ought to be undertaken until despotism was firmly established at home.[1]

We may now pass to the more proximate causes of the great Civil war—the arbitrary levying of ship-money, the trial of Hampden, and the enforcing of the reading of the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. Noye, the turncoat and attorney-general, who, according to Clarendon, was "wrought upon by degrees by the great persons that steered the public affairs to be an instrument in all their designs, turned his learning and industry to the discovery of sources of revenue, and to the justifying of them when found—thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony that his knowledge in the law was greater than all other men's, than by making that law which all other men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of soap, and with his own hand drew and prepared the writ for ship-money; both which will be the lasting monuments of his fame."[2] In hunting among the old records the attorney-general found that not only had the seaport towns been occasionally made to furnish ships for the service of the crown, but that even maritime counties had, in early time, been called upon to do the same; and that, though few, there were instances of the like demands being made upon inland places. With the assistance of the Lord-keeper Coventry, who highly approved of the project, he induced the king to require this aid of his subjects, as a right inherent in him, and wholly independent of the parliament. And, having set on foot this arbitrary demand, Noye died almost immediately, without proposing the extreme lengths to which his scheme was subsequently carried. The first writ was issued by the lords of the council "for the assessing and levying of the ship-money against this next spring," on the 20th of October, 1634. It was signed by the king, and addressed to the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, and to the sheriffs and good men in the said city, and in the liberties thereof. The king commanded them to prepare and bring forth before the 1st day of March one ship of war of 900 tons, with 350 men at the least; one other ship of war of 800 tons, with 260 men at the least; four other ships of war, of 500 tons, with 200 men for each; and another ship of war of 300 tons, with 150 men. They were further ordered to supply these ships with guns, gunpowder, spears, and all necessary arms, with double tackling, and with provisions and stores; as also to defray at their charges, for twenty-six weeks, the men's wages, and all other things necessary for war. The common council and the citizens humbly remonstrated that they conceived that, by their ancient liberties, charters, and acts of parliament, they ought to be freed from any such charges; but the privy council scorned their remonstrance, and compelled them to submit. At the beginning of the following year, 1635, the writs, after being served along the sea-board, were sent into the inland counties, with very comprehensive instructions signed by Laud, Juxon, Coventry, Cottington, and the rest of the privy council. Money was asked for instead of ships, at the rate of £3300 for every ship; and the local magistrates were empowered to assess all the inhabitants for a contribution. The sheriffs were enjoined to regulate the payments so as to be most equal and agreeable to the inhabitants of their counties; but, when any person refused or neglected to pay, they were without delay to execute the writ, causing distresses to be made, and their goods to be sold for payment of their assessments and the just charges arising therefrom. His majesty had not made up his mind whether his clergy should be taxed

[1] *Strafford Letters;* D'Estrade's *Memoirs and Letters; Carte.*

[2] *Hist.*

or not, but was pleased that, for the present, they should be assessed for this service, but with great care and caution.

But all this gilding of the pill could not make people swallow it; and many, especially of the gentry, expressed great discontent at this new assessment, as an imposition against law and the rights of the subject.[1] For a time, however, all opposition was overpowered or intimidated by the bold front of the government. The deputy-lieutenants of Devonshire wrote to the council in behalf of some inland towns, that they might be spared from this tax, which they called a novelty: they were dragged up to London, and severely reprimanded for what the council considered their impertinent interference. The people in some of the little seaports on the Sussex coast absolutely refused to pay ship-money, but they submitted when they found that extensive powers had been given to the sheriffs, and that their goods would be seized. This was at the first blush of the experiment; but when it was carried out and tried all over the country, there did not appear, for a short time, any more strenuous and courageous resistance. The timid knew that to remonstrate, however respectfully, was to incur persecution—such had been the course pursued during the whole reign; the unthinking multitude of the people in easy circumstances looked at the smallness of the amount demanded from them, and considered it not worth the trouble and certain expense of a dispute with the government—not reflecting that the present attempt was but a gentle fingering of the public purse, an experiment to ascertain how the people of England would part with their money at the call of the crown without consent of parliament. In this sense, to a thinking patriot, a sixpence ought to have been as important as £1000; and many men, presently, viewed the case in its true light. In several places actions were brought against those who had forcibly collected the ship-money; and the judges of assize, who had been instructed to inculcate the duty of submission, were not listened to with much respect. Then Charles demanded from the twelve judges an extra-judicial opinion, in order that he might have the appearance of proceeding according to law. The case was submitted to them in these words:—"When the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great seal of England, command all the subjects of our kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as we shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness? And whether, in such case, is not the king the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?" It appears that two of the judges were doubtful as to the point whether the king should be sole judge of the danger, but the rest started no difficulty of any kind, and, in the end, they unanimously returned an answer in the affirmative to every part of the royal question. It is said that the king obtained this opinion from the judges by declaring that it was merely for his own private satisfaction, and not meant to be binding or to be published; but it was forthwith, and by his order, read publicly in the Star Chamber (now the centre of all business) by the Lord-keeper Coventry. Yet this publishing of the opinion of the judges of the land rather provoked than quieted resistance. Richard Chambers, that courageous London merchant, who had already suffered so much in the good cause, had brought an action against the lord-mayor for imprisoning him on account of his refusal to contribute. The mayor had pleaded the king's writ as a special justification; and the plaintiff had been refused a hearing by Berkeley, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who had declared that there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law might be done by the rule of government. Charles, and Laud, and Wentworth would have canonized such an upright judge as this; who afterwards declared in a charge to the grand jury of York, that ship-money was an inseparable flower of the crown. But foul and arbitrary as was the judgment seat, there was one, a wealthy English gentleman, of the true old Saxon stock, that was resolute to face it and expose it, and, thereby, aided by his own importance in the country and by troops of friends entertaining the same high notions, to bring the whole question to issue.

This man was the immortal John Hampden, one of the few living gentlemen of England that could trace their family in an unbroken line from the Saxon times. He was born in 1594, and in his infancy succeeded to his father's immense estates, situated chiefly in the county of Buckingham. He studied at Oxford (at a time when Laud was master of St. John's) and then in the Inner Temple, where he made himself acquainted with the common law. His mind was well stored with literature, his manners refined, his person and countenance impressive and handsome. Even from the testimony of his bitterest enemies he may be safely set down as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of that time, as one whose great moral courage was accompanied by a most

[1] *Whitelock.*

winning amiability of temper. When a mere stripling he had the good sense to despise honours and titles, which then flowed from such a sullied source, and to overrule the silly vanity of his mother, who yearned to see him made a lord,[1] a promotion *then* (as his mother ought to have known, for it was in King James's time) attainable only through money or a base favouritism. In 1619 Hampden married a young lady of a good family in Oxfordshire, to whom he was ever tenderly attached; and, shunning the city and the court, he led the enviable life of a country gentleman, endeared to his tenantry and to all his neighbours, amusing himself with his books and field sports. But, in 1621, when the whole nation was indignant at the disgraceful government of James, and when that sovereign was compelled, by want of money, to meet the parliament, Hampden took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Grampound, then no rotten borough, but a place of some wealth and importance. It was at the same time that that "great, brave, bad man," Wentworth, first entered the House of Commons, and being then, or pretending to be, like Hampden, most zealous for the reform of abuses, and for securities against the encroachments of the prerogative, the two ancient-descended and wealthy commoners became associates and friends. Wentworth was the more confident, boldly spoken, and eloquent of the two, and from the first he spoke frequently in the house: Hampden had a cooler judgment, and the better sagacity; he was less eloquent, a great deal less confident, and for a long time he spoke rarely and briefly, modestly attending to learn the duties of a parliamentary life, and working industriously in the committees. At the same time he cultivated the closest intimacy with the learned Selden, the indefatigable and daring Pym, the undaunted Eliot, and other men of that stamp. If, as a school, it was not perfect, this was certainly one of the most favourable and noble of schools for the training of a young patriot. In the parliament of 1624 Hampden again took his seat for Grampound. In 1625, when Charles summoned his first parliament, he was returned for the borough of Wendover, a town in the neighbourhood of his paternal estates, which had just before recovered its right, partly through his own exertions, to be represented in the House of Commons.

JOHN HAMPDEN.[2]

In the next parliament, which met after Buckingham's enterprise against Cadiz, Hampden was again returned for Wendover; and he was engaged on several of those memorable committees which shook both the favourite and the king. On the breaking up of that parliament, when Charles set on foot his forced loan, Hampden resolutely refused to contribute; and, on being asked why, he made this curious and striking reply:—"That he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in Magna Charta which should be read twice a-year against those who infringe it." The privy council, refusing his own recognizance to appear at the board, sent him a close prisoner to the Gate-house. After appearing before these willing tools of despotism, and refusing again to pay his money without warrant of parliament, he was relegated to one of his manor-houses in Hampshire. But in 1626, made more conspicuous by his sufferings in the cause of liberty, Hampden again took his seat for Wendover, and was one of the most important debaters and committee men during that most important and stormy session. In 1628, when the reforming party was indignant at the desertion of Wentworth, Noye, and others, Hampden took his seat again, and became more conspicuous in parliament than he had ever been before. He was now

[1] "If ever my son will seek for his honour, tell him now to come; *for here is multitudes of lords a-making*. . . . I am ambitious of my son's honour, which I wish were now conferred upon him, that he might not come after so many new creations." —MS. letter, written about the year 1621, from Mrs. Elizabeth Hampden to Mr. Anthony Knyvett, as quoted from Harl. Collect., Brit. Mus., by Lord Nugent.—*Some Memorials of John Hampden, his Party, and Times.*

[2] From the statue by J. H. Foley, A.R.A., in St. Stephen's Hall, New Palace of Westminster. This portion of the New Palace is a spacious corridor leading to the great central hall, and from that to the House of Peers and House of Commons. It stands on the spot where the House of Commons stood for many centuries, and is adorned with statues of men who rose to eminence by the eloquence and abilities which they displayed in that house.

in his thirty-fifth year, in the prime and vigour of manhood; and the country had learned to consider him as a champion that no tyranny could intimidate, that nothing could corrupt. At the end of that short session he saw his friends Eliot, Selden, Hollis, and others, committed to the Tower. Hampden again retired into private life, looking forward with a confident hope for the day when the despotic principle should be carried to its excess, and when the patriotic band should awake like giants refreshed by a long sleep, and crush the hydra at once and for ever. From his pleasant solitude in Buckinghamshire he corresponded with his "honoured and dear friend Sir John Eliot, at his lodging in the Tower;"[1] and he performed almost the part of a father by the captive's two sons. He returned to the studies of his earlier life, and more particularly to those of constitutional law and history. Foreseeing the consequences of Charles's proceedings, he made himself familiar with the works of the great Italian historians, who had treated like soldiers and statesmen, as they were, the convulsions and campaigns that had occurred in Italy, in France, and in the Low Countries. He also frequented the Lord Falkland's house at Tew —"that college situate in a purer air"[2]—for the high-minded Falkland and Hampden, whose names are coupled in an immortal verse, were then near and dear friends, wishing alike for the improvement of government both in church and state. At Tew Hampden was wont to meet, among other distinguished men, the learned, witty, and original Dr. Earles, fellow of Merton College; Dr. Morley, afterwards the excellent Bishop of Winchester; and Dr. Hales, the Greek professor of Oxford, who was still more distinguished by gentleness and toleration than by his great learning. To men of this temper and taste, the persecution then so actively carried on by Laud must have appeared most odious and unwise.

In 1634 Hampden lost his beloved wife, and his mind, which had always been of a religious turn, became more serious and devout under the pressure of affliction. He was taxed with Puritanism, as were all men who entertained liberal opinions in politics, or who disliked the new church ceremonies, and the inquisitorial proceedings of the primate. When Charles demanded ship-money, Hampden resolved to make a bold and decisive stand, and he refused payment. He had taken advice in this great business from Holborne, St. John, Whitelock, and others of his legal friends, as to the means of trying the issue at law. Encouraged by his example, thirty other freeholders of his parish, of Great Kimble, in Buckinghamshire, refused payment. Almost as soon as the opinion of the judges on the legality of ship-money was recorded, the crown lawyers were ordered by the king to proceed in the Court of Exchequer against Hampden, as the chief defaulter. The point in law was argued in Michaelmas term, 1637, on the part of Hampden by Oliver St. John and

Oliver St. John.—After C. Janssen.

Robert Holborne—on the part of the crown by the attorney-general, Sir John Bankes, of Corfe Castle, and the solicitor-general, Sir Edward Littleton. The cause began on the 6th of November, and lasted to the 18th of December. All the judges were present, and particularly argued this great point on the bench. According to the courtiers, this was a miserable stir about twenty paltry shillings—for this, and no more, was the sum demanded from Hampden; but the men who loved their country looked to it as the manly assertion of a great and holy principle, as the weightiest cause that could be decided between the sovereign and the people. The crown lawyers insisted on ancient precedents from the Saxon times downwards, and they dilated upon the fairness and lightness of the impost and the pittance demanded from the wealthy Mr. Hampden.[3] On the other hand, Hampden's counsel maintained that the law and constitution of England had sufficiently provided for the defence of the kingdom without the novelty of ship-money. St. John went on to urge the usefulness and power of parliaments as summoned by the old sovereigns in times of danger. The Kings of England, he observed, in moments of danger, had ever had recourse to their parliaments, and the aids demanded by them and granted by parliament were most numerous. If

[1] See Hampden's autograph letter in Lord Nugent's *Memorials*.
[2] Clarendon, *Hist.*
[3] *State Trials.*

they had assumed the right of judging of the danger, and providing for it of their own right, by exacting money from the subject, this could hardly have been the case, it being "rare in a subject, and more so in a prince, to ask and take as a gift, that which he might and ought to have of right, and that, too, without so much as a salvo or declaration of his right." The very asking of benevolences and loans proved that the crown possessed no general right of taxation. If it had possessed such a right it would have taxed and not borrowed. The loans of former times had in some cases been repaid expressly to clear the king's conscience, *ad exonerandum conscientiam.* And that very arbitrary prince Henry VIII., who felt it inconvenient to repay what he had borrowed, could not sit down with a comfortable mind till he had obtained from parliament acts to release him from the obligation. Hampden's advocates relied upon Magna Charta, and especially upon the Confirmatio Chartarum of Edward I., which clearly abrogated for ever all taxation without consent of parliament; and they made still more account of the famous statute *De Tallagio non Concedendo* of Edward III. That warlike sovereign had often infringed this right of the subject, but the parliament never ceased to remonstrate, and, in the end, the conqueror of France was obliged to conform to the law. In the second year of Richard II., when the realm was in imminent danger of a formidable invasion from France, the privy council called together the peers and other great men, who freely lent their own money, but declared that they could not provide a sufficient remedy without charging the commons, which could not be done out of parliament, and therefore advised the immediate summoning of a parliament. This precedent was strong against the plea of peril and necessity, on which the defenders of ship-money wished to make it appear that they relied. But St. John and Holborne met that specious plea more directly. They stated broadly the overwhelming force of actual war and invasion which had power to silence for the time of danger even the sacred voice of the law: they admitted that, in an invasion, or the immediate prospect of one, the rights of private individuals must yield to the safety of the whole; that the sovereign, and even each man in respect of his neighbour, might then do many things that would be illegal at other seasons. Such had been the case in 1588, when the liberties and religion of the people were put in jeopardy by the Spanish Armada. But *now* there was no danger; England was at peace with all the world, and the piracies of a few Turkish corsairs and the insolence of some rival states could not be reckoned among those instant perils for which a parliament would provide too late. But, after all, their great and unanswerable argument was founded, not upon precedents and rolls of ancient times, "when all things concerning the king's prerogative and the subject's liberties were upon uncertainties,"[1] but upon the Petition of Right, which was not yet ten years old; and, as it has been well remarked, Charles himself was fully aware of the restrictions which that statute imposed when he so unwillingly but solemnly gave his assent to it and passed it into a law. By this assent he renounced all gifts, loans, benevolences, taxes, or any such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament. This was his own deed—his own contract—let the proceedings of his predecessors be what they might. It swept away all contrary precedents—it stood armed at all points against any such imposition as ship-money—its voice was so loud and clear that the meanest intellect could comprehend it. But the court lawyers thought to overlay it with words—to bury it under the weight of the late attorney-general's musty records. "I shall insist," said Sir John Bankes, "upon precedents, and herein I shall desire you to take notice that these writs have not issued out at the first upon any sudden advice, but that there was a great search made, first by my predecessor Mr. Noye, a man of great learning and profound judgment; other searches made by the king's counsel, and some others; and a great number of records were considered of, and maturely, before these writs issued; so nothing was done upon the sudden." He quoted instances—all very old ones—and cavilled on the more modern and intelligible statutes. But this was not enough to serve their purposes, and so Bankes and his colleagues unblushingly took their stand on the position that the monarchy of England was an absolute monarchy, that the power of Charles was above all law, and statutes, and parliamentary devices. "This power," exclaimed the attorney-general, "is not any ways derived from the people, but reserved unto the king, where positive laws first began. For the King of England, he is an absolute monarch; nothing can be given to an absolute prince but what is inherent in his person. He can do no wrong. He is the sole judge, and we ought not to question him. Where the law trusts we ought not to distrust." The acts of parliament, he observed, contained no express words to take away so high a prerogative; and the king's prerogative, even in lesser matters, is always saved, where express words do not restrain it. When Charles instructed or allowed his crown lawyers to talk in this strain, he ought to have been prepared to back them with a regular army of a hundred thousand men. But Bankes was just

[1] A lucid expression of St. John's.

and moderate compared to some of the judges. "This imposition," said Justice Crawley, "appertains to the king originally, and to the successor, *ipso facto*, if he be a sovereign, in right of his sovereignty from the crown. You cannot have a king without these royal rights: no, not by act of parliament." Holborne had pleaded the constitutional doctrine and practice, that the sovereign could take nothing from the people without consent of their representatives. "Mr. Holborne is utterly mistaken therein," exclaimed Justice Berkeley. "The *law* knows no such king-yoking policy! The *law* is itself *an old and trusty servant of the king's;* it is *his* instrument or means, which he useth to govern his people by. I never read nor heard that *lex* was *rex;* but it is common and most true that *rex* is *lex*." And yet *all* the judges were not so prompt and resolute as the court wished. Even Finch and Crawley thought it decorous to prolong the discussion, and the business was dragged through the three following terms. In Hilary term, 1638, there was an appearance of unanimity; but by Easter term the judges differed, and Croke boldly concluded against ship-money. Croke had signed the answer to the king's question with the rest, but it was out of a fear of consequences. The loss of place was then generally attended by such persecutions as might daunt a man not constitutionally timid. The judge saw a prison for himself, poverty and want for his family, if he resisted the royal will; but his high-minded wife, who was equally aware of this danger, encouraged him to encounter it. "She was," says Whitelock, "a very good and pious woman, and told her husband upon this occasion, that she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want or any misery with him, rather than be an occasion for him to do or say anything against his judgment and conscience."[1] So long as there were English wives and mothers of this brave sort, the liberties of the country were not to be despaired of. Justice Hutton joined Croke, and when Justice Jones treated the matter somewhat doubtingly, deciding for the king, but with the condition that no portion of the ship-money should ever go to the privy purse, he manfully denied the legality of the tax, and advised that judgment should be given for Hampden. But, in Trinity term, on the 11th day of June, 1638, the attorney-general—as the sentence of the majority of the judges was still for the king—moved for judgment to be entered against Mr. Hampden; and on the following day, judgment was entered in the Court of Exchequer.[2] The opposition, however, that had been made by two of the judges went to deepen the impression already made by the trial. The government could no longer get money from the sheriffs of counties,—everywhere men took heart. "Hampden," says Clarendon, "by the choice of the king's counsel, had brought his cause to be first heard and argued; and with that judgment it was intended that the whole right of the matter should be concluded, and all other cases overruled."[3] Thus, the Lord Say, who had refused ship-money, and excited a spirited opposition in Warwickshire, was denied a trial when he asked for it. But Clarendon is fain to confess that the sentence procured against Hampden did not set the question at rest; that, on the contrary, it stirred up resistance to ship-money, or, as he expresses it—"it is notoriously known, that pressure was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the king than ever it was after." Archbishop Laud seems to have thought that this was owing to Justices Croke and Hutton, who according to him, had both "gone against the king *very sourly*."[4]

The sympathizing Wentworth, it appears, thought that matters might be mended by whipping Hampden, like Prynne or Lilburne. "Mr. Hampden," says he to his dear friend the archbishop, "is a great *brother;*[5] and the very genius of that nation of people leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that ever authority ordains for them. But, in good faith, were they rightly served, they should be whipped home into their right wits; and much beholden they should be to any that would thoroughly take pains with them in that sort."[6]

The court crowded a vast deal of tyranny and cruelty into the interval of time between the opening and closing of this trial, but it did not venture to scourge and mutilate the English gentleman who was now regarded as a *Pater Patriæ*, and as the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it.[7] At the same time Hampden's prudence and moderation, which are highly praised by all his contemporaries, of whatsoever party, prevented his giving any hold to the arbitrary council, who longed at least for an opportunity of committing him to the Tower, where his honoured and dear friend, Sir John Eliot, was wearing out in sickness the last years of his life.

[1] *Memorials.*

[2] Brampton, Chief-justice of the King's Bench, and Davenport, Chief-baron of Exchequer, had pronounced for Hampden, but merely upon technical reasons, and had joined the majority on the principal question. Denham, another judge of the same court, was more honest; being sick in his bed, he sent in a written judgment in favour of Hampden. The court majority of seven consisted of Finch, Chief-justice of the Common Pleas, Jones, Berkeley, Vernon, Crawley, Trevor, and Weston.

[3] *History of the Great Rebellion.*

[4] *Strafford Letters.*

[5] Puritan.

[6] *Strafford Letters.*

[7] Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion.*

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1637—1639.

CHARLES I.

Disturbances in Scotland—Imposition of the English Book of Church Service on the Scots—Riot in Edinburgh from the attempt—Charles and Laud persist in enforcing the service-book in Scotland—The king's peremptory orders to that effect—The Bishop of Galloway mobbed in Edinburgh—Establishment of the "Four Tables" in Edinburgh—Proceedings of this form of national resistance—Its "Covenant"—Energy and effectiveness of its government—Its adherents called "Covenanters"—The Marquis of Hamilton commissioned by the king to quell the revolt—Hamilton's arrival in Scotland—Strength and resolution of the Covenanters—Hamilton unsuccessfully attempts to temporize—He negotiates with the Covenanters—His endeavours to set aside the Covenant—Shifting and double-dealing of Charles in these proceedings—Preparations on both sides for war—General assembly held at Glasgow—Marquis of Hamilton's conduct at the assembly as commissioner—His deceitful proposals on the part of the king—Alexander Henderson appointed moderator by the assembly—Hamilton protests against its proceedings—His letter to the king describing the state of affairs—His account of the Scottish bishops and nobles—His denunciations of his country and its people—He attempts to dissolve the assembly—The assembly abolishes Episcopacy in Scotland—Active preparations for war—The Scottish soldiers in the Swedish army recalled—General Leslie appointed commander-in-chief of the Covenanters—Unprepared condition of Charles for the war—His difficulties in raising supplies—Successful military operations of the Covenanters in Scotland—The Marquis of Hamilton sent with an army against them—Futility of the expedition—Charles repairs to the scene of action—The Covenanters encounter his troops on the Border—Negotiations between Charles and the Scots—Concessions of Charles—The armies disbanded—The Earl of Traquair succeeds Hamilton as royal commissioner—His instructions from the king—Preparations of Charles to renew the war—Hopeless prospect of his affairs.

BY this time the storm had arisen in the north. The new service-book was sent out at the beginning of the year 1637, and appointed to be read in all Scotch churches from the Easter Sunday. The Scots maintained that the sovereign could not impose a liturgy without consent of their own parliament, and their murmurs were so loud that the experiment was put off from Easter to Sunday the 23d of July, when the dean of Edinburgh began to read the book in St. Giles's Kirk, which had been recently converted by Laud into a cathedral church. The people, fully prepared, had gathered in crowds from many parts. The archbishops and bishops, the lords of session, and the magistrates were all present by command. No sooner had the dean opened the service-book and begun to read, than the people filled the church with uproar, clapping their hands, uttering execrations and outcries, raising a hideous noise and hubbub. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach that day, stepped into the pulpit, and tried to appease the tumult by reminding them of the holiness of the place; but this increased the storm instead of allaying it, and presently a joint-stool was thrown at the bishop's head, but diverted by the hand of one present—luckily diverted—for, though thrown by the arm of a woman, it was thrown with such vigour, that the general opinion was, that had it hit him, supposing his skull to be only of ordinary thickness, the stool must have killed the bishop. Sticks, stones, dirt followed the stool, with cries of "Down with the priest of Baal!" "A pape, a pape!" "Antichrist!" "Thrapple him!" "Stone him!" The Archbishop of St. Andrews (lord-chancellor), and other great persons, then attempted to restore order, but they had no reverence from the multitude, who cursed them, together with the bishop and dean. Then the provost, the baillies, and others of the city authorities, came forth from their places, and with much ado and in terrible confusion cleared the church of the chief of those people that had made the tumult, and shut the church doors against them. And the dean began to read the service anew, but such were the outcries, rapping at the doors, throwing in of stones at the windows, by the multitude without, who still kept crying "A pape, a pape!" "Antichrist!" "Pull him down!" that the baillies of the city were again obliged to leave their places to appease the fury. At last the service and sermon were both ended, but not the people's rage: the Bishop of Edinburgh, who had preached the sermon, on leaving the church for his residence, distant not many paces, was surrounded by the multitude, cast down and nearly trodden to death. The same morning the new service was read in another church adjoining to St. Giles's, yet not without a tumult, and in the Grayfriars' Church the Bishop-elect of Argyle, who began to read it, was hooted and threatened, and forced to give

over after coming to the confession and absolution. Between morning and afternoon service the provost and baillies of Edinburgh were summoned before the privy council, who assembled at the lord-chancellor's, and undertook to do their utmost for the peaceable reading of the prayers in the afternoon. Accordingly the churches were kept tolerably quiet by keeping out the people altogether; but after service the tumult was far greater than in the morning; and the Earl of Roxburgh, lord-privy seal, who undertook to carry the bishop home from St. Giles's in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and so pressed upon by the mob, who wanted to drag out the "priest of Baal," that he was obliged to order his footmen and numerous attendants to draw their swords; and thus he and the bishop at last got into the palace of Holyrood, covered with dirt and curses.

On the following day the council issued a proclamation in detestation of this tumult, and to forbid all tumultuous meetings and concourse of people to Edinburgh, upon pain of death. The magistrates pretended to deplore the disturbances; and they stated that no persons of quality had appeared in them. In truth, the rioters had been for the most part women and children of the poorest condition. The town council, however, thought fit to suspend the reading of the new service till his majesty's further pleasure should be known, seeing it was so dangerous to the readers.[1] For this they were harshly rebuked by Laud, who told them, through the Earl of Traquair, Lord-treasurer for Scotland, that his majesty took it very ill that the business concerning the establishment of the service-book had been so weakly carried, and had great reason to think himself and his government dishonoured by the late tumult in Edinburgh. "And, therefore," continues the English primate, "his majesty expects that your lordship and the rest of the honourable council set yourselves to it, that the Liturgy may be established orderly, and with peace to repair what hath been done amiss."[2] At the same time several of the Scottish lords, not content with denying all share in the prayer-book, quarrelled violently with the new bishops and the most stirring of the anti-Presbyterian clergy. Traquair himself complained to the Marquis of Hamilton, who was at court, and still high in the royal favour, that some of the leading men among them were so violent and forward, had such a want of right understanding how to compass business of this nature and weight, that they bred the Scottish government many difficulties.[3] But Laud and Charles would listen to no complaints against the new bishops; and, urged on by them, the Scottish council issued a decree of "horning," or banishment, against all such ministers as refused to receive the new Book of Common Prayer, "out of curiosity and singularity." Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, Mr. John Hamilton, minister at Newburn, and Mr. James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns, petitioned against this harsh sentence with great good sense and moderation, and with a total abstinence from fanaticism. They told the lords of secret council that they had been willing enough to receive the said books to read them beforehand, in order to see what doctrine they contained, without which knowledge they could not adopt them; that, in the matters of God's worship, they were not bound to blind obedience to any man; that the said Book of Common Prayer was neither authorized by the general assembly, the representative kirk of the kingdom, which ever since the Reformation had given directions in matters of worship, nor by any act of parliament, which had been ever thought necessary in high matters of this kind; that they, upon a competent allowance of time, would undertake to prove it departed widely from the doctrine of the Reformation, and in points most material came near to the Church of Rome; and, finally, that the people of Scotland had been otherwise taught by themselves and their predecessors in the pulpit, and, therefore, it was likely that they would be found averse to the sudden change, even if their pastors adopted it. Laud's own bishop, the Bishop of Ross, gave a very short answer to these petitioners. He told them that, while they pretended ignorance of what was contained in the book, it appeared by their many objections and exceptions to it, that they were but too well read in it, albeit they had abused it pitifully. He assured the ministers that the service-book was neither superstitious nor idolatrous, but, on the contrary, one of the most orthodox and perfect liturgies in the Christian church, and that therefore they must accept it, and read it, or bide their horning.[4]

Charles, to punish the inhabitants of the good old town, sent down orders for the removing of the term, or session, and the council of government from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, the next term to Stirling, the next to Dundee, &c., together with a fresh proclamation, commanding the Presbyterians to disperse immediately, and return to their homes, under pain of being treated as wicked and rebellious subjects, and with an order for calling in and burning a seditious book, entitled *A Dispute against the English Popish*

[1] *Whitelock; Rushworth.*

[2] Laud's letter to Traquair, in *Rushworth.* Some slight alterations had been made in the Scottish Liturgy—hence Laud said that it was their own.

[3] Letter from Traquair to Hamilton, in Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton.*

[4] *Rushworth.*

Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland. The council would have delayed the publication of the arbitrary decrees; but Charles's orders were peremptory, and they were all read at the market-cross. The Earl of Traquair communicated a part of the immediate result to the Marquis of Hamilton. "The noblemen," says he, "the gentry, and commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, seemed to acquiesce herewith, and every man, in a very peaceable manner, to give obedience to the tenor of the proclamation; but the next day thereafter, the town of Edinburgh, or, as our new magistrates call it, the rascally people of Edinburgh (although their sisters, wives, children, and near kinsmen, were the special actors), rose in such a barbarous manner, as the like has never been seen in this kingdom, set upon the Bishop of Galloway, and with great difficulty was he rescued into the large council-house."[1] At last, the gentlemen and clergymen who had come up to present the petition, and who had been opprobriously ordered out of the town, used their good offices to prevent bloodshed, and, by their influence and persuasion, rescued the bishop, the council, and the magistrates from the hands of the rioters. It was observed, however, that the friends and relations of these very magistrates were in the mob; that citizens of the best repute, with their wives and their sisters, were actively engaged, and that many well-known gentlemen openly joined the people in their cries and denunciations. It was, therefore, no longer possible to represent the disaffection as a thing of no consequence—as a mere outbreak of the lowest and poorest, who might easily be brought to reason by a little hanging and scourging. And nearly at the same time the city of Glasgow became the scene of a similar rising against the prayer-book and Episcopacy. But Charles and Laud, though warned by the Scottish ministers of the fierce and dangerous spirit of the people—of the daily accession to their cause of men of rank and ability—of the defenceless state of Edinburgh Castle and the other fortresses—of the poverty of the exchequer—were resolved to go "thorough," and that too without admitting of any delay. Apprehending that the king meant to deprive Edinburgh for ever of its honours and advantages as the seat of government, the citizens of that ancient capital became more incensed than ever; and it was soon made to appear that Charles had committed a fatal mistake in exciting their jealousy in this particular. Before the removal of the session from Linlithgow to Stirling, the "Four Tables," or boards, as we should now call them, were established with the acquiescence of the Scottish council, which were representative committees, consisting respectively of lords, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses, and which were to be fixed permanently in the capital. With these tables in Edinburgh there corresponded lesser tables, or sub-committees, in the country, a constant communication being established among them all. Above all these tables was a general table, which consisted of members taken from each, and which was intrusted with something very like a supreme executive power. In the course of a very few weeks these tables were looked up to with far more respect than the paltry government, and they exercised an uncontrolled authority over the greater part of Scotland. It has been well said that a better scheme for organizing insurrection could not easily have been devised. The contrivers of it, and the leading members of the permanent committee, were the Lords Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, and Cranston. While the king was determined to cede nothing, the Presbyterians now almost daily advanced their demands, and pressed them with increasing pertinacity and boldness. The lord-treasurer, the Earl of Traquair, was summoned up to London by Charles, who examined him sharply, and then sent him back—though his sincerity was much doubted—with still harsher and more despotic instructions. Traquair was enjoined, or bound by an oath, to keep these things secret till the very moment when they should be announced by proclamation at Stirling; but the contents of the proclamation were divulged immediately, upon which the tables put themselves into a state of preparation. The members of the sub-committees were summoned from all parts to meet at Edinburgh and Stirling. To disperse them and the multitudes that flocked with them, Traquair, on the 19th of February, caused the king's proclamation to be read at Stirling, where the council was then sitting, "condemning their irregular proceedings; imputing them rather to preposterous zeal than to disaffection or disloyalty; remitting past offences to such as should obey his majesty's commands; discharging all future meetings, on pain of treason; forbidding them to repair to Stirling, or any other place, where the council and session sat, without notifying their business, and obtaining leave from the council; and ordering strangers of all ranks to quit the place within six hours after the proclamation, under the same penalty." But the herald had scarcely done reading this proclamation, when the Lords Hume and Lindsay, acting for the tables, published with equal solemnity, a counter-proclamation, which was then fixed to the market-cross at Stirling, and copies of it sent to be read and affixed in Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Traquair, who had foreseen the mischief, wrote to Hamilton, that his majesty must now "per-

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

ceive how much all sorts and qualities of people of Scotland were commoved."[1] The Presbyterians, being now openly joined by the most powerful and popular noblemen of the kingdom, and even by several members of Charles's government, proceeded boldly to frame and subscribe their celebrated National Covenant, whereby they undertook to maintain, at all hazards, the old form of worship; to maintain the Confession of Faith subscribed by Charles's father and household, and all ranks of people, in 1580 and 1581, and again in 1590. The name was adopted from the covenants of Israel with God; and the nature of the obligation was derived from the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance peculiar to the nation; but the word *covenant* had a most significant and holy sense in the ears of the Scottish people, who knew that that form of association had carried their ancestors triumphantly through their struggle with the Papistry. The tables, or standing and well-organized committees, now summoned every Scotsman who valued his kirk to repair to the capital, there to observe a solemn fast as a fitting preparation for the renewal of the Covenant. The call was obeyed everywhere, and Edinburgh was presently crowded and crammed with fiery Presbyterians, who generally travelled with good broad-swords. Upon the appointed day, the 1st of March, they took undisputed possession of the High or St. Giles's Kirk, which, in their notions, had been profaned by the preaching and praying of Laud's dean and bishop. After fervent prayers and exhortations the new Covenant was produced; the congregation rose, and nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, with hands raised towards heaven, swore to its contents. This memorable deed had been prepared by Alexander Henderson, one of the four ministers whose petition had been so rudely answered by the Bishop of Ross, and by Archibald Johnston, an advocate, and the great legal adviser of the party. It had also been revised by the Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes. Whatever other defects there may have been in the composition, there was no want of power. It was, indeed, most skilfully adapted for acting upon a proud, a devout, and enthusiastic people, who were about equally proud of their national independence and their national kirk.

A few creatures of the court saw in all this mighty enthusiasm nothing more serious than a brief fanatic outbreak, and they assured Charles, who ought to have remembered the history of his grandmother and of his great-grandmother, that it would be easily dashed and dissipated. This was miserably to misunderstand the character of the Scottish people. Copies of the deed were despatched to the different counties in the west and north, the popular preachers were all warned, a fire of pulpit-batteries was opened from John o' Groat's House to the Cheviot Hills—from Aberdeen to Tobermory, and the COVENANT was spoken in its thunder. The people were roused and excited to the utmost; all ranks and ages hailed the pledge of liberty and salvation, and the Covenant was signed on the Sabbath in every parish with shouts, tears of joy or contrition, and hearty embraces. Traquair pointed out the only means of averting the storm. "If," says his lordship, "his majesty would be pleased to free them, or give them an assurance that no novelty of religion shall be brought upon them, it is like the most part of the wisest sort will be quiet; but, without this there is no obedience to be expected in this part of the world; and, in my judgment, no assurance can be given them hereof, but by freeing them of the service-book and Book of Canons."[2]

But still Charles and Laud disregarded the warning, and were determined to impose the Common Prayer-book upon the people of Scotland by force of arms. The great meeting of the Covenanters at Edinburgh dissolved tranquilly; but they left commissioners behind them, and established such intelligence among themselves and with all parts of the country, that they could meet and come together at the shortest notice. The Covenanters knew their strength and the mighty power they had in the sympathies of the Puritans in the south; and they began to assert that they were as well friended in England as the king himself.[3] Wherever they encountered opposition from any Scottish subjects, they threatened them with their high displeasure and the curse of the true kirk; nor did they always limit themselves to threats, particularly when any of Laud's ministers (his bishops had all run away) fell into their hands. There were fierce riots at Lanark and other towns. In some places men were thrown into prison, or put in the stocks, for refusing to sign. In the west country, where Presbyterianism was the warmest, they would give no traveller or passenger either meat, drink, or lodging for his money, until he first gave them assurance that he was an adherent to the Covenant.

Traquair repeatedly urged that his majesty should hear some of his Scottish ministers and servants before making up his mind, or "concluding fully" as to what course he ought to take at this crisis; but, without hearing any such—nay, without advising with his English council, or with any English servant of government, except his fatal Laud—Charles himself drew up a

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[3] Anonymous letter in Dalrymple's *Memorials*, dated 16th April, 1638

commission for the Marquis of Hamilton, who was ordered to proceed with all haste to reduce that "rascally people" to order. Hamilton was hereby instructed to read the royal proclamation which he bore to the lords of the Scottish council, previously to publishing it, and to exact, if he chose, a solemn oath from each member of that council to do his best to execute the proclamation.[1] If anybody should protest against this royal proclamation, he was to treat him as a rebel, and apprehend him, *if possible*. He was to give a bold negative to any petitions that might

JAMES, Marquis, and subsequently first Duke, of Hamilton. After a portrait by Vandyke.

be presented by the Covenanters, both in respect of the matter, and as coming from an unacknowledged and illegal association. He was not to press for the exact execution of Laud's church orders for the present, but he was to take good care not to promise their abrogation. He was to allow the Scots six weeks to renounce the Covenant, and, if he found cause, *less*. "You shall declare," continues the king, "that if there be no sufficient strength within the kingdom to force the refractory to obedience, power shall come from England, and that myself will come in person with them, being resolved to hazard my life, rather than to suffer authority to be contemned. . . . If you cannot (by the means prescribed by us) bring back the refractory and seditious to due obedience, we do not only give you authority, but command all hostile acts whatsoever to be used against them, they having deserved to be used no otherwise by us but as a rebellious people: for the doing thereof, we will not only save you harmless, but account it as acceptable service done us."[2] Having received his instructions and commission, Hamilton took leave of the king, who ordered him to write often to himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he being the only English person entrusted with the secrets of the Scottish affairs. On the 3d of June Hamilton arrived at Berwick, where the Earl of Roxburgh met him, and told him how small were his hopes of success. The marquis, when he came to Berwick, had expected to find a great company of noblemen and others to receive him and attend him as the king's high commissioner; and he had especially counted upon his own kindred and vassals, or tenantry; but all failed him, except "some very few who had not subscribed the Covenant, and they inconsiderable: for the tables of the Covenanters required that none who had taken the Covenant should give any attendance upon the marquis."[3] With a heavy heart, Hamilton went on to Dalkeith, where he was received by the lords of the secret council, by some of the lords of session, and troops of the nobility and gentry who had not subscribed. On his way from Dalkeith he was met by the whole body of the nobility and gentry of the Covenanters that were residents of the capital and neighbourhood. They were all mounted on horseback, and consisted of several thousands—more calculated, no doubt, to overawe than to testify respect. And as the marquis drew still nearer to Edinburgh, he saw a small hill blackened all over with Geneva cloaks—for 500 Presbyterian preachers, on foot, had there taken their post, and had appointed "the strongest in voice and austerest in countenance to make him a short welcome; but this the marquis avoided."[4]

As soon as Hamilton was settled at Holyrood, he asked the Covenanters what would satisfy them and induce them to renounce their league. They answered, nothing but a general assembly and a parliament, and instantly clapped new guards upon Edinburgh Castle, and multiplied the guards and watches of the city. At the same time the preachers advised the people to take heed of crafty propositions; and when the marquis proposed hearing Divine service in the king's chapel, they sent to tell him that he must not read the English service-book; and they nailed up the organ, which they considered as an abomination unto the Lord.[5] A few days after they wrote a letter to the marquis, admonishing him

[1] One of the great provocations was the removal of the courts, &c., from the capital; yet Charles says—"We give you power to cause the council to sit in whatsoever place you shall find most convenient for our service, Edinburgh only excepted, and to change the meeting thereof as often as occasion shall require." In another clause he says, "Whenever the town of Edinburgh shall depart from the Covenant, and petition for our favour, *then* we will that you bring back the council and session to it."

[2] *Rushworth*. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid; Baillie's *Letters*.

[5] The ministers whom Wentworth had so tyrannically driven out of Ulster were now taking their revenge, and informing the people of Scotland of the crafty propositions and broken pro-

and every one of the council to subscribe their blessed Covenant, as they hoped to be esteemed Christians and patriots.[1] They declared that the Scottish people would as soon renounce their baptism as their Covenant. Hamilton wisely declined publishing Charles's proclamation, and advised his master to be prepared either to grant them all their demands, or to hasten down his fleet with an army in it, to put soldiers into Berwick and Carlisle, and to follow in person with an army royal. On the 15th of June the marquis received the following answer from the king:—"I expect not anything can reduce that people to obedience but force only. In the meantime your care must be how to dissolve the multitude, and, if it be possible, to possess yourself of my castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, which I do not expect; and to this end I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds, and in particular that you consent neither to the calling of parliament nor general assembly, until the Covenant be disavowed and given up, your chief end being now to win time until I be ready to suppress them. . . . This I have written to no other end than to show you I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands, as you rightly call them; for it is all one as to yield to be no king in a very short time. . . . As the affairs are now, I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the Covenant traitors, until, as I have already said, you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland, though your six weeks should be elapsed. In a word, gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your grounds."

By honest means Charles meant any means that did not openly commit his own character. The Presbyterian ministers, understanding that the Covenant must be given up, or no treaty made, caused their pulpits to ring with exhortations of firm adherence to the great national bond, and again all declared that they would never quit the Covenant except with their lives. They presented their petition to the marquis, calling for an immediate redress of their grievances, telling him that they would no longer be put off by delays. Hamilton, obeying the spirit at least, if not the letter of the king's instructions, to temporize and delude, promised them that he would call both a general assembly and a parliament for the redress of all grievances. It appears, however, that the Covenanters were aware of the plot contrived by the king, or were suspicious of all his intentions, for they went away dissatisfied, putting no trust in Hamilton's fair promises. He informed his master of all this, and implored him not to proceed in his warlike operations too openly. Charles, in reply, told him that he would take his advice, and stop public preparations, but "in a silent way" he would not cease, so that he might be ready upon the least advertisement. The Covenanters presented to the marquis an "explanation of the bond of mutual defence," in which they again most solemnly protested that they meant not to derogate from the king's authority or to disobey and rebel against his majesty's laws. "All our proceedings," said they, "by petitioning, protesting, covenanting, and whatsoever other way, was and is only for the maintaining of the true religion by us professed; and with express reservation of our obedience to his most sacred majesty."[2] The marquis transmitted their paper to Charles, together with fresh desponding accounts of his own; but the answer he received was as high and absolute as ever.[3]

If Hamilton, at this stage, is to be praised, it must be for his loyalty, and not for his patriotism: he told the Covenanters that he should leave them in order to wait upon his majesty, to explain their desires, and to return to them again within three weeks or a month. But the true reason of his going was to gain so much time, and to see in what state of forwardness were the king's warlike preparations. Previously to his departure, on the 4th of July, he presented the royal proclamation, which he had brought with him, to the Scottish council, who signed it upon omission of the command to abandon the Covenant. Thereupon it was sent to the market-cross and there read aloud; but it was met instantly by a long and powerfully written protest drawn up in the name of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burghs, and commons. This was followed by another explanation of their Covenant, which was given to Hamilton to be put into the king's hands. When the marquis came to court, he gave Charles a full account of the "strength and rage of the Covenanters," together with the "unconstancy" of many members of the Scottish council; and he proposed to his majesty, as a middle course, to renew the Confession of Faith which had been ratified by the Scottish parliament in 1567. Charles immediately sent back the marquis with enlarged instructions. He was to try, by all means, to make the Scottish council sign the said Confession of Faith, and thereby, as the court chose to argue, give up the Covenant; but he was not publicly to put the proposition to vote in the council except he was quite sure to carry the point: he was to summon a general as-

mises of Charles's government in Ireland. "The pulpits," says Traquair, "are daily filled with those ministers, who were lately put out of Ireland, who, with some of their own, and some such others as come from other places of this kingdom, preach nothing but foolish seditious doctrine."—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

[1] See the letter of the ministers in *Rushworth.*

[2] *Rushworth.*

[3] Ibid

sembly, but to take good care that the sitting of the assembly should not be before the 1st of November: he was, by all the means in his power, to dissipate the well-founded suspicions of the Presbyterians, to gain time in order that the military preparations might be matured; and although he was to protest against the abolishing of bishops, he was "to advise the bishops to forbear sitting at the council, till better and more favourable times for them." These better times were to be brought about by fire and sword; but Charles was not as yet ready, and therefore he concluded thus: "Notwithstanding all these instructions, or any other accident that may happen (still labouring to keep up our honour so far as possibly you can), you are by no means to permit a present rupture to happen, but to yield anything, though unreasonable, rather than now to break."[1]

But while the marquis was busy at court in arranging these matters, the Covenanters in Scotland were not idle, but pressed might and main for more subscriptions to the league. "And because the north were for the most part against the Covenant, some noblemen and ministers went on the 23d of July (being that day twelvemonth the stool was thrown at the bishop's head) to Aberdeen, hoping to convince the doctors there of the lawfulness of the Covenant. But the doctors violently argued against the same, because it was a combination without warrant or authority. And the Covenanters gave out to the said doctors at Aberdeen that the lord-commissioner was satisfied with the Covenant upon the offer of that explication (which is formerly mentioned); but, at the commissioner's return, he declared the contrary."[2] In the present case it may be doubted whether Hamilton had not deceived them by professions of admiration of their holy league. Upon his return to Holyroodhouse, on the 10th of August, he found things in a much worse posture than he had left them. He knew not what to do; but he resolved at all hazards not to call a general assembly until he had again been to London in person to represent to his majesty the extreme hazard he was like to run. Three days after his arrival at Edinburgh, the confident Covenanters waited upon him, to demand an answer to the explanation and petition they had forwarded by him to the court. He declared that the king's answer was full of grace and goodness —that his majesty promised that he would leave nothing undone that could be expected from a just prince to save the nation from ruin—that as soon as order and government were re-established as before these combustions, and obedience made to the crown, both an assembly and a parliament should be convoked. He never could have expected that men, distinguished by their sagacity and their distrust of professions, should be satisfied with vague promises like these. The Covenanters negotiated eight or nine days, and then the marquis craved again the space of twenty days to go to court and bring another answer from his majesty. Hamilton's object, as was understood by the Covenanters, was to gain more time; but before he began his journey he thought fit to consult with the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk, and even to join his signature with theirs to certain articles of advice to be offered to the king. In this paper Charles was most earnestly urged to revoke those innovations in religion and law which alone, without any disloyalty, had moved his subjects to their present courses. Hamilton left Edinburgh on the 25th of August: on the 10th of September he received fresh instructions from his master, who, it was said, was resolved to try "the utmost of yielding" for the recovery of his subjects' affections. In fact, Charles, who had been so averse to the slightest concession, now gave up everything to the Scots, empowering Hamilton, by proclamation, or otherwise as he should see cause, to declare that his majesty did absolutely revoke the Service-book, the Book of Canons, the Five Articles of Perth, and the High Commission. By other clauses of his instructions the bishops were given up to the vengeance of the laws—the Episcopal government was declared to be limited by the laws of the Scottish church and kingdom as already established—and the prelates were no longer to hold any political posts. On his return towards Edinburgh, Hamilton met in Yorkshire the fugitive Scottish bishops, to whom he signified his majesty's pleasure, telling them that, though the king would maintain Episcopacy, he was content that their power should be limited, and that they should no longer hold civil offices. At this the bishops were thrown into a fury, and spoke with great vehemency. On the 17th of September, Hamilton was again at Holyrood, and, on the 21st, he received the Covenanters, and told them that the king had granted them all that they desired, and that, by his gracious permission, a free assembly and a parliament were to be called immediately. They were, or appeared to be satisfied, until the marquis mentioned that they must sign the old Confession of Faith as adopted by King James in 1580 and 1590, which they looked upon as an artifice to set aside their new bond of the Covenant. And then, upon reflection, their suspicions were excited by the amplitude of the king's concessions. If Charles had intended to keep his promises he would hardly have promised so much; and at this time, or more probably some weeks earlier, the Covenanters obtained certain intelligence that

[1] *Rushworth.* [2] Ibid.

he was secretly engaged in raising an army against them. It was not without reason that the Covenanters had asserted that they were as well befriended in England as the king himself. Their leaders were in close correspondence with several of the leading English patriots—practical men—men of business, who were not likely to neglect anything which tended to strengthen them for their contest. And besides, there were several of the Scottish counsellors and courtiers about the king who were suspected both of Presbyterianism and venality.[1]

On the 22d of September, Hamilton caused the proclamation to be read at the market-cross, in which the Liturgy, the High Commission, &c., were given up, and declared to be void and null; but, as it contained the condition of signing the old Confession of Faith, which was interpreted as implying the abandonment of their recent engagement, the Covenanters instantly protested against it. The protest, like all the papers issued by that party, was wonderfully effective and powerfully worded. It pointed out to the jealous eyes of the Scots that, by subscribing the Confession as now urged, they, according to the royal proclamation, would acquiesce in that declaration to his majesty's absolute will, and submit to accept of a pardon from him, which pardon had need to be ratified in parliament; and this, they said, was turning their glory into shame, by confessing their guiltiness where God had made them guiltless. Neither party now would or could trust the other. Charles himself had signed the new bond, though it contained many clauses altogether repugnant to Arminianism, and it was subscribed at Edinburgh by Hamilton, Traquair, Mar, Moray, Haddington, Lauderdale, Southesk, Napier, Carmichael, and all the rest of the lords of secret council. On the same day the marquis proclaimed his majesty's pleasure that a free and general assembly should be indicted, kept, and holden at Glasgow on the 21st of November; and immediately after this, proclamation was made for a parliament to meet at Edinburgh upon the 15th of May, 1639. And a day or two after these proclamations the lords of the council published an act approving the king's discharge of the Service-book, Book of Canons, &c., and requiring all his majesty's subjects to subscribe the Confession of Faith as now offered to them.

The marquis, seeing that it would be impossible to prevent a rupture at Glasgow, advised Charles to hasten his warlike preparations. The Scottish bishops, though not averse to the hastening on of a war of religion, pressed Hamilton to put off the meeting of the general assembly. The marquis acquainted the king with their desire. Charles, in reply, told him that he should soon receive a particular answer from my Lord of Canterbury to all his propositions touching the assembly.[2] In another letter Charles spoke still more openly of the scheme he had arranged with Hamilton for sowing discord among the members of the assembly, and defeating their acts by protests. "As for the general assembly," writes the king, "though I can expect no good from it, yet I hope you may hinder much of the ill; first by putting divisions amongst them concerning the legality of their elections, then by protesting against their tumultuary proceedings." But in the leaders of the Covenant Charles had to deal with enemies as wary as himself; and by this time, at the latest, the Scots were convinced that the questions at issue must be settled rather by a campaign than by an assembly. Notwithstanding the waylaying of the posts, and the carrying of all letters to Secretary Coke, their friends in England contrived now and then to send them important advices. One of these, in relating the warlike preparations of Charles, gave an account of the sympathy of his English subjects. This skilful correspondent went on to inform the Scots that Wentworth had made large offers of assistance to the king from Ireland—some said an army of 16,000 men—but he doubted the lord-deputy's ability, seeing that that kingdom was itself in an unquiet state. The Earl of Antrim had been presented to the king as one having great power in Ireland; and shot for ordnance had been newly cast, and flat-bottomed boats prepared for the landing of men on the coast of Scotland. He says, "Wise men here do think that the king is resolved to hold you in all fair and promising ways of treaty, until he hath sufficiently fitted himself by provisions both of arms and men, and then you may look for no other language but what comes from the mouth of the cannon: be assured, if the king can bring it to this pass, he will, but most likely he will not be able: yet how far rewards, pensions, and the like, may prevail, either to separate you amongst yourselves, or otherways to hire a foreigner to come upon you (if his domestic subjects will not be drawn to it), it is hard to say; good wisdom, therefore, to be at a point quickly, whilst God preserves union amongst you."[3]

Although Charles had dismissed the bishops from the offices of the state, he had left them in the church; and the Covenanters held that Episcopacy was incompatible with the existence of liberal institutions and the true worship of God—

[1] Soon after this we find a friend to Charles's government saying, "And because there be divers Scots Covenanters about court, who give intelligence both by the ordinary, and posters and journiers for Scotland, a course should be taken that the letters may be opened; and that the governor of Berwick may give order for some strict searching and examining the Scots travellers," &c.—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] *Rushworth.*

[3] Lord Hailes, *Memorials.*

a sentiment which was echoed beyond the Tweed. At the end of October the Earl of Rothes, in the name of the Covenanters, demanded a warrant for citing the bishops to appear as criminals before the general assembly at Glasgow. Hamilton replied that the law was open for citing all such as were either within the kingdom or without; but he declined giving the warrant, as being a thing without precedent: and it was enough, he said, that he did not protect them against trial. Upon this repulse the Covenanters addressed themselves to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who took upon them to issue warrants against the bishops.[1]

As one of the signs of his returning favour, Charles restored the session or term to his good town of Edinburgh. Hamilton having dealt with all the lords of the session beforehand, urged them to sign the king's Confession of Faith: two of these judges absented themselves, four positively refused, but at length nine of the fifteen signed; and from that moment they durst hardly walk the streets, for fear of being torn to pieces by the people. Charles remitted to the marquis the minutest instructions as to his deportment at the assembly, and perused and revised the opening speech which he was to deliver. Hamilton required the king's advocate to prepare himself to prove that Episcopacy was according to the laws of Scotland; but the advocate answered that his conscience would not permit any such thing; that he judged Episcopacy to be contrary both to the laws of Scotland and the laws of the church, and also to God's own Word; and thereupon the advocate was "prevailed upon" not to attend the general assembly at all. On the 17th of November, the marquis arrived at Glasgow in a quiet and peaceable manner, none of his train carrying with them any prohibited arms. He there found letters and sundry protests from the bishops, who implored him to keep them secret, and to present them *seasonably*, before they or their cause should suffer any wrong from the assembly. The city of Glasgow being filled and thronged with all sorts of people on the day appointed by the king's proclamation (the 21st of November, 1638), the general assembly began by listening to a very long sermon which occupied the whole forenoon. In the afternoon they would have proceeded to the choosing of a moderator, but Hamilton, who, as king's commissioner, was seated upon a chair "raised eminent above the rest," told them that there was something to do previously, and that was the reading of his commission, that it might be understood by what authority he sat there. The commission, in Latin, was accordingly read, and then the assembly would have again proceeded to the choice of their moderator: but the marquis again interrupted them, and desired that his majesty's letter to the general assembly should first be read; and this letter, which bore the date of the 29th of October, was read accordingly. It was very short. Charles told them that he was not ignorant that the best of his actions had been mistaken by many of his subjects in his ancient kingdom, as if he had intended innovation in religion and laws; yet, considering it to be the special duty of a Christian king to advance God's glory and the true religion, forgetting what was past, he had seriously taken into his princely consideration such particulars as might settle religion and satisfy all his good subjects of the sincerity of his intentions, and had therefore indicted this present free general assembly, appointing the marquis to attend the same.[2] When this reading was done, Hamilton stood up and made his opening speech. We blush for the unfortunate victim of loyalty, who knew all his master's insincerity, and who had advised or prescribed part of his conduct, when we find him pursuing his address in the following strain:— "For the professions which have been made by our sacred sovereign (whom God long preserve over us), I am come hither by his command, to make them good to his whole people, whom, to his grief, he hath found to have been poisoned (by whom I know not well, but God forgive them) with misconceits of his intentions concerning the religion professed in his church and kingdom. But, to rectify all such misconceptions of his subjects, his majesty's desire is, that, before this assembly proceed to anything else, his subjects may receive an ample and clear satisfaction in these points, wherein his majesty's graci us intentions have been misdoubted or glanced at by the malevolent aspects of such as are afraid that his majesty's good subjects should see his clear mind through any other glasses or spectacles than those they have tempered and fitted for them." He declared that the king his master was thoroughly sincere, intending nothing less than to keep religiously every promise he had made to his Scottish subjects; and that it was false, foul, and devilish, to doubt the sincerity of his intentions. Continuing, Hamilton said—"His majesty hath commanded me thus to express his heart to all his good subjects. He hath seriously considered all the grievances of his subjects, which have been presented to him by all and several of their petitions, remonstrances, and supplications exhibited unto himself, his commissioner, and lords of his secret council, and hath graciously granted them all; and as he hath already granted as far as could be by proclamation, so he doth now desire that his subjects may be assured of them by acts of this general assembly, and afterwards by acts of parliament respective."[3]

[1] *Rushworth.* [2] *Rushworth.* [3] Ibid.

The noble marquis knew that while he was making these solemn assertions his master was preparing gunpowder and ball for his good subjects; and so also knew many of those whom he addressed. The assembly then proceeded to elect their moderator, but Hamilton stopped them with a protest, that their act should neither prejudice the king's prerogative nor the laws of the kingdom, nor bar the king from taking legal exceptions against the person elected or the irregularity of his election. After this delay they chose Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in Fife, who in many essentials was the John Knox of the day. Hamilton would here have read his declinator or protest against their authority, but they proceeded to the election of a clerk-register. The person chosen was Archibald Johnston, clerk of their tables, at Edinburgh. Hamilton protested against his election, but the assembly adhered to their choice; and Johnston, after making a short speech, declaring that he was unworthy of the charge, yet would not be wanting to do his best for "the defence of *the prerogative* of the Son of God," began to perform the duties of clerk. On the following day Hamilton entered a fresh protest against the return of lay elders to the assembly. Charles had reflected deeply upon the jealousies likely to arise between laymen and clergy; and, as lay elders, who, at the Reformation, had attended all general assemblies, had been displaced by his father, he thought to make their election on the present occasion appear like an innovation. But the lords of the tables, who had organized this mighty resistance, were resolved not to trust entirely to the spirit and courage of the preachers; and, besides, they were not very anxious that the tyranny of the Presbytery should be substituted for the tyranny of Episcopacy. They had, therefore, taken care to preserve that part of the original constitution of the Reformed National church, by which the laity were associated with the clergy in its government. Hereupon the proctor, or commissioner for the bishops, declined the jurisdiction of the assembly, as not being a purely ecclesiastical body. Regardless of this declinator, the assembly proceeded to open their accusation, the moderator Henderson, in a short speech, deploring the obstinacy of the bishops' hearts who had betrayed no sign of remorse and sorrow for their wicked courses. Hamilton, after insisting on the reading of their protest, called the charges a libel against the bishops, an infamous and scurrilous libel. On this one of the clerks of session thundered out a verbal protestation that they would pursue these charges against the bishops so long as they had lives and fortunes. Thereupon Hamilton protested in his turn, and discharged the bishops' proctor from giving appearance for the bishops before the assembly; and, finding the utter impossibility of shielding those prelates from the prosecution, he determined to dissolve the assembly on the very next day. In the course of this same day he wrote a memorable letter to the king, cursing his country for its non-compliance with his majesty's will. The sincerity of Hamilton has been called in question, but we think upon insufficient grounds. The fact is, he was afterwards hated and calumniated by the Royalists, who thought that he had done too little; and he was hunted to the scaffold by the Parliamentarians and the Presbyterians, who felt that he had done too much.

"Most sacred sovereign," says the marquis, "when I consider the many great and most extraordinary favours which your majesty hath been pleased to confer upon me, if you were not my sovereign, gratitude would oblige me to labour faithfully, and that to the utmost of my power, to manifest my thankfulness. Yet so unfortunate have I been in this unlucky country, that, though I did prefer your service before all worldly considerations, nay, even strained my conscience in some points, by subscribing the negative confession, yet all hath been to small purpose; for I have missed my end in not being able to make your majesty as considerable a party as will be able to curb the insolency of this rebellious nation, without assistance from England, and greater charge to your majesty than this miserable country is worth. As I shall answer to God at the last day, I have done my best, though the success has proven so bad as I think myself of all men living most miserable, in finding that I have been so useless a servant to him to whom I owe so much. And, seeing this may perhaps be the last letter that ever I shall have the happiness to write to your majesty, I shall, therefore, in it discharge my duty so far as freely to express my thoughts in such things as I do conceive concerneth your service. . . . . Upon the whole matter your majesty has been grossly abused by my lords of the clergy, by bringing in those things in this church not in the ordinary and legal way. For the truth is, this action of theirs is not justifiable by the laws of this kingdom; their pride was great, but their folly greater." He proceeds to draw characters (not without point and smartness) of the principal bishops, ministers, and counsellors of Scotland. Of the bishops he frankly says—"It will be found that some of them have not been of the best lives, as St. Andrews, Brechin, Argyle, Aberdeen; too many of them inclined to simony." Of the ministers he shows that not one enjoys popularity, or is able and willing to carry the king through with his projects. He describes the Marquis of Huntly as being "not only Popishly inclined, but even a

direct Roman Catholic;" "but howsoever," continues Hamilton, "this I am sure of, since my coming here he hath proved a faithful servant to you; and I am confident will be of greater use, when your majesty shall take arms in your hand." The Earl of Argyle, whom Charles had recently offended in a wilful manner, was the only man cried up in Scotland as a true patriot, a loyal subject, a faithful counsellor, and, above all, rightly set for the preservation of the purity of religion. With a correct estimate of Argyle's character and means, Hamilton goes on to say, "He must be well looked to; for it fears me he will prove the dangerousest man in this state: he is so far from favouring Episcopal government, that, with all his soul, he wishes it totally abolished." Of the men who were to ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm, the letter says much.

It names Montrose as being then the hottest of the Covenanters. "Now, for the Covenanters, I shall only say this in general—they may all be placed in one roll as they now stand. But certainly, sir, those that have both broached the business, and still hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, Cranston. There are many others as forward in show; *amongst whom none more vainly foolish than* MONTROSE. But the above mentioned are the main contrivers. The gentry, burghs, and ministers have their ringleaders too. It will be too long to set down all their names." In the same remarkable letter Hamilton shows the king how he may best carry on the war against his Scots subjects, blockade their ports, and ruin their trade. But, in the meanwhile, all things are to be done covertly. The Scots are not to know that they are to be reduced to obedience by force of arms—they are to know nothing of the blow until it is struck. He observes that the presence of a commissioner or lord-deputy in Scotland is indispensable; "where," he continues, "you will find a man I cannot possibly say, unless your majesty send the Duke of Lennox: as for the Marquis of Huntly, certainly he may be trusted by you, but whether fitly or no, I cannot say. If I keep my life (*though next hell I hate this place*), if you think me worthy of employment, I shall not weary till the government be again set right; and then I will forswear this country. As for your majesty's castle of Edinburgh, it was a most shameful thing it should have been so neglected. I cannot promise that it shall be defended, yet I hope that they shall not take it but by an hostile act. Some few men I have stolen in, but, as yet, cannot get one musket put there, nor one yard of match. I have trusted, for a time, the same man that was in it, and perhaps your majesty will think this strange that I have done so; yet necessity forced me to it." He concludes the letter by more abuse of his native country:—"I have now only this one suit to your majesty, that if my sons live they may be bred in England, and made happy by service in the court; and if they prove not loyal to the crown, my curse be on them. I wish my daughters be never married in Scotland. I humbly recommend my brother to your favour."[1]

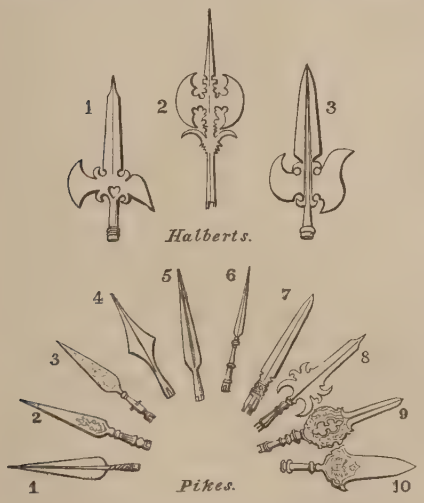
The morning after writing this very un-Scottish letter to the king, Hamilton summoned the lords of the council and told them, with very little periphrasis, that he was necessitated to dissolve the assembly, and then tried hard to make them all concur with him as to the necessity. The Earl of Argyle asked if he, the lord-commissioner, was to desire the Scottish council's approbation of what he intended, or not? The marquis replied that his instructions from his master were clear and positive, and therefore it was not in his power to permit any debate as to what he should do or not do, but he only desired their concurrence and advice as to the manner of doing it. After two hours of discourse, which elicited no clear advice from any member of the council, he proceeded to the church where the assembly sat. There he remained for some time a silent witness of their debates; but when they were about to put it to the vote, whether that assembly was not free and perfect, notwithstanding the bishops' protests, knowing well how the vote would run, he suddenly rose up, and, in a speech of great length and considerable eloquence—not wholly destitute of home-truths—in his majesty's name, dissolved them, and forbade their further proceedings, under pain of treason. Henderson, the moderator, and the Earl of Rothes, told him that they were sorry he was going to leave them, but their consciences bore them witness they had done nothing amiss, and therefore they would not desert the work of God; albeit, "in its due line and subordination they acknowledge their duty of obedience to the king." Hamilton then hastened back to the council. The Earl of Argyle told him in plain language that he would take the Covenant and recognize the assembly; but most of the council pretended to be satisfied with the conduct of the marquis; and yet he durst not offer to their signature the proclamation for dissolving the assembly, for fear of a refusal, "not having tried them all in it beforehand." The next morning, however, he got them all to sign it, except Argyle, and then sent it to be read at the market-cross at Glasgow. But again the Covenanters were ready with their protest, which was read and affixed immediately after it.

Hamilton now urged the king to complete his preparations. Laud, however, in a letter dated the 7th of December, told him that "the jealousies

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

of giving the Covenanters umbrage too soon had made preparations so late," but that he, the archbishop, had called, and was daily calling upon his majesty to make more haste. Laud was furious against the assembly. "Never," he says, "were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many, in so short a time committed in any public meeting; and for a national assembly, never did the church of Christ see the like."[1]

Meanwhile the assembly continued its prosecution of the bishops. Upon the departure of Hamilton, the Earl of Argyle openly declared himself their head, and sat constantly with them in the assembly, not as a member, but as their chief director. In brief time they condemned all the Arminian tenets whatsoever—declared Episcopal government to be for ever abolished—and passed many other acts of an equally sweeping character. Not satisfied with merely depriving the bishops, they excommunicated the greater part of them, together with the few preachers that adhered to them, and all their fautors or abettors.[2] In spite of Hamilton's real or affected dread of assassination, the Covenanters quietly allowed



HALBERTS AND PIKES OF THE PERIOD.[3]
Meyrick's Ancient Armour.

him to return to England, whither he went to direct the hostile preparations against them. Charles thundered out fresh proclamations, annulling all the proceedings of the assembly, which were met, as usual, by counter-protests. Nor were the Covenanters slower than the king in their military preparations. As early as the month of July they had made a magazine of pikes, halberts, and muskets. Early in December it was known that one Barnes, a merchant of Edinburgh, had brought some 6000 muskets out of Holland: the ship which carried these arms was stopped by the government of the United Provinces; but the King of France, the loving brother of Charles's queen, got the vessel freed and sent to a French port, as if the muskets were for his own use, and, from the French port, ship and arms were forwarded to Leith. If the reports of their enemies are to be believed, the artillery of the kirk was louder than that of armies. One minister of repute is said to have declared that all Scotchmen who had not subscribed the Covenant were atheists; another in his sermon wished that he and all the bishops were at sea together in a rotten boat, for he could be content to lose his own life so that the priests of Baal should perish. They refused the communion to such as had not subscribed their Covenant, nor would they permit baptism to be administered by any but ministers of their own body. At the same time the supreme table, or committee in Edinburgh, issued its instructions to the provincial tables and presbyteries, all so thoroughly organized that the business was transacted with more than the regularity of an old government; every man of an age to bear arms was taught the use of them, drilled, and trained to the duties of a soldier; the Scottish officers, whom poverty or love of adventure, or religious enthusiasm, had carried abroad to fight for the Dutch, for the Protestants of Germany, for the glorious Swede—the men who had grown gray in arms, who had witnessed and contributed to the dazzling victories of the Lion of the North—hastened back to their native hills and gave all the weight of their military experience to the popular party. The article in which Scotland had ever been most deficient was money; but on the present occasion, excited by their preachers, the citizens of Edinburgh and other towns gave in voluntary donations; the nobility in many instances sent their plate to be coined; the merchants settled in foreign countries, particularly in France and Holland, remitted specie, or ammunition, or arms. The worldly wise among them suggested that aid might be obtained from the Lutheran princes of Germany—from the Kings of France and Spain; but the preachers and the godly declared that it would be refusing the protection of Heaven, and leaning on the broken reed of Egypt, to accept assistance from heretics and Roman Catholics. Still, however, some of the leaders thought that some French money would do no harm to the cause, and it was se-

[1] *Rushworth.* In his letter Laud says, quaintly, that Mr. Alexander Henderson, "who went all this while for a quiet and well-spirited man, hath showed himself a most violent and passionate man, and a moderator without moderation."

[2] Lord Hailes, *Memorials.*

[3] *Halberts:*—1, 2, time of Charles I.; 3, time of Charles II. *Pikes:*—1, 2, 3, time of James I.; 4, time of Charles I.; 5, 6, 7, time of the Commonwealth; 8, 9, 10, time of Charles II.

cretly arranged with Richelieu that the French ambassador at London should pay 100,000 crowns to General Leslie, whom they had appointed their commander-in-chief.

A.D. 1639. And in what state were the finances and the other means of the king? We are told very clearly by the Earl of Northumberland, in a letter addressed to Wentworth, and dated in the month of January:—"I assure your lordship, to my understanding, with sorrow I speak it, we are altogether in as ill a posture to invade others or to defend ourselves as we were a twelvemonth since, which is more than any man can imagine that is not an eyewitness of it. The discontents here at home do rather increase than lessen, there being no course taken to give any kind of satisfaction. The king's coffers were never emptier than at this time, and to us that have the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known how he will find means either to maintain or begin a war without the help of his people."[1] By the beginning of the year Charles had named his captains and general officers, had issued orders to the lords-lieutenants to muster the trained bands of their several counties, had borrowed money from all that would lend, and suspended the payment of all pensions and allowances. On the 15th of February he addressed a letter to the nobility, telling them that the late disorders in Scotland, begun upon pretence of religion, were now grown to such a height that he had reason to take into his consideration the defence and safety of his kingdom of England; and, therefore, upon consultation with his privy council (he did not even name a parliament), he had resolved to repair in his own royal person to the northern parts of this his kingdom, to resist any invasion that might happen. He added "And withal [we] hereby do require you to attend our royal person and standard at our city of York, on the 1st day of April next ensuing, with such equipage and such forces as your birth, honour, and interest in the commonalty doth oblige you to," &c. "And we do, and have reason to expect from you a performance hereof, and these our letters shall be as sufficient and effectual a warrant and discharge unto you to put yourself and such as shall attend you, into arms and order as aforesaid, as if you were authorized thereunto under our great seal of England."[2] He made an attempt, through the agency of Colonel Gage, to procure a foreign army of 6000 foot and 400 horse from the archduke, in return for which he engaged to permit the raising annually in Ireland recruits for the armies of Spain; but this negotiation failed because the archduke could not spare so many disciplined troops. He called upon the judges and lawyers and servants of the crown to contribute to the expenses of the war out of their salaries; and he required from many of the gentry payments to excuse their personal attendance in the campaign. The clergy of the Establishment were tolerably liberal—in some places exceedingly so—for they considered the war, which some irreverently called a war about lawn sleeves, a holy war. The name of every clergyman who refused or was unable to contribute was especially certified and returned to Archbishop Laud. And while Laud and the king called upon the clergy and all good Protestants, the queen called upon all the English Catholics. We have already shown how the religious intolerance of the Puritans prevented the Catholics from becoming patriots. The latter were exceedingly well inclined to assist the king against the Scots, and, disregarding the danger they thereby incurred, they held a public meeting in London for the purpose of recommending all their brethren to subscribe. The pope's nuncio presided at this meeting, and thus more than ever gave a Papistical character to the war.

The secret correspondence established between the Covenanters and the English patriots became closer and more active than before: the Scots had friends and agents in London, in all the counties, in the army, and even in the very court: their counter-proclamations were circulated throughout England; their proceedings in the general assembly, in council, and in the field, were all reported in the minutest detail to patient and sympathizing auditors.[3] The silenced ministers—silent no longer—proclaimed that the Scots had begun the good fight; and that it was the duty of every English subject that loved liberty and the true religion, to make common cause with them, instead of opposing them. Nor were Charles's endeavours to sow dissensions among the Scottish nobles who had taken the Covenant attended with much more success than his attempts to excite jealousy in the English against the Scots. Even English gold lost its value in their eyes when put in the scale with religion; and it must be remembered Charles had not much gold to give. We possess many remarkable papers, both of a public and private nature, in which the Presbyterian ministers exhort the nobility to firmness and unanimity, and the nobles exhort one another to constancy in

[1] *Strafford Letters.*

[2] *Rushworth.*

[3] "Their remonstrances, declarations, and pamphlets were dispersed, and their emissaries and agents insinuated into the company of all who were in any way discontented or galled at the proceedings of the state of England. The gentlemen who had been imprisoned for the loan, or distrained for the ship-money, or otherwise disobliged, had applications made to them from the Covenanters, and secretly favoured and assisted their designs; so did many others, especially those inclined to the Presbyterian government, or whom the public proceedings had anywise distasted."—*Whitelock.*

this great cause. Many of them are written with extraordinay power and eloquence.

It was the burning zeal and eloquence of men like these that kept the Covenant together, and that impelled the people to daring and extreme acts. Without awaiting the attack of the king, they fell upon every castle and stronghold he possessed in Scotland, and took them all with the exception of Caerlaverock. As early as the month of March, before Charles had begun his journey to York, General Leslie, with 1000 musketeers, surprised and took Edinburgh Castle without losing a single man. On the next day Dumbarton Castle, the second, or rather, in strength, the first fortress of the kingdom, was delivered over to the provost of the town, a zealous Covenanter; and the castle of Dalkeith, wherein were lodged the regalia, together with a store of ammunition and arms, was surrendered by Traquair, the lord-treasurer.[1] The people, who were chiefly led in this enterprise by the Earls of Rothes and Balmerino, seized the crown, sceptre, and sword, and carried them away in great joy and triumph —Traquair admits, with all the reverence they could show—and deposited them in Edinburgh Castle. The Marquis of Huntly, who had undertaken to secure all the north for the king, had risen in arms; but 7000 men collected from the counties near the Tay, and commanded by Leslie and Montrose, soon overthrew him. Leslie forced the Covenant upon the university of Aberdeen, and returned to Edinburgh, carrying Huntly with him as an hostage.

The Marquis of Hamilton was sent into the Frith of Forth with a considerable fleet and 5000 land troops. He had engaged to take Leith, the port of Edinburgh; but the Covenanters, well aware of his coming, had prepared him a hot reception. The fortifications of Leith had been much neglected: now, volunteers of all ranks hurried to repair them; men of the noblest birth worked like masons on the bastions, and ladies assisted them in carrying materials. When Hamilton appeared, Leith was safe, and so was the capital, at least on that side. He reconnoitred both sides of the frith, but saw no hopes of effecting a landing anywhere, for 20,000 armed men were distributed along the coasts, the sea-ports and inlets were protected by batteries; and he was soon fain to land his troops, which had already become very sickly and very mutinous, on the Isle of May and the other islets in the frith, where there were no inhabitants, no enemies to encounter, but solan geese and other sea-fowl. Here, again, great pains have been taken to prove that Hamilton was betraying the king. It is said, for example, that he was holding a secret correspondence with the Covenanters—that he received a visit from his mother, herself a rigid Covenanter, which caused the rest to believe that the son of such a mother would do them no harm. But it appears to us that Hamilton, who had never shown any great military talent, and who was leading a small and wretched force, which had been pressed and carried on board ship as soon as caught, was really not in a condition to do much more than he did. On the 27th of March, the anniversary of his coronation, Charles began his journey northward, travelling in a coach with the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Holland. On the 30th he arrived at York, where the nobility attended with their armed retinues according to his summons, and where Sir Thomas Widderington, the recorder, delivered to him a most fulsome speech, telling him that he had established his throne upon two columns of diamond, namely, piety and justice—the one of which gave him to God, the other to men—and that all his subjects were most happy between the two columns. "This king's good nature," says a somewhat ill-natured historian, "never more appeared than in his necessities; so that when he came to York, by proclamation he recalled thirty-one monopolies and patents, formerly granted by him, he not before understanding how grievous they were to his subjects."[2] Whitelock says that these grants and patents which Charles had formerly passed, to the great grievance of his people, were mostly in favour of Scotchmen. He also at York exacted an oath from all the nobility and officers about him, whether Scotch or English, that they would be faithful and obedient, that they abhorred all rebellions, and more especially such as rose out of religion, and that they had not, and would never have any correspondence or intelligence with the rebellious Covenanters. On the 29th of April the king took his farewell of York, telling the recorder and the municipal authorities in set speech, that he had never found the like true love from the city of London, to which he had given so many marks of his favour. At Durham he was welcomed by the bishop, who feasted his majesty for some time. At every resting-place he was joined by a certain number of horse and foot, levied in those parts; but the progress was more illustrious than the march, and the soldiers were the least part of the army, and least consulted with. From the time he advanced to the right bank of the Tweed, and encamped with his army in an open field near Berwick, some days were spent in reviews and parades, and altercations and quarrels among the leaders. He had chosen to make the Earl of Arundel, the bashaw, his general—"a man," says Clarendon, "who was thought to be made choice of for his negative qualities. He did not

[1] See Traquair's letter to the king, in *Rushworth*.

[2] *R. Coke.*

love the Scots; he did not love the Puritans; which qualifications were allayed by another negative—he did not love anybody else; but he was fit to keep the state of it; and his rank was such that no man would decline the serving under him."[1] The lieutenant-general was the Earl of Essex, one of the most popular men in the kingdom and the darling of the soldiery. The Earl of Holland, "a man fitter for a show than a field," was general of the horse. The latter force was estimated at 3260, the infantry at 19,614, without counting the foot companies under Hamilton, or the two garrisons at Berwick and Carlisle, and there was an abundant supply of warlike stores and a good train of artillery. To the eye, all this formed an imposing array, but there was disaffection and contrariety of opinion at headquarters, and the majority of the men were altogether averse to the war and to the system which had produced it.

On the other side the Scots were unanimous, and Leslie, as a commander, was certainly superior to any of the English generals. Having secured the country behind them, he boldly advanced to the Borders, and on the 30th of May he took up a position within a few miles of Charles's camp. Thence, that the English people might have no jealousy of an invasion, he issued proclamations, repeating that the Scots had no intention of doing harm—had every wish to do good—that they implored the good opinion of their brethren in England, and that, for the present, they would not cross the frontier line of their own country. At first, when Leslie arrived at Dunglas, and Monroe at Kelso, they scarcely had between them 8000 men, but they were reinforced every day, the preachers being the best of recruiting sergeants. They called upon every true Scot, in the name of God and his country, to seek the enemies of their king, as well as of themselves, the prelates and Papists; they denounced the curse of Meroz against all who came not to the help of the Lord and his champions. They had chosen for the motto on their new banners, "For Christ's Crown and the Covenant;" and as Charles hesitated and wavered, they were allowed time to collect 20,000 men under this ensign.

At last, on Monday, the 3d of June, the Earl of Holland, "that ill-chosen general of the English horse," crossed the Tweed near Twisell—once famed for a more patriotic warfare[2]—to fall upon the division of the Scots that lay at Kelso. He took with him nearly all the cavalry, and 3000 foot, but he left the infantry three miles behind him. When he reached Maxwellheugh, a height above Kelso, he perceived what he considered or affected to consider a very great army, advantageously posted. The Scots threw out 150 horse and 5000 or 6000 foot to bar his farther progress. Holland thereupon sent them a trumpet, commanding them to retreat, and not to cross the Borders, which they had promised not to do by proclamation. They asked whose trumpet this was? The man said, My Lord Holland's. Then, said the Covenanters, he had better begone; and so my Lord Holland made his retreat, and waited upon his majesty to give this account.[3] In fact, during this march and countermarch, the English soldiers, who behaved as they had never done before, scarcely drew a sword or fired a musket or a carbine. Charles now began to perceive that the nobility and gentry of England were not inclined to invade Scotland at all, and a morning or two after he was alarmed for his own camp by the closer approach of Leslie. The Lord-general Arundel blamed the scout-master; the scout-master blamed the soldiers that were sent out as scouts, and brought in no intelligence. Charles, in a hurry, threw up some works to cover his camp, intending, with the advice of many of his council, to keep himself there upon the defensive; but already the men were complaining that the biscuit was mouldy, and drink altogether wanting; that they could get nothing out of Scotland except a few lambs. On the 6th of June a Covenant trumpet, and the Earl of Dunfermline, arrived at the royal camp, with a humble petition to his majesty, entreating him to appoint some few of the many worthy men of the kingdom of England, to meet with some few of them (the Scottish leaders), that they might the better know their humble desires, and make known his majesty's pleasure, so that all mistakings might be speedily removed, and the two kingdoms kept in peace and happiness. Before this, the Covenanters had addressed separate letters to the three English generals, Arundel, Essex, and Holland. Clarendon says, that "the Earl of Essex, who was a punctual man in point of honour, received the address superciliously enough, sent it to the king without returning any answer, or holding any conference, or performing the least ceremony with or towards the messengers."[4] But, according to the same narrator and to other authorities of different parties, Arundel, and, still more, Holland, gave a very different reception to the letters they received, and forthwith became pressing advocates for an immediate accommodation with the Covenanters. To Dunfermline's petition Charles at first gave an answer, signed by Secretary Coke; the Lords of the Covenant returned it, humbly entreating that his majesty would sign the answer to their petition with his own hand, for,

[1] *History of the Great Rebellion.*

[2] See the account of the battle of Flodden Field, vol. i. p. 747, and Scott's *Marmion.*

[3] Letter of Sir Henry Vane (senior) to Hamilton, in *Rushworth.*

[4] *History of the Great Rebellion.*

although they themselves did not mistrust his majesty's word signified to them by the secretary, yet the people and army would not suffer their deputies to come without his majesty's own hand and warrant. Charles then signed the paper, and on the 11th of June, the deputies of the Covenanters arrived at the royal camp, where they were received in the lord-general's tent by the English commissioners whom Charles had selected to treat with them. The Scottish deputies were the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, the Lord Loudon, and Sir William Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, to whom were afterwards added, sorely against the king's inclination, the leading minister, Alexander Henderson, late moderator of the general assembly, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register; the king's commissioners were the Earls of Essex, Holland, Salisbury, and Berkshire, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. Secretary Coke. But when they were ready to begin their conference, Charles came unexpectedly among them, took his seat, and told the Scottish deputies that he was informed that they complained they could not be heard; that, therefore, he was now come to hear what they would say, and to take the negotiation upon himself. The Earl of Rothes, speaking for the Covenanters, said that they only wished to be secured in their religion and liberty. Lord Loudon began to offer an apology for their brisk manner of proceeding, but Charles interrupted him, and told him that he would admit of no excuse or apology for what was past; but if they came to implore for pardon, they should set down their desires in writing, and in writing they should receive his answer. In the course of the negotiation several attempts were made at overreaching the Scots, but the Covenanters, without confining themselves to the meekness of the dove, had certainly the wisdom of the serpent. Hamilton arrived at the camp, and hastened, it is said, the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed by Charles, on the 18th of June, and published, with a royal declaration, in the Covenanters' camp, on the 20th. The articles agreed upon were few, and some of them loosely expressed. The king, though he could not condescend to ratify and approve the acts of what he called the pretended General Assembly, was pleased to confirm whatsoever his commissioner had granted and promised, and to leave all matters ecclesiastical to be determined by the assembly of the kirk, and all matters civil by the parliament and other inferior judicatures. The assemblies of the kirk were to be kept once a-year, or as often as might be agreed upon by the general assembly; and for settling the distractions of the kingdom, it was appointed that a free general assembly should meet at Edinburgh, on the 6th day of August, and that the parliament for ratifying what should be concluded in the said assembly, and for settling such other things as might conduce to the peace and good of the kingdom, should be held at Edinburgh, on the 20th day of August, and that therein an act of oblivion should be passed. It was agreed that the troops, on both sides, should be recalled and disbanded; that his majesty's castles, forts, ammunitions of all sorts, and royal honours, should be delivered up to the king, who thereupon was to withdraw his fleet and cruisers, and deliver up whatever Scottish goods and ships, or whatever else, had been taken from them. The king stipulated that there should be no meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations of the lieges, but such as were warranted by act of parliament; and he agreed to restore to all his good subjects of Scotland their liberties, privileges, &c., &c. Not a word was said by the king touching the abolition of Episcopacy. By his express orders the term *bishop* was never introduced. He still clung to Laud and the hierarchy; and, as usual, he was anxious to say as little as possible in a pacification which he made with the most unpleasant of feelings, and which he was fully determined to break as soon as possible. The Covenanters more than suspected his meaning and intentions, and both parties openly betrayed their mutual distrust before the ink was dry on the parchment: the two armies, however, were disbanded by the 24th of June, when his majesty took up his quarters in the town of Berwick. He summoned fourteen of the principal Covenanters to attend him, but they declined the dangerous honour, fearing the Tower of London. They sent, however, the Earls of Lothian, Loudon, and Montrose, the last of whom appears to have been lost to the Covenant and gained by the king from that moment. While at Berwick, Charles decided about the high-commissioner to be sent into Scotland to open the parliament, &c., for he was anxious to get back to the south, where he had left many fiery spirits, and Wentworth had again warned him, after "so total a defection as had appeared in that people," not to go to them himself; or, to use my lord-deputy's expression, "not to trust his own sacred person among the Scots over early, if at all." It is said that his majesty greatly pressed the Marquis of Hamilton to go upon that employment once more, and that the marquis implored to be excused. After the affair of Dalkeith and his easy losing or surrendering the regalia, it could hardly have been expected that Traquair should be named commissioner, yet he was the man appointed to succeed Hamilton and represent the king. Charles then took post at Berwick, and rode to London in four days, arriving there on the 1st of August.

Traquair's instructions passed the seal on the 6th of August, when he was immediately despatched to meet the general assembly at Edinburgh. That convocation opened on the 12th of August, every member of it having previously bound himself by an oath to support the acts of the late assembly at Glasgow. Traquair's instructions from the king were very artfully conceived, but it was scarcely possible that they should have much effect upon such a body of men as these Covenanters. Charles had written to the dispersed and afflicted Scottish bishops, to assure them that it should be his chief care to establish their church aright, and repair their losses, and to advise them to enter into a formal protest against the proceedings of this assembly and parliament, which he promised "to take into consideration, as a prince sensible of his own interest and honour, joined with the *equity* of their desires."[1] But in his instructions to Traquair, he consented that Episcopacy should be utterly abolished in Scotland, for satisfaction of the people, provided that the act of abolition should be so conceived and worded, that Episcopacy should not be called a point of Popery, or contrary to God's law, or the Protestant religion, but merely contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland. The bishops, or at least seven of them, signed a protest, and got it presented to the lord-commissioner by a mean person, as the king had desired. They called the Covenanters refractory, schismatical, and perjured men, having no office in the church of God, who had filthily resiled, and so made themselves to the present and future ages most infamous, &c. The Covenanters, however, wanted no fresh provocation to go lustily to work. Without naming the Glasgow assembly, they adopted and confirmed all its acts, whether against the bishops, Service-book, Book of Penance, or High Commission; and to all this, Traquair as commissioner gave the royal assent, and signed the Covenant.

But the king was all this while preparing measures for a new war, which he flattered himself would be conducted with better success. The Covenanters had kept their agreement in giving up the fortresses; they had surrendered Edinburgh Castle, and twenty other castles; and Patrick Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford, the new governor for the king, was getting artillery, ammunition, arms, and men into Edinburgh Castle, and repairing the breaches which time rather than war had made. Charles commanded Traquair to take in general the like care of all his houses and forts in that kingdom; and likewise to advertise all such who were affected to his service, that they might secure themselves in good time. The Scottish parliament met on the day appointed, the 20th of August, and consented that for that time, Traquair, as commissioner, should name those lords of articles that had formerly been named by the bishops; but they protested that this should be no precedent for the future, and they went on roundly to remove the lords of articles totally, as a body of necessity at all times subservient to the crown. Charles knew that their project, if effected, would wholly emancipate the Scottish parliament from the shackles and trammels which had been imposed upon it, chiefly by his own father, and he had declared that he would never give up his prerogative on this point. Traquair saw no other means than the dangerous one of stopping proceedings by a prorogation, and accordingly he prorogued parliament on the 14th of November. The Covenanters protested against the legality of any prorogation without consent of parliament (and in fact the principle differed from the English). They, however, rose quietly after entering this protest, and sent up a commission, headed by the Lords Dunfermline and Loudon, to wait upon the king. When these deputies arrived at Whitehall they were rudely asked whether they had any warrant from the king's commissioner; and, as they had none, they were in disdain commanded home again, without audience or any access to majesty. The return of these noblemen to Scotland was soon followed by the summoning of Traquair to court. This nobleman, by royal instructions, had in many respects been playing a double part; and, as invariably happens in such cases, his employers had become jealous and doubtful of his real feelings and intention. But he averted Charles's wrath from himself by producing a letter secretly addressed by several Lords of the Covenant to the King of France, and imploring his protection. This letter had been written before the late pacification at Berwick, and addressed "Au Roy." It bore the signatures of seven lords; but the address, which in itself was made matter of treason, was in a different hand from the body of the letter, and the thing had never been sent, evidently through the aversion of the ministers and the mass of the Covenanters. At the same time Traquair told the king that it was impossible to prevail with the Scots except by force or a total compliance; and having, as he fancied, furnished the king with grounds for justifying such a proceeding, he recommended him to take up arms again without loss of time.

The Covenanters, having sought and obtained the royal permission, again sent up the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline. Loudon was instantly seized, and examined touching the letter "Au Roy." The Scottish lord said that it was written before the late agreement, and never sent; that, if he had committed any offence in signing it, he

[1] See the king's letter, in *Rushworth*.

ought to be questioned for it in Scotland, and not in England: nor would he make any other answer or confession, but, insisting upon the king's safe-conduct which had been given to him for this journey, he demanded liberty to return. Charles sent him to the Tower of London. This effectually stopped the arrival of any more Scottish commissioners; but it was evident to both parties that they must again take the field; and the Covenanters, by more secret agents, concerted measures with the patriots and the disaffected of all classes. Secret councils were held in London, and a coalition of all the various sections of the discontented was effected.

Every proceeding of government was now a failure, and each failure caused fierce dissensions amongst the cabinet ministers and the chief officers of the crown: every one laboured to exonerate himself at the cost of his comrades. This is one of the saddest and surest indications of a nation's decay. Almost as soon as the pacification of Berwick was signed, all of the English party engaged in it were irritated and ashamed; and the king himself, according to Clarendon, "was very melancholic, and quickly discerned that he had lost reputation at home and abroad; and those counsellors who had been most faulty, either for want of courage or wisdom (for at that time few of them wanted fidelity), never afterwards recovered spirit enough to do their duty, but gave themselves up to those who had so much overwitted them; every man shifting the fault from himself, and finding some friends to excuse him. And it being yet necessary that so infamous a matter should not be covered with absolute oblivion, it fell to Secretary Coke's turn (for whom nobody cared), who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the sacrifice; and upon pretence that he had omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and inserted somewhat he ought not to have done, he was put out of his office."[1] Old Coke, the scapegoat, was succeeded by Sir Henry Vane, previously treasurer of the household, who, as Clarendon, Warwick, and other writers of that party maintain, became secretary of state through the queen's too powerful influence and the dark contrivance of the Marquis of Hamilton.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1640—1641.

CHARLES I.

Charles consults with Wentworth—Wentworth advises the calling of parliament—He is made Earl of Strafford—Parliament assembled—Address to it by Sir John Finch, lord-keeper—His misrepresentation of Scottish affairs—Speech of Charles about the letter of the Scots to the French king—Cruel treatment of Sir John Eliot—He dies a prisoner in the Tower—The commons proceed to the redress of grievances—The grievances enumerated and denounced—Charles summons the lords and commons before him—Finch attempts to cajole the commons—They persist in demanding redress of grievances before voting supplies—Interference of Charles in the House of Lords—The commons remonstrate with the lords—Messages of Charles to the commons for supplies—He rebukes them, and dissolves parliament for the last time—Impolicy of the proceeding—Laud continues his subversions in the church—Oppressive modes by which Charles raises money—A mob attempts to storm Lambeth Palace—The Scottish parliament resume the war—The Covenanters cross the Tweed—They enter England—They defeat the Royalist troops at Heddon-law—They occupy Newcastle and Durham—Their successes in the English northern counties—Charles treats with the Covenanters—His indignation at their proposals—Meeting held for a treaty at Ripon—The agreement and its terms—Charles opens the Long Parliament—He invites its confidence when too late—Its business commences with the consideration of grievances—Demands made for reform in church and state—The prisoners of the Star Chamber liberated and indemnified—The tide turned against the persecutors—Laud accused of high treason—He is committed to the Tower—The Earl of Strafford also imprisoned—His impeachment in the House of Lords by Pym—Others who are impeached escape—Triennial parliaments decreed—Charles obliged to assent—Scottish commissioners in London—Their favour with the English patriots.

URING his inglorious campaign, Charles was in constant correspondence with Wentworth, who had given him better advice than he would take, and who continued raising and organizing 10,000 Irish troops, for service in Scotland, even after the pacification. Not long after his return from the Tweed, "as if the oracle of Delphos had been to be consulted, he sent for his great Lord-deputy of Ireland." Wentworth came, but "instead of being made a dictator, he found himself but one of a triumvirate," being joined with Archbishop

[1] *History of the Great Rebellion.*

Laud and Hamilton, neither of whom had lost one particle of the king's favour and confidence. Although he had not come very willingly, apprehending danger to himself—and although he was hampered by Hamilton, the more timid of his colleagues, and by the queen, who could never agree with him—Wentworth imparted a new vigour to the king's councils: he recommended a loan among the great lords and officers of the crown, and urged a war with the Covenanters, which he was to manage, and the instant issuing of writs of ship-money to the amount of £200,000. With his old confidence in his own power of seducing, deceiving, or terrifying a parliament, in a blind forgetfulness of the difference between English and Irish parliaments, he ventured to recommend the calling of one. This resolution was adopted in a committee, consisting of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon, the Earl of Northumberland, the Marquis of Hamilton, Cottington, Windebank, and Vane. Charles, upon finding the committee unanimous, put this significant question—"If this parliament should prove as untoward as some have lately been, will you then assist me in such *extraordinary ways* as in that extremity shall be thought fit?" They all promised to assist him, and then Charles reluctantly agreed that a parliament should be called. But Wentworth thought it would be well to try an Irish parliament beforehand; and Charles consented that there should be an Irish parliament also. To reward his past services, and to give him additional weight and splendour, the king now bestowed on him that earldom for which he had so long been sighing, and, instead of lord-deputy, named him Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On the 12th of January, 1640, Wentworth became Earl of Strafford; and on the 17th of March he obtained from the trembling Irish parliament a grant of four subsidies, with a promise of two more if they should be found necessary; and by the middle of April, in spite of a distressing and most painful malady, he was back at court, to show Charles how to manage his English House of Commons and his Scottish Covenanters.

At last, on the 13th day of April, 1640, an English parliament assembled at Westminster. The king opened the session with a very brief speech, in which, however, he admitted (what every body knew) that nothing but necessity had induced him to call them together. Then Sir John Finch, formerly speaker of the commons, but now lord-keeper, delivered a very long speech, in which he endeavoured, above all things, to convince them that the Scots had grossly insulted and injured the English nation, as well as their sovereign—"the most just, the most pious, the most gracious king that ever was, whose kingly resolutions were seated in the ark of his sacred breast." All that had happened through Charles's persisting in not calling together, or agreeing with, the representatives of his people—the extorting of money by illegal means, the torturing of the subject, the disgraces sustained by the national arms at home and abroad, the flames in Scotland which had almost severed the two king-

Sir John Finch (Lord-keeper) —After Hollar.

doms—was so glaring, that it required all the audacity of a Finch to make the king's disuse of parliaments a subject of panegyric, and that to a parliament itself. The lord-keeper told them that, in former times, indeed, they had been advised with for the preventing and diverting of foreign and domestic dangers; "but herein," said he, "his majesty's great wisdom and providence hath for many years eased you of that trouble; his majesty having all the while not only seen and prevented our danger, but kept up the honour and splendour of the English crown, of which at this day we find the happy experience." Everything, he maintained, had gone on happily and gloriously until some men of Belial had blown the trumpet in Scotland, and induced a rebellious multitude to take up arms against the Lord's anointed. He related the events of last summer's campaign, telling them that his majesty had entered into pacification with the Scots, not through fear or weakness, but out of his piety and clemency. "*This* summer," says Finch, "must not be lost like the last, nor any minute of time unbestowed to reduce those of Scotland; lest by our delay they gain time to conclude their treaties with foreign states. . . . . Such is the straitness of time, that unless the subsidies be forthwith passed, it is not possible to put in order such things as must be prepared before so great an army can take the field." Finch concluded by telling them that they must pass a bill, granting tonnage and poundage from

the commencement of his majesty's reign, vote the subsidies *instanter*, and accept his majesty's promise, who was most graciously pleased to give them his royal word, that afterwards he would allow them time to consider of such petitions as they might conceive to be for the good of the commonwealth, assuring them that his majesty would go along with them in redressing just grievances, like a just, a pious, and gracious king. The king himself then produced the letter of the Scottish lords to the French king, and said, "My lords, you shall see he hath spoken nothing hyperbolically, nor nothing but what I shall make good one way or other. And because he did mention a letter, by which my subjects in Scotland did seek to draw in foreign power for aid, here is the original letter, which I shall command him to read unto you. And because it may touch a neighbour of mine, whom I will say nothing of but that which is just—God forbid I should; for my part I think it was never accepted of by him: indeed it was a letter to the French king, but I know not that ever he had it; for *by chance I intercepted it* as it was going unto him; and therefore I hope you will understand me right in *that*." Charles then delivered the letter to Finch, who observed, "The superscription of the letter is this—'Au Roy.' For the nature of this superscription, it is well known to all that know the style of France that it is never written by any Frenchman to any but their own king, and therefore, being directed 'Au Roy,' it is to their own king, for so in effect they do by that superscription acknowledge." He then read the letter as translated into English from the original French, which ran thus:—"Sir,—Your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, by him to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings as of our intentions, which we desire should be engraven and written to the whole world, with the beams of the sun, as well as to your majesty. We most humbly beseech you, therefore, to give faith and credit to him and all he shall say on our part concerning us and our affairs, being most assured of an assistance equal to your accustomed clemency heretofore, and so often showed to this nation, which will not yield to any other whatsoever the glory to be eternally your majesty's most humble, obedient, and affectionate servants. (Signed) Rothes, Montrose, Leslie, Mar, Montgomery, Loudon, Forester."[1] Then the king added, "Of these gentlemen, who have set their hands to this letter, here is one, and I believe you would think it very strange if I should not lay him fast; and therefore I have signed a warrant to lay him close prisoner in the Tower. My lords, I think (but that I will not say positively, because I will not say anything here but what I am sure of) I have the gentleman that should have carried the letter fast enough; but I know not, I may be mistaken."

When the king had thus spoken, the lord-keeper dismissed the commons to their own house, there to make choice of their speaker. In the lower house were many of the patriots, or, as the king had styled them, "the vipers," that had so disturbed his equanimity in the last parliament; but one of the greatest and highest-minded was not there. Of those who had been cast into prison, all had been liberated upon bail, after a detention of about eighteen months, with the single exception of the bold and eloquent Sir John Eliot, the man whom Charles most hated or feared. When he had lain four years in the Tower, the patriot's health began to decline rapidly, and his friends prevailed upon him to petition the king. To this petition, which was presented by the hand of the lieutenant of the Tower, Charles's only answer was—"It is not humble enough." Then Eliot sent another petition by his own son, expressing his hearty sorrow for having displeased his majesty, and humbly beseeching him once again to command the judges to set him at liberty; and when he had recovered his health he might return back to his prison, there to undergo such punishment as God had allotted him. The lieutenant of the Tower took offence at his sending the petition by another hand than his; but he told him, that if he would humble himself before his majesty, acknowledging his fault, he would deliver another petition for him. Sir John, thanking him for his friendly advice, told him that his spirits had grown feeble and faint—that when he recovered his former vigour he might think about it. Cottington, Wentworth, and others exulted over the intelligence that Sir John was very like to die—and die he did, a prisoner in the Tower, on the 27th of November, 1632! But Charles's revenge was not satisfied by mournful decay, a perishing by inches, nor by death itself. One of his victim's sons petitioned his majesty, that he would be pleased to permit the body of their father to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried, in his native soil, among his ancestors. Charles wrote at the foot of the petition, "Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where

[1] Besides this letter, it is possible that Charles knew, at least in part, the other negotiations between the Covenanters and the French court.—Lord Hailes (*Memorials*) has published a letter from General Leslie and the Earl of Rothes to the French king, and also instructions from the Covenanters in Scotland to their messenger to Louis. The letter, it appears, was not sent, because the rest of the covenanting leaders refused to sign or sanction it. There are several striking passages in the instructions, but nothing very treasonable.

he died;" and accordingly it was thrust into an obscure corner of the Tower Church.[1] Sir Edward Coke had gone to his grave about two years after Eliot, full of years and honours, having effaced the recollection of his early career by his manly struggles on the patriotic side. He also, in a manner, had been persecuted to the death.

It has been said and proved that, on the whole, this present House of Commons was well disposed towards the king's service, and as little influenced by their many wrongs as any man of ordinary judgment could expect; yet there were undoubtedly many faithful, affectionate, and bold hearts that burned and flamed with the memory of the wrongs done to Eliot. And foremost among these was his bosom friend Hampden, who had taken his seat for the town of Buckingham. The most conspicuous of the other old members were Denzil Hollis, Maynard, Oliver St. John, Pym, Strode, Corriton, Hayman, Haselrig, and Oliver Cromwell, who now sat for the town of Cambridge.

The commons, who knew what the king's word was worth, resolved not to take it, or to depart from their old practice of making the redress, or at least the discussion of grievances precede their votes of supply. They took up the question of religion, privileges of parliament, abuse of justice, and the infringement of the common liberties of the land, and, as formerly, they settled committees for examining these high matters. Some of them had suggested the petitioning of parliament against the impost of ship-money; several petitions from the counties were consequently received, and the practice of petitioning, a progress in constitutional liberty, began to be common. Arthur Capel delivered in the first petition, which was from the freeholders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ship-money, monopolies, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, &c. The first who stood up boldly to speak was Harbottle Grimston. Harbottle Grimston was followed by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who congratulated the house on their being called together. "We are here," he said, "by the blessing of God and our king. Parliaments have of late days become unfortunate; it is our duty, by our good temper and carriage, to restore them to their ancient lustre. . . . A parliament is the bed of reconciliation between king and people, and therefore, it is fit for us to lay aside all exasperations, and carry ourselves with humility." And it must be confessed that, though firm and decided, their whole tone and carriage was humble and respectful. The house on the following day (April 17th) fell again upon the subject of grievances in general, in consequence of petitions brought in by the members for Essex, Suffolk, and other counties; and upon that day the learned and laborious Pym delivered a speech of extraordinary length and still more extraordinary ability. "The first of grievances," said he, "are those which, during this interval of eleven years, have been directed against the liberties and privileges of parliament. . . . I will show that the permission of them is as prejudicial to his majesty as to the commonwealth. I will show what way they may be remedied, and in all these I shall take care to maintain the great prerogative of royalty, which is, that the king can do no wrong." And throughout his discourse, he steadily kept the line which separates the king from his ministers, urging the responsibility of the latter. On the next day, the 18th, many members spoke, and the house voted that the proceedings remaining upon record in the King's Bench and Court of Star Chamber against Sir John Eliot, Mr. Hollis, and the other imprisoned members of the parliament of 1628, should be sent for and referred to a committee. They also ordered that the records in the case of ship-money, which concerned Mr. Hampden, should be brought into the house. On Monday the 20th, after examining the conduct of Sir John Finch in the last parliament, they resolved that it was a breach of privilege for the speaker not to obey the commands of the house; and that it appeared the speaker, Finch, did adjourn the house, by command of the king, without consent of the house, which also was a breach of privilege, and one that ought to be presented to his majesty. The very next day Charles, irritated as much as ever with the most moderate mention of the word grievance, summoned both houses before him in the Banqueting Hall. He did not speak himself, but stood by, while my Lord-keeper Finch schooled the commons. Finch told them that they ought to remember the causes of calling this parliament, which were for obtaining of assistance and supplies of money; that such and so great were his majesty's necessities that if they did not vote the supplies speedily they might as well not vote them at all.[2] Once more the lord-keeper recommended to their admiration, and their imitation, the conduct of Wentworth's brow-beaten Irish parliaments. "For his kingdom of Ireland," said he, "the last parliament before this, the very second day of the parliament they gave him six subsidies; they relied upon his gracious word, and the success was, that before the end of that parliament they had all they did desire granted." [The truth being, as the reader will remember, that as soon as the money was

[1] Harl. MSS.; Forster's *Lives of British Statesmen;* Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden.* See cut, vol. ii. p. 47.

[2] "For," said the lord-keeper, "the army is now marching, and doth stand his majesty in at least £100,000 a-month.

voted, Wentworth and Charles broke all their promises, and refused to entertain the question of grievances.[1]]

But the commons would not be cajoled; and, on the following day, when Finch's speech in the Banqueting House came to be discussed, Edmund Waller, the poet, a member of the house, and of many succeeding parliaments, eloquently claimed precedence of grievances over supplies.

Edmund Waller.—After Kneller

"Look back," said Waller, "upon the best parliaments, and still you shall find that the last acts passed are for the gifts of subsidies on the people's part, and general pardons on the king's part: even the wisest kings have first acquainted their parliaments with their designs, and the reasons thereof; and *then* demanded the assistance both of their counsels and purses. . . . Nor shall we ever discharge the trust of those that sent us hither, or make them believe that they contribute to their own defence and safety, unless his majesty be pleased first to restore them to the propriety in their own goods and lawful liberties, whereof they esteem themselves now out of possession. One need not tell you that the propriety of goods is the mother of courage, and the nurse of industry; it makes us valiant in war, and good husbands in peace. The experience I have of former parliaments, and my present observation of the care the country has had to choose persons of worth and courage, make me think this house like the Spartans, whose forward valour required some softer music to allay and quiet their spirits, too much moved with the sound of martial instruments. 'Tis not the fear of imprisonment, or (if need be) of death itself, that can keep a true-hearted Englishman from the care to leave this part of his inheritance as entire to posterity as he received it from his ancestors." In the afternoon the commons sent up to desire a conference with the lords; but their messengers found the door of the lords closed against them. On the following day the lords sent a message to excuse their refusal, upon the grounds of having had weighty business on hand, and his majesty present among them. In fact, Charles had gone down to the House of Lords and taken them by surprise, in order to induce them to interfere about the moneys; and it appears that the commons had sent to request the conference at the moment they did, in order to show that they were aware of this visit. On Saturday the lords desired a conference with the commons, and, on the Monday following, Mr. Herbert, the queen's solicitor-general, reported the matter of the conference, which was mainly about the quickening speech which the king had delivered during his sudden visit to the lords. This speech was a studied laudation of the peers, and an angry rebuke of the commons. Charles gave the lords to understand that the necessity of his affairs would bear no delay; that he must have the subsidies; that he thought that, in civility and good manners, it was fit for him to be trusted first; that the commons considering their grievances before his wants was putting the cart before the horse; that the war was begun; that the men of Scotland had pitched their tents at Dunse, and threatened an invasion in Northumberland, having already taken prisoners some English troopers. Then followed the old promises and assurances about religion, tonnage and poundage, and ship-money. And now the lords told the commons, that, having the word of a king—and, as some of their lordships were pleased to say, not only of a king, but a *gentleman*—they would no more be guilty of distrusting him, than they would be capable of the highest undutifulness towards him. And upon all these considerations, though their lordships would not meddle with matters of subsidy, which belonged properly and naturally to the commons—no, not so much as to give advice herein—yet, being members of one body, subjects of the same king, and equally concerned in the nation's safety, in their duty to his majesty, and in their natural love to their country, themselves, and their posterity, they had declared and voted in their own house that they held it most necessary and fit that the matter of supply should have precedence of every other matter or consideration whatsoever. The commons, after long debate, resolved that herein the lords had violated the privileges of their house; and they immediately referred the matter to a committee, which declared that the lords' voting about supplies was a most grievous breach of privilege.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 462.

They then demanded another conference, and having obtained it, they insisted, not only that the lords should never meddle with matter of supplies, but also that they should not take notice of anything debated by the commons, until they themselves should declare the same to their lordships—a rule, they said, which the commons would always observe with their lordships' proceedings. The lords protested that they had no intention whatever of invading any of the privileges of the commons; but the court soon determined again to put the upper house in a false position.

Upon Thursday, the 30th of April, the lower house resolved itself into a grand committee concerning ship-money, upon a full report made of that business by Mr. Maynard. In the very midst of this debate—and of course expressly to stop it—the lords sent to demand another conference. The majority of the members seemed unwilling to be diverted from the debate; and upon a division, in a very full house, 257 voted *against*, and 148 *for* a present conference. The conference was put off till the morrow, and they proceeded with the grand business of ship-money. On the following day the Lord-keeper Finch, at the conference, told the commons again that their lordships well knew and infinitely respected the privileges of their house; that they had only stepped forward out of affection to his majesty, and consideration of the great evils and calamities that were hanging over their heads, &c. Finch then endeavoured to show that the lords were bound to gratify the king, and that their voting the precedency of supply was no infringement of the commons' privilege. The whole of this speech had a most mischievous effect, and, notwithstanding its disclaimers, the commons suspected that all their other privileges were to be swallowed up, and they made wholly subservient to the peers.[1] On Saturday, the 2d of May, Charles sent Sir Henry Vane, now secretary of state as well as treasurer of the household, to tell them that the danger of the nation would be greatly increased if more time were lost; that he had received no answer at all from them, though he had already told the house that delay would be as destructive as a denial; that he once more desired an immediate answer concerning his supplies, he being resolved, on his part, to made good all his promises made by himself or by the lord-keeper. The house debated upon this message till the then unusually late hour of six in the evening, but came to no resolution. Secretary Vane, Clarendon says, treacherously, and without the king's orders (*which is very improbable, and seems to be disproved by attending circumstances*), assured the commons that the king would accept of nothing less from them than an immediate granting of twelve subsidies. Many of the members observed that, if they were thus to purchase a release from an imposition very unjustly laid upon the kingdom, they should in a manner confess it had been a just tax. As to the king's constant assertions about the great danger of the nation, there was hardly a man in the House of Commons that believed them—there were many who looked to the Scotch Covenanters as their best friends.

The day after the delivery of Vane's first message was a Sunday, but on Monday (the 4th of May) the king sent Sir Henry to the House of Commons with a second urgent message. The commons went again into a committee of the whole house to consider it. But though they spent the whole day till six at night in busy debate, they came to no resolution, and separated with desiring Sir Henry Vane to acquaint his majesty that they would resume the question at eight o'clock on the following morning. On that morning, at an earlier hour than eight, the king sent Secretary Windebank to the house of Serjeant Glanvil, the speaker, who lived in Chancery Lane, with a command to bring him to Whitehall. The commons met at the appointed hour, and were alarmed at the non-appearance of their speaker; and, while they were discoursing with one another, James Maxwell, gentleman usher, came with the black rod, to let them know that his majesty was in the House of Lords, and expected their coming thither. Charles, in effect, by the advice of Laud and of all his council, with the exception of the Earls of Northumberland and Holland, had resolved upon an immediate dissolution; for Vane and the Solicitor-general Herbert, on the preceding evening, had told him that the commons, if permitted to sit again, would pass such a vote against ship-money as would blast not only that revenue (we should have thought it had been blasted enough already), but also other branches of the king's receipts.[2] Left without their speaker, whom Charles, no doubt to Glanvil's own satisfaction, had made fast in the palace, the commons could neither vote nor protest as a house; and so they rose quietly, and followed black rod to the House of Lords. When they appeared at the bar, Charles pronounced their sentence of dissolution in a speech of some length. As on a former occasion, he praised the upper house at the expense of the lower one, telling the lords that it was neither their fault nor his that this parliament had not come to a

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion.*

[2] Clarendon, *Hist.* The noble historian adds—"What followed in the next parliament, within less than a year, made it believed that Sir Henry Vane acted that part maliciously, and to bring all into confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, whose destruction was then upon the anvil."

happy end; and, praising their lordships' willing ear and great affection, he bade them remember the commands he had given at the opening of this parliament, and then complained of the commons not taking his promises in exchange for instant subsidies. This time, however, he did not call the opposition "vipers." "I will not," he said, "lay this fault on the whole House of Commons; I will not judge so uncharitably of those whom, for the most part, I take to be loyal and well-affected subjects; but it hath been the malicious cunning of some few seditiously-affected men that hath been the cause of this misunderstanding." He concluded with saying, "As for the liberty of the people, that they now so much startle at, know, my lords, that no king in the world shall be more careful in the propriety of their goods, liberty of their persons, and true religion, than I shall. And now, my lord-keeper, do as I have commanded you." Then Finch stood up, and added, "My lords, and you, the gentlemen of the House of Commons, the king's majesty doth dissolve this parliament." This, the last dissolution which Charles was to make, took place on the 5th of May, 1640.

Even in the eyes of the king's friends he had committed a most lamentable mistake. According to Clarendon, "there could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation than this dissolution caused, and men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men[1] would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given which put the king upon that resolution." But if his enemies rejoiced and his friends grieved at the measure, Charles himself either felt no regret or concealed it. He put forth a declaration to all his loving subjects of the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament, in which he charged the commons with venting their own malice and disaffection to the state, instead of using dutiful expressions towards his person and government; with their subtle and malignant courses intending nothing less than to bring all government and magistracy into contempt, and all this, in spite of his own piety and goodness; with presuming to interfere in acts of his government and council, taking upon themselves to be guiders and directors in all matters both temporal and ecclesiastical; and, "as if kings were bound to give an account of their royal actions, and of their manner of government, to their subjects assembled in parliament," in a very audacious and insolent way, censuring the present government, traducing his majesty's administration of justice, rendering his officers and ministers of state odious to the rest of his subjects, and not only this but his majesty's very government, which had been so just, so gracious, that never was the like in this or any other nation; with having delayed the supplies in spite of all his promises, and introducing a way of bargaining and contracting with the king, as if nothing ought to be given him by them but what he should buy and purchase of them, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his revenues.[2] And, as if the unconstitutional practice of imprisoning members for words spoken in the house had not made bad blood enough—as if the case of Sir John Eliot had been forgotten by the nation and those bosom friends who were morally strengthened by his slow martyrdom in the Tower—Charles committed several members the very day after the dissolution. Mr. Bellasis and Sir John Hotham were sent to the Fleet Prison by a warrant signed by Laud, Strafford, Hamilton, Windebank, Goring, and sixteen other ministers or members of the council. The only offence alleged against them was that of their speeches. Mr. John Crew, afterwards Lord Crew, was committed to the Tower by a warrant signed by Laud, Strafford, Windebank, Goring, and six other members of the council. His offence was the not discovering or delivering up certain petitions, papers, and complaints which he had received in parliament, being in the chair of the committee for the redress of religious grievances.[3] The house of the Lord Brooke was searched for papers, and his study and cabinets were broken open.

Previously to the meeting of parliament, Laud had summoned a convocation of the clergy, and this body continued to sit in spite of the dissolution of parliament, which was considered very illegal.[4] Nor would Laud, and those who acted under him in this assembly, be warned by the signs of the times and the spirit shown by the dissolved parliament: oppressors to the last, they enacted a number of new constitutions, which were all shattered at the first meeting of the Long Parliament. They ordered that every clergyman should instruct his parishioners once a quarter in the Divine right of kings and the damnable sin of resistance to authority. They added canons charged with exaggerated intolerance against Catholics, Socinians, and Separatists. From Northamptonshire, Kent, Devonshire, and other counties, spirited petitions and exceptions

[1] Mr. Hallam has shown that all the principal men who headed the popular party in the Long Parliament were members of this—that the difference was not so much in the men as in the times; the bad administration, and bad success of 1640, as well as the dissolution of the short parliament, having greatly aggravated the public discontents in the interval that elapsed between the dissolving of this and the summoning of the next parliament.—*Const. Hist.*

[2] *Parl. Hist.; Rushworth.*

[3] *May; Rushworth.*

[4] *May.* It was contrary to ancient usage at least.

were sent up against these canons; the nation was in a ferment; but Charles obtained from the gratitude of Laud and his clergy in convocation a grant of six subsidies, each of four shillings in the pound, which money was expressly destined for the scourging of the stiff-necked Scots, and the uprooting of Presbyterianism.[1] But this was not money enough for such great undertakings, and Charles "fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of more."[2] Fresh collections were made by means of the queen and Sir Kenelm Digby among the Roman Catholics; writs of ship-money were issued in greater numbers and enforced with more severity than ever, merchants and gentlemen of landed property being almost daily star-chambered on this account; great loans were attempted to be drawn from the city of London, for which purpose the names of the richest citizens were, by royal command, returned to the council-board. These oppressive exactions being still found insufficient, bullion was seized in the Tower, bags of pepper upon the Exchange, and sold at an under rate, and a consultation was held about coining £400,000 of base money; but here the merchants and other intelligent men stepped in to show the great inconvenience and perils which always attended a depreciation of the coinage, and Charles for once listened to good advice and held his hand, notwithstanding the precedent quoted by his council.[3] Goods were bought on long credit and sold at a loss for ready money; large sums were raised in the counties where troops were quartered for the northern wars by actual violence, or horses, carts, provisions, and forage were taken from the people at the sword's point. The mayor and sheriffs of London were dragged into the Star Chamber for slackness in levying ship-money; and Strafford observed, that things would never go right till a few fat London aldermen were hanged. Four aldermen, Soames, Atkins, Rainton, and Geere, were committed by warrant of the privy council, because, being summoned before the board—his majesty present in council—they had refused to set down the names of such persons within their several and respective wards, who, in their opinions, were able to lend his majesty money for the safeguard and defence of the realm, &c. The effect of this "setting in motion all the wheels of the prerogative"[4] was inevitable. And it is generally admitted that it was now that the discontented English drew closer their bonds of friendship with the Covenanters, and that many of the king's own officers, and some of his ministers, concerted measures with Loudon, and Leslie, and other Scottish leaders. Laud's friend Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had called this Scottish war "*bellum Episcopale*" (a war for Episcopacy), and such the English people were disposed to consider it. During the sitting of the convocation, a libel, or paper, was posted up at the Royal Exchange, inviting the London apprentices, who were rather prone to mischief, to rise and sack the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth. The invitation was accepted, and, on the night of the 11th of May, a mob, consisting almost entirely of apprentices and youths, fell upon the said palace. But Laud had had time to garrison and fortify his residence; the rioters were not very numerous, and he "had no harm."[5] "Since then," he says, "I have got cannons and fortified my house, and hope all may be safe; but yet libels are constantly set up in all places of note in the city."[6] Ten days after, this gentle representative of the apostles enters in his diary—"One of the chief being taken, was condemned at Southwark on Thursday, *and hanged and quartered* on Saturday morning following." The victim, it appears, was a stripling, and the horrid punish-

THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE, LAMBETH. From an old view.

[1] *Rushworth; May; Hardwicke State Papers; Nalson.*

[2] Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion.*

[3] Queen Elizabeth had debased the coinage during her Irish wars.

[4] *Whitelock.*

[5] Laud, in noting the occurrence in his diary, says:—"May 11: Monday night, at midnight, my house at Lambeth was beset with 500 persons of the rascal riotous multitude. I had notice, and strengthened the house as well as I could, and God be blessed I had no harm." Clarendon, with his usual tendency to exaggeration, says, "that the rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute persons amounted to the number of *some thousands.*—*Hist.*

[6] *Diary.*

ment of treason was awarded to him by the court lawyers because there happened to be a drum with the mob; and the marching to beat of drum was held to be a levying of war against the king. Many others were arrested; but "some of these mutinous people came in the daytime, and broke open the White Lion Prison, and let loose their fellows, both out of that prison and the King's Bench, and the other prisoners out of the White Lion."[1] Clarendon says that "this infamous, scandalous, headless insurrection, quashed with the deserved death of that one varlet, was not thought to be contrived or fomented by any persons of quality."

Regardless of the royal prerogative, the Scottish parliament met on the 2d of June, and put forth a series of manifestoes, which had more weight in England, as well as in Scotland, than all the royal proclamations. But they had not waited so long to organize their resistance; they called out their levies in March and April, and, having retained their superior officers and their skilful commanders from abroad when they disbanded their army the preceding year, they were soon in a condition to act on the offensive; for, again, they did not wait for attack, but struck the first blow themselves.[2] Leslie was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Covenant, and, being resolved not to move southward till he was master of Edinburgh Castle, he laid siege to that fortress; but Ruthven, the governor, made an obstinate resistance. Leslie intrusted the conduct of the siege to some of his best officers, and went southward, and it was not till he was victorious on the Tyne that he learned that Ruthven was constrained to capitulate, and deliver up the castle to the Covenanters. The parliament imposed a tax of a tenth upon every man's rents, and the twentieth penny of interest on loans, &c., throughout the kingdom of Scotland; and before they adjourned they appointed a standing committee of estates, to superintend the operations of the campaign, to sit in the cabinet at Edinburgh, to move with the troops, to be in the camp or wherever else their presence should be most required. In fact, the whole executive power of the state was fixed by this parliament in their standing committee. Having got all things ready, the Covenanters resolved to enter England with a sword in one hand and a petition in the other, signifying, in the meantime, to the English people, what their intentions were, and the reasons of their invasion.

Charles, Strafford, and the Earl of Northumberland thought that they had provided for the worst in making the Lord Conway general of the horse, instead of the Earl of Holland. "He was sent down with the first troops of horse and foot which were levied to the borders of Scotland, to attend the motion of the enemy, and had a

General Leslie (Earl of Leven).—After Vandyke.

strength sufficient to stop them, if they should attempt to pass the river, which was not fordable in above one or two places, there being good garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle."[3]

Conway was in cantonment between the Tweed and the Tyne by the end of July. Upon the 20th of August Charles began his journey from London towards York in some haste; and on that very day Leslie dashed across the Tweed with his Covenanters.[4] Charles published a proclamation, declaring the Scots, and all who in any way assisted them, to be rebels and traitors, and to have incurred the penalties of high trea-

[1] Laud's *Diary*.—Clarendon says that the man was a sailor; but neither he nor the archbishop relates the worst part of the story. "On the Friday," says a contemporary, "this fellow was racked in the Tower to make him confess his companions. . . .". The king's serjeants, Heath and Whitfield, took his examination on the rack last Friday." In the case of Felton, the judges had solemnly decided against the use of torture, as always, and in all circumstances, contrary to the law of England. Its subsequent employment in this case was therefore an enormity destitute of all excuse, and it can scarcely be doubted that it was perpetrated by the direction of Laud himself. In all probability the execution of the wretched victim preserved the atrocious secret in few hands, or it would surely have attracted the notice of the Long Parliament. The circumstance is mentioned by no historian, but the warrant for applying the torture still exists in the State Paper Office. It has been printed by Mr. Jardine in his interesting tract on the *Use of Torture in England*, 8vo, 1837, pp. 108, 109. The poor victim was a mere youth. His name was John Archer. According to one account he was not a sailor but a drummer.

[2] It should be mentioned, however, that Charles, long before this, had prohibited all trade with Scotland; that his men-of-war and cruisers had been making prizes of Scottish merchantmen wherever they could find them.

[3] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[4] One part of the Scottish army crossed at a ford close to Coldstream; another part at a ford lower down the river.

son; yet he declared that he would forgive the Scots if they would "acknowledge their former crimes and exorbitancies, and in humble and submissive manner, like penitent delinquents, crave pardon for the past, and yield obedience for the time to come." He also declared himself generalissimo of his own army, and claimed the attendance of all the tenants of the crown, as upon a war waged by the sovereign in person. Numerically the royal army actually collected was an imposing force:—without counting the train-bands of the northern counties, or the Irish troops brought over by Strafford, or about to be sent over by the Earl of Ormond, it was 20,000 strong, and provided with 60 pieces of artillery. But it was imposing in numbers only: discipline, which can make ten men more effective than a hundred, and the hearty zeal in the cause, and attachment to the banner of their leaders, which can almost do as much, were altogether wanting. The Earl of Northumberland had been offered the post of commander-in-chief, under the king; but he declined the dangerous honour, on the ground of a very doubtful sickness, and it was conferred upon Strafford, who had really risen from a sick-bed, and was not yet cured of a dreadful attack of his old enemy the gout. Strafford, knowing that his undisciplined levies and wavering officers would be no match for the well-drilled Scots, and the experienced captains that commanded them, had ordered Lord Conway not to attempt to dispute the open country between the Tweed and the Tyne, but, at all hazards, to make good his stand at Newburn, and prevent the Covenanters from crossing the latter river. But before Charles could get farther north than Northallerton, or Strafford than Darlington, Conway was in full retreat, and the Scots upon the Wear, and "that infamous, irreparable rout at Newburn had fallen out."[1]

Upon Thursday, the 27th of August, Leslie and his Scots encamped on the left bank of the Tyne, a very short distance from Newburn, at a spot called Heddon-law. That night they made great fires round about their camp. During the night they suffered any Englishman that chose to visit them, making them welcome, and assuring them that they only came to demand justice from the king against incendiaries. In the course of the following day, Conway drew up the king's army, consisting of 3000 foot and 1500 horse, in some meadow ground close on the south bank of the river, between Newburnhaugh and Stellahaugh, which faced two fords, passable for infantry at low water. During the forenoon the Scots watered their horses at one side of the river, and the English at the other, without any attempt to annoy each other—without exchanging any reproachful language. For many hours the two forces looked at each other calmly, and without any apparent anxiety to engage. At last a Scottish officer, well mounted, wearing a black feather in his hat, came out of Newburn to water his horse in the river Tyne; and an English soldier, seeing this officer fix his eye on the English trenches, fired at him, whether in earnest or to scare him was not known, but the shot took effect, and the officer with the black feather fell wounded off his horse. Thereupon the Scottish musketeers opened a fire across the river upon the English, and Leslie ordered his artillery to commence. The Scots played upon the English breast-works, and the king's army retaliated upon Newburn Church, till it grew to be near low water, by which time the Scottish artillery had made a breach in the greater sconce, where Colonel Lunsford commanded. The English colonel had great difficulty to keep his men to their post, for several had been killed, and many wounded, and when they saw a captain, a lieutenant, and some other officers slain, they began to murmur; and, after receiving another well-directed shot from the Scots, they threw down their arms and ran out of the fort. Leslie, from the rising hill above Newburn, plainly perceived this evacuation, and it being then low water, he commanded his own body-guard—a troop of twenty-six horse, and *all Scotch lawyers*—to pass the ford, which they did with great spirit, and having reconnoitred the other sconce, or breast-work, they rode back, without coming to close

Newburn, Northumberland.—From a sketch by J. W. Carmichael.

[1] *Clarendon.*

quarters. Still keeping up his fire, he at length made the English foot to waver, and finally compelled them to abandon that work also. Then Leslie played hard upon the king's horse, drawn up in the meadow, and so galled them that they fell into disorder, which was greatly increased when the Scottish lawyers charged again with a body of cavalry under Sir Thomas Hope, and two Scottish regiments of foot, commanded by the Lords Lindsay and Loudon, waded through the river. Presently Leslie threw more troops, both horse and foot, on the right bank, and then Colonel Lunsford drew off all his cannon, and a retreat was sounded by the English trumpets.[1] After this short struggle the English fled in the greatest disorder to Newcastle. Nor did they consider themselves safe there, for the Lord Conway called a council of war, and it was resolved, at twelve o'clock at night, that the town was not tenable,[2] and that the whole army should fall back instantly upon Durham. In the whole battle—if battle it may be called—there fell not above sixty Englishmen: it was evident that they had no mind to fight the Scots in this quarrel.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—From an old view

By five o'clock on the following morning, August the 29th, Newcastle was evacuated, and all that part of the English army in full retreat. For a time it appears the Scots could scarcely believe their good fortune; but, in the afternoon, Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, rode up with a trumpet and a small troop of horse to the gates of Newcastle, which, after some parley, were thrown open to him. The following day, being Sunday, Douglas and fifteen Scottish lords dined with the mayor, Sir Peter Riddle, drank a health to the king, and heard three sermons preached by their own divines. Conway did not consider Durham more tenable than Newcastle: he pursued his retreat to Darlington, where he met the fiery Strafford, who, however, was fain to turn with him, and fall still farther back to Northallerton, where the standard of Charles was floating.[3] Leslie soon quitted Newcastle, and was marching after them, so, having hastily reviewed their forces, and found them greatly diminished by desertion, the king, Strafford, and Conway all moved together from Northallerton, and fell back upon the city of York, with the intention of intrenching close under the walls of that town, and sending back their cavalry into Richmond or Cleveland, to guard the river Tees and keep the Scots from making incursions into Yorkshire. Leslie took Durham as he had taken Newcastle; and the Scots entered without opposition into Shields, Teignmouth, and other places. Without losing twenty men they became masters of nearly the whole of the four northern counties of England. But though the road to York seemed open to them, though the disaffection of the inhabitants was well known, they paused upon the left bank of the Tees. On the 11th of September, when the Londoners were already greatly dismayed by the notion that they should get no more coals from Newcastle, his majesty took a view of his army under the walls of York, and found that it still consisted of 16,000 foot, and 2000 horse, besides the trained bands of Yorkshire. "Braver

[1] "The truth is," says Secretary Vane, in a letter to Windebank, "our horse did not behave themselves well, for many of them ran away, and did not second those that were first charged." —*Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] *Rushworth.* This laborious writer was on the spot at the time.

[3] Strafford, according to Clarendon, had brought with "a body much broken with his late sickness, a mind and temper confessing the dregs of it, which, being marvellously provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late dishonour, rendered him less gracious—that is, less inclined to make himself so to the officers upon his first entrance into his charge; it may be, in that mass of disorder, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who, by this time, no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts the earl found it necessary to retire."—*Hist.* We learn from a letter of Sir Henry Vane (in *Hardwicke Papers*) that Strafford at this time was troubled with the stone as well as the gout. Charles, it appears, thought to revive him and reward him by giving him the blue ribbon, which was done on the 13th of September.

bodies of men, and better clad," wrote Sir Henry Vane to Secretary Windebank, "have I not seen anywhere. . . . . So, if God sends us hearts and hands . . . and so as you do provide us monies in time, I do not see, though it must be confessed they [the Scots] have made but too far and prosperous advance already into this kingdom, but that, God being with his majesty's army, success will follow."[1]

But, to say nothing of God's blessing, which *his* preachers said he had, heart and money were both wanting; and the unwelcome conviction induced Charles to turn a ready ear to those who urged the necessity of temporizing with the Scots. He condescended to receive as envoy and negotiator the Lord Lanark, secretary of state for Scotland, and brother to the Marquis of Hamilton, who presented the petition of the Covenanters to his majesty. Charles, on the 5th of September, gave a gentle but evasive answer to the Earl of Lanark, telling him that he was always ready to redress the grievances of his people; that the petition he had presented was conceived in too general terms, but that, if he would return with a more specific statement of their grievances, he would give them his earliest attention. Even at this extremity, he was most averse to the summoning of a parliament: but he thought (most unreasonably) to satisfy the Scots by telling Lanark that he had already issued summonses for the meeting of the *peers* of England, in the city of York, on the 24th day of September. On the 8th of September the Covenanters sent Lanark a list of their grievances and conditions, expressing their great joy at learning that his majesty was beginning again to hearken to their humble petitions and desires.

These demands, though respectfully expressed, were not altogether moderate; but Charles read them, pretended to entertain them, and, with indignant pride, turned to Strafford to know whether 20,000 men could not be brought over *instanter* from Ireland; and he looked to other quarters to see whether there were not means for resisting and chastising the Scotch rebels. But there were none: the whole nation was in discontent and ferment, and the provinces occupied by the Scots cried with an alarming voice to be released from the burden of supporting them. At the same time Charles was beset by English subjects, who clamoured for a new parliament and the redress of their own crying grievances. Twelve peers—Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, Mulgrave, Say and Sele, Howard,

York, from Fishergate Postern.—From a print by Lodge (1678).

Bolingbroke, Mandevill, Brooke, and Pagett—presented a petition to the sovereign. At the same time the citizens of London prepared a petition to the same effect. Laud and the privy council, sitting in the capital, got sight of a copy of this petition as it was being circulated for signature, and thereupon they endeavoured to stop the proceedings and terrify the subscribers.[2] But the citizens disregarded their letter, put nearly 10,000 names to the petition, and despatched some of the court of aldermen and common council to present it to the king at York. Also the gentry of Yorkshire, when called upon to pay and support the trained bands for two months, agreed to do their best therein, but most humbly besought his majesty to think of summoning parliament.[3] Charles now, indeed, saw that this was inevitable; and before the meeting of the peers, who had been really summoned to York as a great council, he issued writs for the assembling of parliament on the following 3d of November. Meanwhile, upon the appointed day —the 24th of September—the great council of peers assembled in the dean's house near the minster at York. There Charles told them that he had called them together, after the custom of his predecessors, to ask their advice and assistance upon sudden invasions and dangers which had not allowed time for the calling of a parliament; that an army of rebels were lodged within the kingdom; that he wanted their advice and assistance, in order to proceed to the chastisement of these insolences. He then asked what answer he should give to the petition of the rebels,

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] See Laud's letter to the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, in *Rushworth.*

[3] *Rushworth.*

and in what manner he should treat them, and how he should keep his own army on foot and maintain it until supplies might be had from a parliament. The Earl of Bristol proposed to continue and conclude the treaty with the Scots. He and other lords were confident that they could make peace upon honourable terms. While they were speaking, a packet was brought from the Covenanters to Lord Lanark, with a new petition to his majesty, "supplicating in a more mannerly style than formerly." On the following day (the 25th of September), the lords, delighted with his majesty's assurance of calling a parliament, entered into debate with great cheerfulness and alacrity. Northallerton had been agreed upon for a place of meeting between the English and Scotch commissioners, but now it was declared that Ripon would be a better place; and the English peers unanimously resolved to hold the negotiations at Ripon. Sixteen of the English peers were to act for Charles,[1] eight Scottish lords and gentlemen for the Covenant.

Charles attempted to transfer the conferences from Ripon to the city of York; but the Scots, who were very cautious—who, in the midst of all their civility, had shown that they had not the slightest confidence in his royal word—objected to putting themselves so completely in his power. Here, also, their jealousy and hatred of Strafford blazed forth. That potential, and still formidable minister was set down as "a chief incendiary," as a main cause of all these troubles, as a colleaguer with Papists, the worst foe of Scotland as of England.[2] If the loose and inaccurate minutes of the proceedings of the great council of peers at York may be trusted, Strafford did not advise his master at this juncture to break off all negotiation and trust to force of arms; he was too keen-sighted a person not to perceive the great and growing disaffection of the English army; but another peer certainly gave something very like this resolute advice. Edward, Lord Herbert, commonly called the Black Lord Herbert, irritated at the Scots' demand of £40,000 per month, advised the king to fortify York, and dissuaded his majesty from yielding to that demand. But this advice, though in all respects it coincided with the feelings of the king, was too dangerous to be adopted.

The commissioners laboured with little effect from the 1st of October till the 16th, when they agreed upon articles for the quiet maintenance of the Scottish army for two months, for the opening of the seaports in the north and the renewal of free trade and commerce by sea and land, as in time of peace, and for the cessation of hostilities; and nothing more was settled, for all the grievances and important clauses of a definitive treaty were left untouched: and on the 23d of October—the time of the meeting of parliament approaching—it was agreed that the negotiations should be transferred from Ripon to London. The Scots were to receive or levy the sum of £850 *per diem* for the space of two months, beginning from the 16th of October; they were to content themselves with this maintenance, and neither molest Papists, prelates, nor their adherents;[3] and by this arrangement Leslie and the Covenanters were left in undisturbed possession of Durham, Newcastle, and all the towns on the eastern coast beyond the Tees, with the single exception of Berwick. "Upon such terms," says a contemporary, "was this unnatural war (although the armies could not as yet be disbanded) brought to a cessation."[4]

Upon the 3d of November, 1640, Charles, in evident depression of spirits, opened in person the ever-memorable Long Parliament.[5] He told the houses that the honour and safety of the kingdom being at stake, he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly on the love and affection of his English subjects—that he was exhausted by charges made merely for the security of England, and therefore must desire them to consider the best way of supplying him with money, chastising the rebels, &c., and then he would satisfy all their just grievances. And at the end of his speech he said, with great emphasis—"One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another: as I promised my lords at York, it shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good parliament."[6] But this invitation to a mutual confidence came many years too late. The court had signally failed in its endeavours to influence the elections. Of Charles's chief servants only two, Vane and Windebank,

[1] They were Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire, Mandevill, Wharton, Pagett, Brooke, Paulet, Howard, Saville, and Dunsmore; and they were to be assisted in arranging the treaty by the Earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanark, Secretary Vane, Sir Lewis Stuart, and Sir John Burrough, who were men either versed in the laws of Scotland, or who had been formerly acquainted with this business. The Scottish commissioners were the Lords Dunfermline and *Loudon*, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, Alexander Henderson, the celebrated preacher, Johnson, the clerk of the general assembly, Wedderburne, and Smith.

[2] *Rushworth.*

[3] Some of the Scotch army thought it quite fair to plunder the Papists of Northumberland, and from the Papists they had proceeded to bishops' tenantry and Episcopalians. [4] *May*

[5] Charles would not open parliament with the usual state. He, as it were, skulked to the house. "The king," says Laud in his diary, "did not ride, but went by water to King's Stairs, and through Westminster Hall to the church, and so to the house." Clarendon says with more solemnity, "This parliament had a sad and melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events."—*Hist.*

[6] Charles was followed by the Lord-keeper Finch, who made an elaborate speech to show that, with the exception of the impious troubles in the north, the country was in a blessed state—that things never had been so well, and never could be better.

had obtained seats; and the first of these was suspected of treachery, while Windebank was so odious to the people as a creature of Laud, that his presence in the house was rather hurtful than beneficial. For a long time it had been usual with the commons to bow to the king's inclinations in the choice of a speaker; even in the preceding parliament they had chosen a courtier; but now, instead of Gardiner, the recorder of London, the man of the king's choice, Lenthall, a practising barrister, was hastily chosen; and the choice was approved by Charles, in ignorance of the man. Hampden, Pym, St. John, and Denzil Hollis again took their seats, and their party was wonderfully strengthened by the election of Mr. Harry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, and one of the most remarkable men that sat in that parliament—so wild an enthusiast in religion as to excite a suspicion of his sanity or sincerity—so acute a politician, so accomplished a statesman, as to challenge the admiration of all parties. The first thing these men did was to move for the appointment of committees of grievance and the receiving of petitions praying for their removal. Mr. Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon and the historian of the revolutions of the time), still of the patriotic party, brought up a crying grievance in the north, which was none other than Strafford's Court of the President of the North, or, as it was more usually called, the Court of York. The eccentric George, Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, brought up the grievances in the west—Sir John Colpepper, the grievances in the south—Waller, the poet, a fresh denunciation of ship-money, subservient judges, and the intermission of parliaments. Other petitions were presented in a more startling manner. "The first week," says Whitelock, "was spent in naming general committees and establishing them, and receiving a great many petitions, both from particular persons and from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances and exorbitances, both in church and state." The Lord Falkland, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Edward Deering, Mr. Harbottle Grimston, and other leading members, fell vigorously upon the system of Episcopacy, and the house presently denounced all the acts and canons which Laud had hurried through the late convocation. They attacked every part of church government—every proceeding of the primate in matters of religion and conscience. Sir Edward Deering compared the modern Episcopacy to Papistry, and attacked that tyrannical court which was so dear and essential to Laud. "With the Papists," said he, "there is a severe Inquisition, and with us there is a bitter High Commission; both these, *contra fas et jus*, are judges in their own case." He went on to show how nearly Laud's notions of supremacy and infallibility approached to those of the pope. "And herein," added he, "I shall be free and clear—if one of these must be, I had rather serve one as far off as the Tiber, than to have him come to me so near as the Thames: a pope at Rome will do me less hurt than a patriarch at Lambeth." It may readily be conceived how these things affected Laud, who shortly before had been visited by omens and misgivings, and who clearly saw ruin approaching.[1] It was, indeed, evident that the commons believed, with Pym, that "they must not only make the house clean, but pull down the cobwebs."[2] They debated with the same fearlessness and the same high eloquence on the other grievances of the country; but for many days they constantly returned to the subject of religion and to the evil counsellors about the king.[3]

[1] "October 27, Tuesday, Simon and Jude's Eve, I went into my upper study to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford; in that study hung my picture, taken by the life, and, coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament: God grant this be no omen."—*Diary.* A few days before, the archbishop notes in the same private record—"The High Commission sitting at St. Paul's, because of the troubles of the times, very near two thousand Brownists made a tumult at the end of the court, tore down all the benches in the consistory, and cried out, they would have no bishop, nor no High Commission."

[2] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[3] "The favour of the administration, as well as the antipathy that every parliament had displayed towards them, not unnaturally rendered the Catholics, for the most part, assertors of the king's arbitrary power. This again increased the popular prejudice. But nothing excited so much alarm as the perpetual conversions to their faith. These had not been quite unusual in any age since the Reformation, though the balance had been very much inclined to the opposite side. They became, however, under Charles, the news of every day; Protestant clergymen in several instances, but especially women of rank, becoming proselytes to a religion, so seductive to the timid reason and susceptible imagination of that sex. They whose minds have never strayed into the wilderness of doubt, vainly deride such as sought out the beaten path their fathers had trodden in old times; they whose temperament gives little play to the fancy and sentiment, want power to comprehend the charm of superstitious illusions—the satisfaction of the conscience in the performance of positive rites, especially with privation or suffering—the victorious self-gratulation of faith in its triumph over reason—the romantic tenderness that loves to rely on female protection—the graceful associations of devotion with all that the sense or the imagination can require—the splendid vestment, the fragrant censer, the sweet sounds of choral harmony, and the sculptured form that an intense piety half endows with life. These springs were touched, as the variety of human character might require, by the skilful hands of Romish priests, chiefly Jesuits, whose numbers in England were about 250, concealed under a lay garb, and combining the courteous manners of gentlemen with a refined experience of mankind, and a logic in whose labyrinths the most practical reasoner was perplexed. Against these fascinating wiles the Puritans opposed other weapons from the same armoury of human nature; they awakened the pride of reason, the stern obstinacy of dispute, the names, so soothing to the ear, of free inquiry and private judgment. They inspired an abhorrence of the adverse party, that served us a barrier against insidious approaches. But far different principles actuated the prevailing party in the Church of Eng-

From speaking, the commons soon proceeded to action; not always bearing in mind the strict limits of their power and jurisdiction. On the 7th of November, the fourth day of their sitting, they passed a resolution that those victims of Star Chamber tyranny and cruelty, Mr. Burton, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Prynne, should be sent for forthwith by warrant of the house, and made to certify by whose warrant and authority they had been mutilated, branded, and imprisoned. And, being liberated from their distant dungeons, by this warrant of the house, the three Puritans, upon the 28th day of November, came to London, being met upon the way and brought into the city by 5000 persons, women as well as men, all mounted on horseback, and wearing in their hats and caps rosemary and bays, in token of joy and triumph. Happy had it been if the released captives and sufferers for conscience' sake, and those who triumphed with them in their release, had learned to tolerate others, or had ascertained the great fact that persecution and cruelty defeat their own objects! Within a month after the return of the three Puritans, their business was referred to a committee, and, upon the report of that committee, it was voted by the house that their several judgments were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject; and, about a month after this, it was further voted that they should receive damages for their great sufferings, and that satisfaction should be made them in money, to be paid by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the other high commissioners, and those lords who had voted against them in the Star Chamber, and that they should be restored to their callings and professions of divinity, law, and physic. The damages were fixed for Burton at £6000, for Prynne and Bastwick at £5000 each. As these men were comforted after their sufferings, so other divines, followers of Laud's orthodoxy, after a brief triumph, were brought to their torment. The committee of religion was indefatigable, and certainly neither tolerant nor merciful.

Among all the men of his rank, Laud's friend and pet author, Dr. Cousens, master of St. Peter's, Cambridge, was most remarked for what were termed superstitions and curious observances. "He was not noted," says May, "for any great depth of learning, nor yet scandalous for ill living, but only forward to show himself in formalities and outward ceremonies concerning religion, many of which were such as a Protestant state might not well suffer." Cousens was imprisoned and bailed, and though deprived of some of his preferments, yet escaped without any great punishment, being one of a crowd that had reason to rejoice that the parliament had so much business on hand. On the 18th of December, Cousen's friend and patron, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., &c., was singled out for the crushing thunderbolts of the house. It was resolved that a message should be sent to the lords to accuse him, in the name of the house and of all the commons of England, of high treason, and to desire that he might be forthwith sequestered from parliament and committed. Denzil Hollis carried up this message. Evidently to his surprise, the Lord-keeper Finch told him, that the lords would sequester the archbishop from their house, and commit him to the custody of their gentleman usher.[1] Laud desired leave to speak, and dropped some unguarded expressions, which he afterwards begged leave to retract, but was refused by their lordships. He then requested permission to go to his house to fetch some papers, that might enable him to make his defence. This permission was granted, provided he did nothing but in sight of the gentleman usher, in whose custody he was ordered to remain, and in whose custody he *did* remain for ten weeks, when he was committed to the Tower. In his speech on the motion of impeachment, Mr. Grimston desired the house to look upon Laud's colleagues and dependants. "Who is it but he only," exclaimed the orator, "that hath brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places and employments? . . . Who is it but he that brought in Secretary Windebank into that place of trust—Windebank, the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon? Who is it but he only, that hath advanced all our Popish bishops? I shall name but some of them: Bishop Mainwaring, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Oxford, and Bishop Wren, the least of all these birds, but one of the most unclean."[2] On the morrow of Laud's ar-

land. A change had for some years been wrought in its tenets, and still more in its sentiments, which, while it brought the whole body into a sort of approximation to Rome, made many individuals shoot, as it were, from their own sphere, on coming within the stronger attraction of another. The charge of inclining towards Popery, brought by one of our religious parties against Laud and his colleagues with invidious exaggeration, has been too indignantly denied by another."—Hallam, *Constitutional History of England.*

It is strange that among the weapons which the author represents the Puritans as employing against the Romanists, he omits by far the most effective and formidable—their constant appeal to the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures. This, indeed, was not a weapon taken from the armoury of human nature, but just the less ought it to have been absolutely ignored. —ED.

[1] At the same time, Laud was denounced as "the great incendiary in the national differences" by the Scotch commissioners, who had come up to London, and were residing in the city—"much frequented by the disaffected."

[2] Mainwaring, who had made such a noise by his writings in favour of absolutism and the Divine right of kings, was now Bishop of St. David's; the Bishop of Bath and Wells was William Pierce; the Bishop of Oxford was Dr. John Bancroft; Matthew Wren, now of Ely, had been Bishop of Norwich, and had distinguished himself in that diocese by his violent persecution of

rest (the 19th of December), it was ordered that a message should be sent to the lords, that there were certain informations of a high nature against Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, concerning the setting up of idolatry and superstition; and that the commons, having information that he was endeavouring an escape, desired their lordships that care might be taken that he should

Harbottle Grimstone.
From an old print, after an original picture at Gorhambury.

give good security to abide the judgment of parliament. Mr. Hampden went up with this message.

But before these churchmen were stricken in their pride of place, Strafford had been denounced, formally accused, and safely lodged in the Tower. When the king left York, his lieutenant remained behind him, to take charge of what remained of the army in the north. It is proved by many concurrent witnesses that Strafford was averse to coming to London and meeting the parliament. His friends told him, that to appear in his place as a peer would be to hazard his life. He humbly represented to his master, that it would be better to leave him where he was, as he could not hope to be able to do his majesty any service at Westminster, where he felt he should rather be a hindrance to his affairs, as he foresaw that the great envy and ill-will of the parliament and of the Scots would be bent against him. He told Charles, that if he kept out of sight, he would not be so much in their mind; and if they should fall upon him, he, being at a distance, might the better avoid any danger, having liberty of going over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to his majesty. The king, notwithstanding these weighty reasons, continued very earnest for Strafford's coming up to the parliament. Charles had a wonderful notion of Strafford's powers of imposing on parliaments, and his own less daring spirit stood in need of his servant's resoluteness; and in the end he laid his commands upon him, pledging himself for his safety, and assuring him that, as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head. Strafford made haste to thank his majesty for these assurances, but still unconvinced, he once more represented the danger of his coming, saying that if there should fall out a difference between his majesty and his parliament concerning him, it would be a very great disturbance to his majesty's affairs; and that he had rather suffer himself, than that the king's affairs should suffer on his account. But Charles would not be moved by these representations, or by the prospect of the danger which must attend his favourite minister; he repeated his injunctions, saying, that he could not do without Strafford's valuable advice in the great transactions of this parliament; and in obedience to these reiterated commands, the earl came up to London.[1] Strafford assumed a bold bearing, and a confidence which his inmost heart denied. "A greater and more universal hatred," says a noble contemporary, "was never contracted by any person, than he has drawn upon himself. He is not at all dejected, but believes confidently to clear himself in the opinion of all equal and indifferent-minded hearers, when he shall come to make his defence."[2] Strafford arrived in town on Monday night; on Tuesday he rested from the fatigues of the journey; on the Wednesday he went to parliament, "but ere night he was caged."[3]

"It was about three of the clock in the afternoon," says Rushworth, "when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough), that he made that haste then to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in,

Puritans and his expulsion of the industrious clothiers—foreigners, or descendants of foreigners, who would not renounce the religion they had brought with them into England. Bishop Wren was uncle of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren.

[1] *Whitelock.*

[2] *Sidney Papers:* letter from the Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Leicester, dated the 13th of November, 1640.

[3] Letters of Robert Baillie, principal of the university of Glasgow, and one of the Scottish commissioners sent up to London. "Intolerable pride and oppression," says Baillie, "cries to Heaven for vengeance."

and when Mr. Pym, at the bar, and in the name of the commons of England, impeached Thomas, Earl of Strafford, of high treason, and several other heinous crimes and misdemeanours, of which, he said, the commons would in due time make proof in form; and, in the meantime, desired, in their name, that he might be sequestered from all counsels, and be put in safe custody." Pym, who carried up the impeachment, had, according to Clarendon, announced his determined hatred to Strafford many years before. "You are going to leave us," said Pym, when Wentworth first went over to the king's party, "but we will never leave *you*, while your head is upon your shoulders." On the present occasion Strafford had gone in haste to the house. "He calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens: his lordship, with a proud, glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board head; but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. . . . . Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach;' so he behoved to do."[1] A few days after his arrest, Strafford requested to be admitted to bail, but this was refused him, and he was safely lodged in the Tower.

Next the commons impeached Secretary Windebank and the Lord-keeper Finch; but little or no care was taken to secure their persons, and both were allowed to escape. Windebank, favoured by the queen, fled into France, where he soon made a public profession of Catholicism; Finch fled into Holland. Clarendon hints that Finch had come to a compromise with the popular party, "it being visible he was in their favour;" but he expresses his surprise at their suffering Windebank to escape their justice. But the commons of England were not remarkable for their appetite for blood; they wanted the heads of Laud and Strafford, and no more, and probably connived at, or were glad to see the flight of their satellites.[2] What they had already done was well calculated to strike terror into the hearts of all worshippers of the despotic principle. It was, indeed, wonderful to see how all the advocates and instruments of despotism, ship-money, and all kinds of illegal taxation, fell at the first blow, and crouched at the feet of their victors. The whole fabric of absolutism was shattered like a house of glass, or melted like a fabric of ice and snow on the return of the summer sun. Charles was helpless, hopeless, at once; there seemed to be scarcely a man in the land to raise sword or voice in his favour; nor did he gain anything like a formidable party till these first terrors had subsided, and the parliament had stepped beyond that line of reform which the general opinion held to be necessary.

It was not possible for the commons to overlook the slavish judges who had upheld ship-money and condemned Mr. Hampden. They sent up Waller with a message to the lords, and their lordships forthwith ordered that Bramston, Davenport, Berkeley, Crawley, Trevor, and Weston should find heavy bail to abide the judgment of parliament. Berkeley, whose speeches will be remembered, was impeached of high treason, and, to the great disturbance of his brethren, both judges and lawyers, he was arrested while sitting on the bench, with his ermine on, and brought away like a common felon. But the commons were certainly not anxious for his blood; and after some time he was permitted to withdraw himself, having, it is said, been *forced* to give a *free* gift of £10,000 for the public service.

A.D. 1641. On the 19th of January Mr. Pridеaux brought in a bill for preventing the dangers and inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments. He proposed that the parliament should be held yearly. In committee the house rejected that proposition, and followed the example which had been set them by the Scots a few months before, in voting for regular triennial parliaments. At the same time, to guard against the statute becoming a dead-letter, they directed that the issuing of writs at the fixed time should be imperative on the lord-keeper or chancellor; that

[1] Letters of Baillie.

[2] Speaking of Laud and Wentworth, Mr. Hallam says:—"The haughty and impetuous primate found a congenial spirit in the lord-deputy. They unbosom to each other, in their private letters, their ardent thirst to promote the king's service by measures of more energy than they were permitted to exercise. Do we think the administration of Charles during the intervals of parliaments rash and violent? They tell us it was over-cautious and slow. Do we revolt from the austerities of the Star Chamber? To Laud and Strafford they seemed the feebleness of excessive lenity. Do we cast on the crown lawyers the reproach of having betrayed their country's liberties? We may find that, with their utmost servility, they fell far behind the expectations of the court, and their scruples were reckoned the chief shackles on the half-emancipated prerogative."—*Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. p. 456.

if he failed, then the House of Lords should issue the writs; if the lords failed, then the sheriffs were to do it; and if the sheriffs neglected or refused, then the people were to proceed to elect their representatives without any writs at all. They moreover provided, that no future parliament should be dissolved or adjourned by the king, without its own consent, within less than fifty days from the opening of its session. Charles here attempted to make a stand. On the 23d of January he summoned both lords and commons to Whitehall: there he reproved the latter for their long delays; and spoke of their connivance, which suffered distraction to arise by the indiscreet petitions of men who, "more maliciously than ignorantly, would put no difference between reformation and alteration of government."[1] The king, however, was now unable either to uphold bishops or resist the commons in any other particular; and he shortly after reluctantly gave his consent to the bill for triennial parliaments, which was received by the country with demonstrations of joy and triumph.

All this while the Scottish commissioners were residing in the heart of the city, near London Stone, in a house so near to the church of St. Antholin's, a place made famous by some Puritan or seditious preacher, that there was a way out of it into a gallery of the church. "This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all matters which had reference to religion; and to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort by the citizens out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning of every Sunday to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty."[2] Clarendon could hardly overrate the influence exercised in the city by these Scottish preachers, and by the lords-commissioners.[3] Some of the latter were very acceptable upon other grounds besides those of religion; they were men of the world, and men of business, pleasant in conversation, and of great address: moreover, the English reformers were bound to them by the double conviction that they could not have achieved what they had done had it not been for the bold march of the Covenanters, and

[1] *Parl. Hist.* [2] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[3] "Of the Scotch ministers who, in 1640, and some following years, went up to London on public affairs, Laing relates that "from dawn till the Sabbath was concluded, their chapel was crowded and surrounded with multitudes of all ranks, whom the novelty of the Presbyterian worship had attracted. The conflux and insatiate resort of the people, who clung to the windows when excluded from the doors, to inhale the sanctified tones and provincial accents of a barbarous preacher, has been justly ascribed to the fanatical spirit that began to predominate, which rendered them apt recipients for the fumes of devotion." And Hume speaks of the insatiable avidity with which the people attended to their lectures, "delivered with a ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and ignorance." The *Quarterly Review*, too, at a later date, while it passes the highest encomiums on the learning, taste, and eloquence of Knox and his contemporaries, insists that when the Covenant came, those gifts passed over to the Episcopalians.

"The best that can be said of the charges we have quoted, is that they are utterly absurd. The statements of Hume and Laing are themselves the mere cant of a party, and could these writers have communicated their accent to their style, it would have been found no less barbarous than that of their reverend countrymen. As for the reviewers, theirs is the language of gross ignorance, and, we may add, of stupidity; for having admitted the superlative merits of Knox and the Melvilles, how could they rationally believe that the gifts of these men should so soon pass away from the party that gloried in them as their leaders, to another which had calumniated the memory and tried to suppress the writings of Knox, and had banished both the Melvilles?"

In short, there is nothing wonderful, and, least of all, is it any imputation on the taste of the parliamentary party and the citizens of London, that they thus flocked to hear the Scottish preachers. No one who compares the theological writings of the English and Scotch at that period, can fail to be struck with the superior flexibility of the Scotch style—a circumstance that has been ascribed to the progress of the Scottish branch of the Anglo-Saxon not having been interrupted as the English was, by several centuries of suppression, in the literate classes, by Norman-French. But if English divinity, down to the days of Barrow and of Tillotson—however at times sonorous and majestic—was cumbrous, long-winded, and heavy when read, how much more so must it have been when delivered from the pulpit! Now the Scottish preachers had broken loose from this stiff, half-Latin, and involved phraseology. Gillespie, in particular, had emancipated himself from it. He seems to have had much of the most striking peculiarities of Thomas Chalmers. Curt, terse, and rapid in diction, altogether unincumbered with the pedantry of Latin and Greek quotations, but as rich in classical as Chalmers in scientific allusions, with one emphatic illustration following another, and the emphasis often assisted, as in Chalmers too, by happy alliterations, his preaching must have added to the charm of highly cultivated youthful genius, that of freshness and novelty. As for Baillie and Rutherford, one can only smile at their being charged with ignorance and barbarism. And the following paragraph from Henderson's speech at the taking of the Covenant by the House of Commons and the Westminster Assembly, will prove how justly he has been described as "short and succinct, grave and dignified, rising at times to the highest pitch of eloquence, by the simplicity and grandeur of his thoughts and imagery:"—

"Nor is it unknown to this honourable, reverend, and wise audience, what errours and heresies in doctrine, what superstition and idolatrie in worship, what usurpation and tyrannie in government, what cruelty against the souls and bodies of the saints, have been set on foot, exercised and executed for many generations, and now of late, by the Romane church—all of which we hope, through the blessing of God upon this work, shall be brought to an end. Had the pope at Rome the knowledge of what is this day doing in England, and were this Covenant written on the plaster of the wall over against him, where he sitteth, Belshazzar-like, in his sacrilegious pomp, it would make his heart to tremble, his countenance to change, his head and mitre to shake, his joints to loose, and all his cardinals and prelates to be astonished."

Milton, Selden, and other of the greatest of England's worthies, were doubtless present and heard this magnificent address, and great must have been their wonder could they have foreseen that the orator who pronounced it would be traduced by future Scottish historians as an ignorant barbarian.—See *Presbyterian Review*, vol. iv. p. 129.

that they could not be sure of their victory if the Scottish army were withdrawn from the northern provinces. The patriots promised them high rewards, and heaped all possible honours upon them; they were caressed in both houses of parliament; and an order was entered, that upon all occasions they should be styled "our brethren of Scotland." Charles, on the other hand, saw clearly that there was no hope of restoring the old order of things until the Scottish army should be beyond the Tweed, and disbanded; and he complimented and cajoled the commissioners, and in his eagerness yielded many points in the treaty, in the design of being the sooner rid of them and their army. They advanced claims for the immediate restoration of all Scottish ships and merchandise which had been taken by the English cruisers, and were gratified by a ready compliance. They also claimed indemnification for the charges they had sustained; and Charles referred this money question to the English House of Commons, who speedily voted £125,000 for the expenses of the Scottish army during five months, and £300,000 "as a friendly relief for the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland." Before this money could be paid they got large sums for the Covenanters, by way of loan; and there appears to have been no difficulty in raising money in this way in the city of London whenever the proceeds were to go to "our brethren of Scotland." There remained to settle the last clause of the treaty, touching the establishment of a lasting peace between the two nations; and this clause the Scottish commissioners made so difficult, that there was no settling it for the present.

CHAPTER XII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1641.

CHARLES I.

Charles tries concession—Preparations for Strafford's impeachment—His trial—Pym's charges against him—Strafford's answers—Fresh charge adduced by Pym—The earl's courage and eloquence on his trial—Bill of attainder passed against him—Attempts of the king to procure the earl's escape or liberation—The popular feeling kept alive against Strafford—"Solemn Protestation" subscribed by the lords and commons—Rumours of conspiracies against the patriots—Hesitation of Charles to sign Strafford's death-warrant—He has recourse to his public conscience, and signs the warrant—Strafford's conduct on receiving the tidings—His execution—Mary de' Medici arrives in England—Her short and uncomfortable stay—Laud's bishops kept away from parliament—The Scottish army returns home—The English army disbanded—Charles visits Scotland—His conciliatory proceedings—Sturdy conduct of the Covenanters—They reject the royal claim to fill up vacant offices—The affair of the "Incident" in Scotland—Principal persons involved in it—Particulars of the plot—Its effect on the English parliament—Suspicions of all parties against Charles—The Irish rebellion—Its causes—Intrigues and aims of its leaders—Their attempt to surprise Dublin discovered—The rebellion breaks out—Its havoc and massacres—Proceedings of the English parliament to quell it—Charles returns from Scotland to London—His quarrels with the parliament resumed—Their "Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom"—Appearance of Oliver Cromwell in the discussion—The "Remonstrance" carried—Remarks of Charles on receiving it—Altercations between the king and parliament about the Irish rebellion—The "Remonstrance" printed and sent through the country—Charles attempts to get the Tower into his keeping—The commons oppose him—They succeed in freeing the Tower from royal custody—Popular excitement—The cry raised of "No Bishops"—Affray and bloodshed in Westminster on the occasion.

TOO late, Charles tried the efficacy of concession. The forest laws had been greatly abused, and had excited violent murmurs: he sent down the Earl of Holland to tell the lords that, out of his grace and goodness to his people, he was willing to lay down all the new bounds of his forests in this kingdom, and that they should be reduced to the condition they were in before his late encroachments. On a former occasion, when he drew Wentworth, Noye, and Digges from the opposition, he had felt the benefit of tampering with and employing some of the patriots; and he now fondly hoped that a similar experiment on political integrity would be attended with the like success. Whitelock says that there was a proposal (the subject of much discourse) to preserve the Earl of Strafford, by converting his enemies into friends by giving them promotion; that, according to this plan, one should be made lord-treasurer, the Lord Say master of the wards, Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Hollis secretary of state, Mr. Hampden tutor to the prince, &c.[1] Clarendon mentions a design of giving some of the great offices of the state to some heads of the popular party; but he says, distinctly, that

[1] *Memorials.*

their continued violence in the prosecution of Strafford was the reason for which Charles decided "that the putting of those promotions in practice should be for a time suspended." This is very different from Whitelock's implication—it goes to show that the leaders of the opposition, or the "drivers of parliament," as they were called, did not follow up the great incendiary because they had been refused the places, but, on the contrary, that they were refused the places because they steadily persisted in the prosecution of Strafford.

Pym, whom, as we believe, no earthly consideration could have turned from his purpose of having the head of the greatest and most dangerous enemy to the liberties of his country, had been laboriously employed for more than three months in preparing the charges and proofs against Strafford.[1] That fallen lord had now to feel by what an insecure tenure he had held the brow-beaten parliament of Ireland. As soon as his sword of strength was shivered by the commons of England, the Irish parliament sent over a committee, and showed themselves no less intent upon his ruin than the English and Scots. In Ireland he had carried his tyranny to its greatest height; and the English commons welcomed with affection and joy the committee that came to depose against him, and give the weight of one of the three kingdoms to his prosecution.

Strafford's trial, which had long been the most absorbing subject, now came on. On Monday morning, March 22d, about seven o'clock, the earl came from the Tower, accompanied by six barges, wherein were 100 soldiers of the Tower, all with partisans, and fifty pair of oars. At his landing at Westminster he was attended by 200 of the trained band, who guarded him into the Hall. "The king, queen, and prince came to the house about nine of the clock, but kept themselves private within their closets, only the prince came out once or twice to the cloth of state, so that the king saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none." The Earl of Arundel, "being," says Clarendon, "a person notoriously disaffected to the Earl of Strafford," was appointed high-steward, and the Earl of Lindsay high-constable, for the trial. It had been debated whether the bishops should have voices in the trial; and upon the preceding Saturday the startled prelates voluntarily declined voting, being ecclesiastical persons, and so prohibited by the canons from having their hands in blood.[2] Exceptions had also been taken to some recently made peers, who were all friends to the prisoner; and the commons demanded that no peer created since the day upon which the Earl of Strafford was impeached of high treason should sit on his trial.

The Earl of Arundel, as Lord High-steward of England, sat apart by himself, and, at Strafford's entrance into the dock, he commanded the house to proceed. Then the impeachment, which consisted of twenty-eight capital articles, was read, with Strafford's reply to it, in 200 sheets of paper. This occupied the first day. On the morrow at the appointed hour Strafford again appeared at the bar, and again the king, queen, and prince took their seats in court.[3] The lord-steward having commanded the committee of the commons who were to manage the evidence to proceed, Pym stood up, and said:—"My lords, we stand

John Pym.—From a print by Houbraken.

here by the commandment of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled for the commons in parliament, and we are ready to make good that impeachment whereby Thomas, Earl of Strafford, stands charged in their name, and in

[1] The select and secret committee appointed by the commons consisted of Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Lord Digby, Strode, Sir Walter Earl, Selden, St. John, Maynard, Palmer, Glynne, and Whitelock. These were to consider the informations against the earl, to arrange the evidence, and, with the occasional assistance of Lord Falkland, Colpepper, and Hyde, to manage the conferences with the lords, and conduct to its close this solemn and long protracted trial.

[2] Clarendon says that this was done by the Bishop of Lincoln, old Williams, who was still alive and active, and burning with revenge against his cruel persecutor, Archbishop Laud. But it should appear that nearly all the bishops were hopeless of doing Strafford any good, and really averse to being present: and it is quite certain that the canons excluded priests from capital trials.

[3] "The tirlies" (trellis), says Baillie, "that made them (the king and queen) to be secret, the king brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eyes of all; but little more regarded than if they had been absent." The Covenanter's description of the scene in Westminster Hall is striking and curious, and not altogether honourable to the good feeling and decency of those present.

the name of all the commons of England, with high treason. This, my lords, is a great cause, and we might sink under the weight of it; and be astonished with the lustre of this noble assembly, if there were not in the cause strength and vigour to support itself, and to encourage us. It is the cause of the king; it concerns his majesty in the honour of his government, in the safety of his person, in the stability of his crown. It is the cause of the kingdom; it concerns not only the peace and prosperity, but even the being of the kingdom. We have that piercing eloquence, the cries, and groans, and tears, and prayers of all the subjects assisting us. We have the three kingdoms, England, and Scotland, and Ireland, in travail and agitation with us, bowing themselves, like the hinds spoken of in Job, to cast out their sorrows." Pym enumerated the pleas in Strafford's reply, denouncing them all as false or insufficient. He then went at length into Wentworth's abuses of power in Ireland, where chiefly he had earned his bad pre-eminence, and where it was sufficiently proved that he had arrogated an authority beyond what the crown had ever lawfully enjoyed, and even beyond example of former viceroys of that island, where the disorganized state of society, the constant occurrence of insurrections and rebellions, and the distance from control, had given rise to such a series of arbitrary precedents, as would have covered and almost excused any ordinary stretch of power.[1] Pym produced his witnesses, who deposed to acts of absolute tyranny. The managers then desired that the remonstrance from Ireland might be read. The prisoner opposed this, as something containing new matter not in the original charge; but they replied, that the subverting of laws and corruption of government was in general laid in their charge; and upon the Lord Baltinglass and the Lord Digby of Ireland vouching for the truth of the copy, the powerful remonstrance of the Irish parliament was read. Strafford, in answer to it, said that it was the produce of faction and confederacy, and a strong conspiracy against him. These last expressions put the managers into a heat, and Mr. Glynne exclaimed, "My lords, these words are not to be suffered." Strafford craved time to recollect himself, and make his defence to certain charges, protesting, by the Almighty God, that he never had other intentions than to be true and faithful to his majesty and the commonwealth. The managers insisted that he had had time enough, and ought to answer instantly: the lords adjourned for half an hour, and at their return ordered him to make his answer presently. The prisoner then replied, in a long and able speech, to every article contained in the Irish remonstrance, taking shelter more than once under his commission, and the king's warrants and express commands. Pym replied to this defence; maintaining that it did not make my Lord of Strafford more excusable. And hereupon the court was adjourned to the following day. On the morrow, the third day of the trial, Maynard, one of the managers and an expert lawyer, continued the accusations about the tyranny exercised in Ireland, and produced other witnesses. Strafford was permitted to interrupt the witnesses, and to speak at length, which he did frequently, with great eloquence and an admirable show of modesty and equanimity. This was the case on nearly every day of his long and remarkable trial. "The Earl of Strafford," says May, "answered daily at the bar, whilst the whole House of Commons, having put themselves into a committee, had liberty to charge him, every man as he saw occasion. . . . Every day the first week, from Monday to Saturday without intermission, the earl was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and arraigned many hours together; and the success of every day's trial was the greatest discourse or dispute in all companies. For by this time the people began to be a little divided in opinions. The clergy in general were so much fallen into love and admiration of this earl, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was almost quite forgotten by them. The courtiers cried him up; and the ladies, whose voices will carry much with some parts of the state, were exceedingly on his side." But the spectacle of one man resisting, as it were, three nations, without confidence in the master he had served, and with scarcely a resource or a hope, except such as he drew from his own abilities, was calculated to impose on others besides court gentlemen and ladies—of the mass of the people, who have been in all ages most honourably distinguished by their love of an equal combat, and their dislike of seeing one man beaten by many. The two managing lawyers, moreover, Glynne and Maynard, insisted too much upon vague and general clauses, and overdid their part with the quibbles and forced constructions of the legal profession. Again, though many of the deeds proved against the prisoner were despotic and detestable, there was scarcely one taken singly that came within the verge of treason, and the managers heaped the charges together in the design of making what was called accumulative treason. "There is nothing in this," cried Strafford, "that can be treason; and, when one thousand misdemeanours will not make one felony, shall twenty-eight misdemeanours heighten it to a treason?" They possessed not many of the letters which are now open to every reader, and which prove beyond a doubt that he was a systematic enemy of his country's liberties, a minister that would,

[1] Hallam, *Const. Hist.*

indeed, have gone "thorough" — who would scarcely have hesitated at any state crime. His opinions delivered in council were tolerably well known, but he maintained that the worst of these did not amount to treason. "Opinions," said he, "may make an heretic, but that they made a traitor, I have never heard till now."

On the 10th of April, Pym, Strafford's evil genius, intimated to the commons that he had to communicate a matter of the last importance. Instantly an order was given that the members should remain in their places and the doors be locked; and then Pym and Harry Vane the younger were called upon to declare what they knew of the matters contained in the 23d article of the impeachment. Pym produced and read "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the privy council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." These notes had been taken by the older Vane, one of the secretaries of state; but there are different accounts of the way in which his son got possession of them. Whitelock, who was actively engaged on the trial, says that Secretary Vane, being out of town, sent his son the key of his study, that he might look into his cabinet for some papers which the secretary wanted; that the son, in looking over many papers, lighted upon these notes, which being so decisive against Strafford and so important to the public, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them; and that thereupon he showed them to Pym. Others assert that the papers were purposely put in the way of his son by the elder Vane because he hated Strafford; while others again affirm, that the son purloined them, to the sore displeasure of his father. The weightiest part of these private notes of the council was this

"Your majesty," Strafford was made to say, "having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man. You are absolved and loosed from all rule of government, and free to do what power will admit: and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months."

After Strafford had made his reply to this additional proof, Arundel, the lord-steward, told him that if he had anything further to say in his defence he should proceed, because the court intended to prepare for their speedy judgment. The prisoner, though suffering greatly in body as well as mind for his old enemies, the gout and stone, had revisited him in the Tower, made a summary of the several parts of his former defence, and concluded with very eloquent and pathetic words.[1] "Certainly," adds Whitelock, "never any man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence; with greater reason, judgment, and temper; and with a better grace in all his words and gestures." He moved many men to pity: but Pym was pitiless; he considered the life of the great criminal, in any circumstances, as dangerous to the liberties of his country; and he and Glynne learnedly aggravated his offences, and maintained that they should be punished as treason. On the 17th of April the point of law was argued for the earl, for Strafford was allowed counsel, which had not always been the case in prosecutions for high treason. But by this time the commons had changed their tack, fearing the increasing good feeling of the peers towards the prisoner, and the royal prerogative of pardoning him after sentence. They had resolved to proceed with a bill of attainder against Strafford for endeavouring to subvert the liberties of his country. This bill encountered a much stronger opposition in the commons than had been expected. Upon the 19th of April, upon the motion for the engrossment of the bill, there was a sharp debate; the eloquent Lord Digby, hitherto one of the most popular members, speaking vehemently against it. His lordship admitted that Thomas, Earl of Strafford, was a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment. "I believe him," said he, "still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other." But then he objected to the validity of the evidence, which he thought had altogether failed to establish treason as the law then stood. "God keep me," said his lordship, "from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *à posteriori*. . . . To condemn my Lord of Strafford judicially as for treason, my conscience is not assured that the matter will bear it: and as to doing it by the legislative power, my reason cannot agree to that: since I am persuaded neither the lords nor the *king* will pass the bill, and consequently that our passing it will be a cause of great divisions and combustions in the state. And therefore my humble advice is, that, laying aside this bill of attainder, we may think of another, saving only life, such as may secure the state from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by division concerning his

[1] The bitter Baillie says, "At the end he made such a pathetic oration for half an hour as ever comedian did on the stage. The matter and expression was exceedingly brave. Doubtless, if he had grace and civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. One passage is most spoken of: his breaking off, in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect in his memory, others for a notable part of his rhetoric; some, that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopped his mouth: for they say that his first lady being with child, and finding one of his mistress's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he struck her on the breast, whereof she shortly died."

punishment as he hath endangered it by his practices."

In law, in reason, in humanity, Digby's speech was conclusive: but others saw no security to the state except in the block; and the violent passions of some within the house, stimulated and encouraged to action by the still more violent passions of many without, opposed themselves to his lordship, who, moreover, was now suspected, and upon very good grounds, of being won over to the court through the fascinations of the queen. On the 21st of April the bill of attainder was passed in the commons by an immense majority,[1] and sent up in the afternoon to the lords. The peers showed no great haste in despatching the bill. To quicken them, mobs gathered round the parliament house, crying for Strafford's blood; and a petition to the same effect, and signed by many thousands, was presented by the city of London. The commons sent up Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, to acquaint their lordships that they had heard that the Earl of Strafford was designing to escape; and to desire that he might be made a close prisoner, and the guards strengthened. It is indeed quite certain that several attempts were made to release the prisoner, and that schemes were entertained, which, if they had succeeded, would have sent the leaders of the commons to take his place in the Tower. Charles had hastened to assure Strafford that, though he might be forced to make some sacrifices to the violence of the times, he would never consent that so faithful a servant should suffer in life, fortune, or honours. The king entertained a plan, which seemed feasible: one hundred trusty soldiers were to be suddenly introduced into the Tower; and these men, it was calculated, would give him the entire command of that fortress. Another plan was to remove Strafford from the Tower, under the pretext of conveying him to another prison, and to rescue him on the journey. But there was one calculation in which the devisers of these various designs were in fault. Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, without whom nothing could be done, was proof to bribes and royal promises: he was attached to the popular cause—perhaps intimidated by the formidable aspect of the city of London, and by the prospect of danger to himself; he refused to obey the royal warrant, and turned scornfully away from Strafford, who offered him £22,000, and (it is said) a matrimonial alliance.

After the utter failure of these, and of other and far more desperate schemes, Charles resolved to try whether he could not prevail over the commons in an audience; and on the 1st of May he called both Houses of Parliament before him, and passionately desired of them not to proceed severely against the earl. He told them that originally he had not had any intention of speaking in this business, but now it had come to pass, through their proceeding by attainder, that he, of necessity, must have part in the judgment; he told them that they all knew he had been present at the hearing of the trial, from the one end to the other, and so was conversant with all their proceedings that way, and the nature of their evidence; that in his conscience he could not condemn him of high treason. He left it to their lordships (he never mentioned the commons in this address) to find some way or other to bring him out of this great strait, and yet keep themselves and the kingdom safe; and he proposed that Strafford should be punished as for misdemeanours and not treason.[2]

On their return to their own house, the commons testified their discontent at the king's interference, and his invasion of their privileges. The following day was a Sunday, which gave the Puritan preachers the opportunity of inflaming the popular mind, by preaching the necessity of justice upon great delinquents, and proving by Scripture texts that Heaven would be highly gratified by a bloody sacrifice. Their discourses produced the desired effect: on the following morning, a fierce rabble of about 6000 issued from the city, and thronged down to Westminster and the Houses of Parliament, with clubs and staves, crying out for justice against the Earl of Strafford. At the same time there was almost as great a ferment within the commons' house, where Pym and his friends were imparting information about some practices in the north "to distract the English army, and to debauch them against the parliament." The commons soon voted that it was necessary to close the sea-ports, and to desire his majesty to command that no person attending upon himself, the queen, or prince, should depart without leave of his majesty, granted upon the humble advice of his parliament; and, after further debate, they resolved that a "solemn protestation" should be taken by the whole house, promising, vowing, and protesting, in the presence of God, to maintain, with their life, power, and estates, the true reformed Protestant religion against all Popery and Popish innovation; to maintain and defend his majesty's royal person and estate, as also the power and

[1] Only fifty-four, or, as Whitelock says, fifty-nine members of the lower house voted against the bill; and on the following morning the names of these gentlemen were placarded in the streets as Straffordians, who, to save a traitor, were willing to betray their country. Nalson says that exceptions were taken in the house at Digby's eloquent speech upon the Friday following, when his lordship explained; that for the present there was nothing done, though afterwards the sleeping revenge roused itself, and upon the 15th of July the speech, by order of the house, was burned by the common hangman.—*An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, &c.

[2] *Rushworth.*

privilege of parliaments, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, &c. Mr. Maynard read, and probably composed this bond, which, though less emphatic, and far shorter, was an evident imitation of the Scottish Covenant. It was instantly subscribed by the speaker, and by every member present.[1] Forthwith they despatched a message to the lords, to acquaint them with their alarms, arising out of the secret practices to discontent the army, &c., and to request that a select committee might be appointed to take examinations upon oath, concerning desperate plots and designs. And at the same time the commons agreed upon a letter to the army in the north, to assure them that they should have money, and that the house could not doubt of their affections to the parliament, notwithstanding the efforts made to corrupt them. Nor did they stop here: to provide against foreign invasion, they ordered that the forces in Wiltshire and Hampshire should be drawn towards Portsmouth, and the forces in Kent and Sussex concentrated at Dover; and they declared that any man advising or assisting the introduction of any foreign force should be reputed a public enemy to the king and kingdom.[2] These resolutions were sent up to the lords in the afternoon, together with the Protestation, which the commons desired might also be taken by every member of their lordships' house. On the morrow, the 4th of May, the lords desired a conference with the commons; and when the two houses met, the lord privy-seal stated that his majesty had taken notice how the people assembled in such unusual numbers (while he was speaking the houses were surrounded by another mob from the city), that the council and peace of the kingdom might be thereby interrupted, and, therefore, as a king that loved peace, and made it his care that all proceedings in parliament might be free, his majesty desired that these interruptions might be removed, and wished both houses to devise how this might be done. The lords further declared, at this conference, that they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder, but that they were so encompassed with multitudes of people, that their lordships might be conceived not to be free, unless those multitudes were sent to their homes. This was soon done; for the lords having agreed to and taken the Protestation, Dr. Burgess, a popular preacher, went out and addressed the mob. The doctor acquainted them with the Protestation, read that bond to them, and besought them in the name of the parliament to retire quietly to their houses; and they all departed forthwith. Soon after, the Protestation was tendered to the whole kingdom, as the Covenant had been in Scotland, with the same intimation, that whosoever refused it should be set down as an enemy to his country's liberties and religion.

Men's minds were now so over-excited by constant talk and rumours of desperate plots, that the slightest circumstance sufficed to create perilous alarm. On the 5th of May, as Sir Walter Earl was making a report to the house of some fabulous plot to blow them all up after the fashion of Guido Fawkes, the breaking or cracking of a plank under the weight of two corpulent members caused a terrible excitement, and the march of civic troops to the house. The citizens collected in immense numbers; one regiment of the train-bands armed upon beat of drum, and they all proceeded together towards Westminster to secure the parliament; but, finding there was no cause, they returned again. It may possibly be that some men looked upon this false alarm as a good experiment on the devotion of the citizens to the parliament; and the result was certainly well calculated to warn the king. On the following day the house was informed that six or eight dangerous conspirators—among whom were Henry Jermyn (the queen's favourite) and Henry Percy, both members of the House of Commons—had fled, and that the queen was preparing to go after them. On Friday, the 7th of May, the lords passed the bill abrogating the king's prerogative to dissolve parliament, and also the bill of attainder against Strafford. Both were passed in a thin house—for the Catholic peers would not take the Protestation, and kept away, and the friends of Strafford, it is said, were afraid of the mob. Those present voted, that the 15th and 19th articles had been fully proved, and that Strafford, as therein charged, had levied money in Ireland by force, in a warlike manner; and had forcibly imposed an unlawful oath upon the subjects in Ireland.[3] They consulted the judges, and the judges unanimously declared that these offences amounted to treason! The bill was passed in the lords by a majority of twenty-six to nineteen. On the morrow, the 8th of May, the commons requested the lords to join with them to move his majesty for his consent to the bill of attainder, as they conceived that the peace of the kingdom depended upon the immediate execution of that bill; and the upper house agreed to their request, and sent a certain number of peers to wait upon his majesty. Charles was now without hope and without help. His own feeling, his pride, his honour, suggested that he ought to risk any extremity rather than seal Strafford's doom; but he had not moral courage for this course. The prisoner in the Tower held

[1] It was a full house, wanting only a very few members; 415 took the Protestation. Rushworth gives the list. We know not why many historians state the number at 300.

[2] Among these resolutions was one, "that strict inquiry be made what Papists, priests, and Jesuits be now about town."

[3] *Whitelock.*

his life by a thread. But still, to do something for his servant, or to salve over his own conscience, Charles, on the morrow—it was a Sunday—summoned his privy council together at Whitehall, called in some of the judges and bishops, propounded several scruples, imparted his doubts and misgivings, and asked their opinions. Honest, plain-spoken Juxon, Bishop of London, boldly advised him not to consent to the shedding of the blood of a man whom in his heart he believed to be innocent. Williams, the old Bishop of Lincoln, and now about to be Archbishop of York,[1] was of a very different opinion. He told Charles "that there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man; and that the question was, not whether he should save the Earl of Strafford, but whether he should perish with him; that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children (all which were now in danger), weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a master or a friend could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend or servant; and by such unprelatical, ignominious arguments, in plain terms, advised him, even for conscience' sake, to pass that act."[2] Three "others of the same function, for whose learning and sincerity the king and the world had greater reverence"—Usher, Primate of Armagh, Moreton, Bishop of Durham, and another bishop, advised Charles to guide his conscience by the opinion of his judges. The judges, it is said, refused to give any reasons for their opinion, and merely stated that the case of Strafford, as put to them by the lords, was treason. The majority of the council pressed upon him the votes of both houses of parliament and the imminent danger of a refusal; and, late on Sunday evening, Charles reluctantly subscribed a commission to give his assent to the bill. According to one account, he shed tears; according to another, he exclaimed that the condition of the doomed Strafford was happier than his own.

On the preceding Tuesday the prisoner had addressed a remarkable and a very touching letter to the king. He bemoaned the fate of his numerous progeny who must be beggared by his attainder; he spoke of the king's conscience, but he declared that he was quite ready to die in order to establish a "blessed agreement" between his majesty and his subjects; nay, he even requested the king to pass the bill of attainder. Some writers are of opinion that, in penning this letter, Strafford was heroically sincere; that the prisoner was willing to throw off his afflicted mortal coil, and that his life should be a peace-offering: but we confess we cannot entertain this notion, but are rather inclined to regard the letter as having been written to work upon the feelings of the king, who might probably have been expected to use it as he had used a similar letter of Goodman (which had saved that priest's life), and without any intention or expectation on the part of Strafford that his life should be sacrificed by his master. One of the best of contemporary authorities we have to follow says, that the king sent Carleton to the prisoner to acquaint him with what he had done, and the motives of it, especially the earl's own consent to die; that Strafford then *seriously* asked whether his majesty had passed the bill or not—"as not believing without some astonishment, that the king would have done it"—and that, being again assured that the bill was really passed, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."[3]

Two days after the fatal Saturday, on Monday, the 10th of May, the commission empowering the Earl of Arundel (the lord privy-seal) and two other lords to give the royal assent to the bill for the execution of the Earl of Strafford upon the *Wednesday* following, passed the great seal; and the commons were sent for to the lords, to be present at the giving the royal assent to that bill, and to the bill for doing away the prerogative of dissolving parliament. And on the same day Charles sent to inform both houses that the Irish army, which had caused so great an alarm, should be instantly disbanded; in return for which gracious message the commons assured Charles that they would make him as glorious a potentate and as rich a prince as any of his predecessors. On the morrow, the 11th of May, only one day before that fixed for the execution, Charles sent a letter to the lords by the hands of the young Prince of Wales. The royal breast must have been occupied by greater fears than ever; for it is scarcely possible to conceive a more trembling and miserable petition for mercy, and the concluding words made the doom of death prominent, and, as it were, inevitable. They were these—"But if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say '*fiat justitia.*'

"Postscript.—If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday."

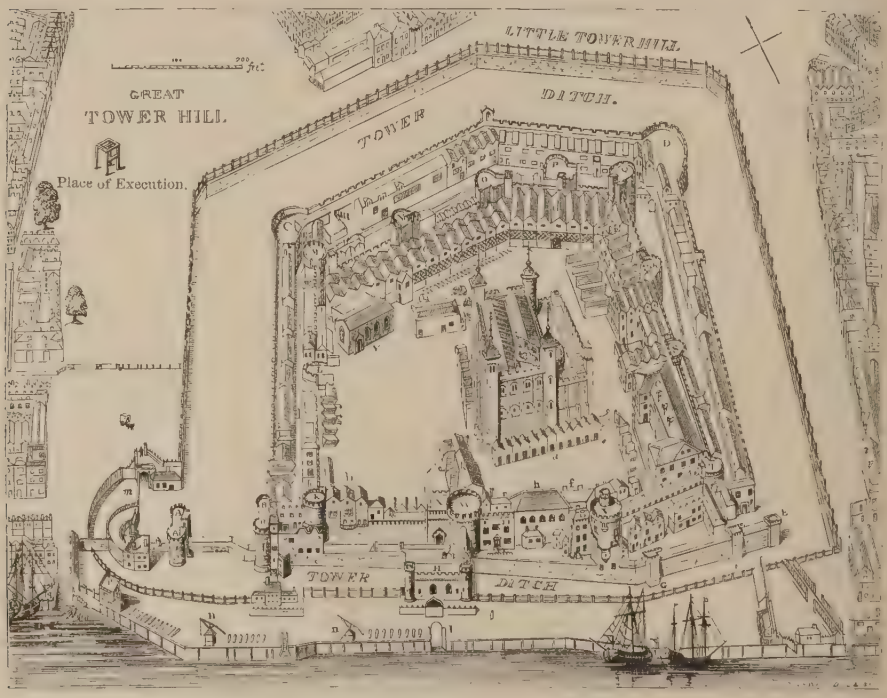
By this strange postscript Charles indeed manifestly surrendered Strafford, and gave the lords cause to suspect that he was doing something for decency but nothing in earnest. The letter was twice read in the upper house, and after "serious

[1] Williams was promoted to York on the 4th of December of this same eventful year, 1641.

[2] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[3] *Whitelock.*

and sad consideration," twelve peers were sent to tell the king that neither of the two intentions expressed in the letter could, with duty in them, or without danger to himself, the queen, and all the young princes, possibly be advised. Without permitting the twelve noble messengers to use any more words, Charles said, "What I intended by my letter was with an '*if*' it might be done with contentment of my people. If that cannot be," he added, "I say again *fiat justitia!* My other intention, proceeding out of charity for a few days' respite was, upon certain information that his estate was so distracted that it necessarily required some few days for settlement." To this the lords replied, that it was their purpose to be suitors to his majesty, that favour might be showed to Strafford's innocent children, and that if the prisoner had made any provision for them the same might hold.[1] Then Charles turned away from the lords, who stayed him to offer into his hands the letter which he had just sent to them. "My lords," said Charles, "what I have written to you I shall be content it be registered by you in your house: in it you see my mind;



Bird's-Eye View of the Tower of London.—From a Drawing made between 1681 and 1689 by order of Lord Dartmouth, Governor-General of the Ordnance.—From the Vetusta Monumenta.

A. Martin's Tower.
B. Byward Tower.
C. Legge Mount.
D. Brass Mount.
E. Dwelling Tower.
F. Well Tower.
G. Cradle Tower.
H. Traitor's Tower and Traitor's Gate.
I. Drawbridge.
K. Bell Tower.
L. Beauchamp Tower.
M. Devereux Tower.
N. Flint Tower.
O. Bowyer's Tower.
P. Brick Tower.
Q. Jewel Tower.
R. Constable's Tower.
S. Broad Arrow Tower.
T. Salt Tower.
V. Lantern Tower.
W. Record Tower.
X. Bloody Tower.
Y. The Chapel.
a. The White Tower or Keep.
b. Lieutenant's Lodgings.
c. Lower Old Storehouses.
d. Upper Old Storehouses.
e. Great New Storehouses.
f. Ordnance Office.
g. Constable's Lodgings.
h. Mortar Pier Storehouse.
k. Little Storehouse in Old Harbour.
l. Mint Street.
m. Place for the Lions.
n. Cranes on the Wharf.
p. Banbury Castle.
q. Brewer's Quay.

I hope you will use it to my honour." The next day was the fatal Wednesday. During the preceding night, the last of his stormy career, Strafford received the visit of Archbishop Usher, whom he requested to go to his old friend and fellow-prisoner Laud, and beg him to lend him his prayers that night, and give him his blessing when he should go abroad on the morrow. On the morrow morning, when he came forth to die, he said, as he drew near to that part of the Tower where the archbishop was confined, "Master Lieutenant, though I do not see the archbishop, give me leave to do my last observance towards his

[1] Almost immediately after the execution, the commons passed a bill relieving Strafford's issue from all consequences of the attainder.

rooms." But in the meantime, Laud, advertised of his approach, came up to the window. Then the earl bowed himself to the ground and said, "My lord, your prayers and your blessing." The archbishop lifted up his hands and bestowed both, but overcome with grief he fell to the ground, and the procession moved onwards. But after he had proceeded a little further, Strafford bent himself a second time, and said, "Farewell, my lord; God protect your innocence." According to the laborious Rushworth, the clerk of the parliament, and one of the innumerable eye-witnesses, he marched towards the scaffold upon Tower-hill more like a general at the head of an army than like a condemned man. He was attended upon the scaffold by Archbishop Usher, the Earl of Cleveland, and his brother Sir George Wentworth; and other friends were present to take their last leave. The multitude collected to see him die was estimated at 100,000 men, women, and children; but all preserved a respectful and awe-struck silence. He had prepared the heads of a speech, which he now delivered.[1] He said, that he was come to submit to the judgment passed against him; that he did submit with a quiet and contented mind, freely forgiving all the world. His conscience, he said, bore him witness that he was innocent, although it was his ill-hap to be misconstrued. The executioner severed his neck at one blow, and holding up the bleeding head towards the people, cried, "God save the king!" The people scarcely believed what they saw; they shouted not, they gave way to no malignant or triumphant feelings; but in the evening they testified their joy and satisfaction by lighting bonfires in the streets.[2]

The death of Strafford completed the panic among the old placemen, most of whom now abandoned office in the hope of escaping impeachment. St. John had already been made attorney-general, and one of his first offices as such had been to drive on the trial of the great earl. On the 17th of May, the Lord Cottington gave up his place as master of the wards, which was conferred upon the Puritanic and patriotic Lord Say. The Marquis of Hertford was made governor to the prince, the Earl of Essex lord-chamberlain, and the Earl of Leicester, another nobleman of the popular party, was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. All these men were strong in the confidence of the House of Commons, but, from their first moment of entering upon office, they were intolerable to the king, who never trusted them, and who pursued so many by-paths with them that they ended (possibly they had begun) by never trusting him. On the 22nd of June the commons presented to the king their grant of tonnage and poundage, which he now accepted as a gift from his people. Six subsidies had also been voted. Three other acts were likewise presented, one imposing a poll-tax for the defraying of the charges of the armies, the second and third putting down for ever the High Commission Court and the detestable Star Chamber, which had, in fact, both fallen into decrepitude at the opening of the present parliament. On the 2nd of July, Charles gave his assent to the poll-tax bill, probably hoping that it would disgust the people, and turn them against their new legislators or rulers; but he demurred upon the other two acts. The commons voted that he should pass all three or none at all; and Charles, alarmed at their tone, on the 5th of July, passed the other two also.

The important events which we have had to condense have carried us over some family incidents which were far from being of insignificant moment. In the autumn of 1638, the intriguing, turbulent, conscienceless, Mary de' Medici, Queen-dowager of France, and mother to Henrietta Maria, arrived in England, and was conducted in great state through London. Cardinal Richelieu, after a hard contest, had driven her out of France with disgrace and in poverty. Her daughter, the Queen of Spain, could not, or would not grant her an asylum: the Queen of England had more filial tenderness, or more power, and after long entreaties she prevailed upon Charles to receive and maintain her. The country, the religion, the manners of this royal refugee all rendered her obnoxious to the people. The sailors who brought her over called the equinoctial gales which raged during her passage "queen-mother weather," and popular superstition connected the coming of the Papist and idolatress with a pestilence that was then raging. Nor were these prejudices removed by the liberality of the king, who granted her an enormous pension, and a patent or monopoly upon leather.

Whenever the popular excitement was great Mary de' Medici and her train of priests came in for a large share of abuse. Terrified at some great crowds and tumults during the trial of Strafford, she desired a guard for her security. The commons, saying that they were bound in honour not to suffer any violence to be done to her, referred the business to a committee. Mr. Henry Martin reported that the committee had agreed to provide for her safety by all good ways and means; being, however, of opinion that the best thing she could do was to be gone out of England, he moved that the house would entreat the lords to join with them in a petition to his majesty that the queen-mother might be moved to depart the kingdom, the rather for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's

[1] This paper was picked up on the scaffold after his head had fallen. [2] *Rushworth; Nalson; May; Sir P. Warwick.*

well-affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about the queen's person, by the flocking of priests and Papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass.[1] Charles, however, held out; but Mary de' Medici was made restless and wretched by constant alarms, and soon showed that she was more anxious to leave England than ever she had been to come to it. The only thing that was wanting was money for her journey, and the commons gladly voted her £10,000 out of the poll-tax. In the month of July she took her departure, to become again a homeless wanderer; but she did not wander far, dying at Cologne shortly after.

On the 4th of August, Serjeant Wild, in the name of the commons of England, presented at the bar of the upper house charges of impeachment against thirteen bishops[2] who had been most active in pursuing Laud's system, and who were especially charged with contriving, making, and promulgating, in the late convocation, several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, contrary to the king's prerogative, the laws of the realm, the rights of parliament, and the properties and liberties of the people. By this measure, though the bill for depriving prelates of their seats had been lost, thirteen bishops were kept away from parliament.

The Scottish Covenanters, on the whole, had had a very comfortable time of it in the north of England: it had been for the interest of the commons to keep them well supplied with money, and to administer to their comforts in other respects. The military duty was light, allowing an abundance of time for preaching and praying; and the English people in those provinces had before, or they then contracted, an affection for the Calvinistic doctrine. As long as the royal army was kept on foot at York, the parliament considered it unsafe to permit the departure of Leslie's army; and it was very easy for them to prolong the negotiations; but at length, in the beginning of August, the treaty of pacification was concluded—Charles agreeing not merely to disband his army at York, but also to withdraw the strong garrisons which he had thrown into Berwick and Carlisle. The Scots obtained the security of the English parliament for payment of a balance of £220,000 of the "brotherly assistance," and "with store of English money and spoils, and the best entertainment, they left their warm and plentiful quarters"—not, however, until Leslie had seen that Charles's army was really disbanding. During the negotiations, Charles had offered to go into Scotland, and to meet the Scottish parliament for the better settlement of sundry matters; and as early as the month of June he had announced his intention of making this journey. But it in no way suited the English parliament to let him go at this moment, nor could his utmost efforts obtain their permission until the 10th of August. The popular party considered the journey as rife with danger and intrigue; and some of them, even at the last moment, would have prevented it. They desired the king to appoint a regent during his absence; but Charles got over this difficulty by naming commissioners, and, having given the command of all the forces on this side Trent to the popular Earl of Essex, he got into his carriage ruminating deep things, being attended by none in the coach but his nephew, Charles Louis, Elector Palatine (who had got out of Richelieu's clutches), by his cousin, the Duke of Lennox, created Duke of Richmond, and by the Marquis of Hamilton. He had not been gone a week when the Earl of Holland, formerly the queen's favourite, but now irritated against her and the whole court, sent a letter to the House of Peers, "with some obscure words, as if there were new practices and designs against the parliament." The lords imparted the contents of the letter to the commons, who forthwith appointed commissioners to go into Scotland, ostensibly to superintend the ratification of the recent treaty, but in reality to keep watch over the king, and, in the language of their instructions, "to certify the parliament from time to time of their proceedings, and of all occurrences which shall concern the good of this kingdom." The persons appointed for these delicate offices were, the Earl of Bedford, Edward, Lord Howard, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armyne, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Mr. Hampden; and a draft of a commission was sent after the king for him to sign, empowering the said commissioners to treat, confer, and conclude with such commissioners as should be named by the Scottish parliament. Charles, very anxious to avoid this surveillance, refused to sign the commission, and told the English parliament that he did so because the treaty was already ratified by the parliament of Scotland. The Scottish army was over the Tweed, and the lord-general had almost disbanded all the English army; and therefore his majesty saw no necessity for such commission, yet, in the end, was pleased to give leave to the members named to come and attend him in Scotland, &c. This answer was not written

[1] *Rushworth.*

[2] They were Winchester, Coventry, Gloucester, Exeter, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Ely, Bangor, Bristol, Rochester, Peterborough, and Llandaff; and the name of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was put at the end of the list. The commons did not forget to take notice of their bribes to the king. They said, in their impeachment, "And to add more weight and efficacy to this their monstrous design, they did, at the same synod, under a specious and fair title, grant a benevolence or contribution to his majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law."

till the 25th of August. For reasons not explained, the Earl of Bedford did not go, but Lord Howard, Mr. Hampden, and the rest, hastened into Scotland.

In the meantime the king had made a pleasant journey, and met with a kind reception. He dined with Leslie in his camp, caressed that old soldier of fortune, and endeavoured to corrupt his officers.[1] At Edinburgh, forgetting his intolerances, and the lessons of Laud, he listened with an approving countenance to the Presbyterian preachers, and outwardly conformed to their simple or bare ceremonies. It was a curious, and, for him, a humiliating sight! The Scots could hardly forget how, a few months before, he had endeavoured to drive them from that worship by cannon balls. And as it seemed necessary for the king of the Presbyterian Scots to have a Presbyterian chaplain, Charles appointed to that office Alexander Henderson, the man who had had a principal hand in overthrowing the bishops and writing the bond of the Covenant.[2] At the same time, so far from showing any ill-will towards the chiefs of the Covenanters, he treated them all, whether lay or clergy, nobles or burghers, with a great show of respect and even affection. Some he gratified with titles, some with employment, all with promises. In his opening speech to the parliament, he declared that affection for his native land had brought him thither, where he hoped to remedy all jealousies and distractions; and he engaged cheerfully to fulfil all that had been stipulated in the treaty. He reminded them, however, of his ancient descent, and of the rights and high standing which that circumstance ought to give him. Not looking at history with a critical eye, he told them that he claimed their allegiance as the descendant of one hundred and eight Scottish kings; and he offered to ratify the acts of their last session in the old form by the touch of his sceptre. The Covenanters, not much moved by the oratorical part of the address, told him that the acts of the Scottish parliament were valid without such assent.

The chief offices of the state were now vacant; and parliament claimed the right of appointment to these places, or at least insisted that they should not be filled except by their advice. Charles struggled hard to save this his last or only remaining prerogative in Scotland: but the Covenanters were not only suspicious of the king's appointments, but anxious to keep their government independent of the cabinet of St. James's, to which it had been subservient—occasionally to the detriment of Scottish interests and national honour—ever since James had succeeded to the throne of Elizabeth: and they opposed with all their might the assumption of the prerogative. There was, however, one gleam of comfort for the king in this long struggle about offices; he saw many noble Scots so fiercely bent on the obtaining of places for themselves, that he fancied they must break out into feuds and parties, some of which might yet rally round him. According to an eye-witness, he promised on all sides, and granted, at least in words, whatever was asked. In the end the parties came to an *accommodation;* the Covenanting leaders in parliament agreed to reduce the number of incendiaries to five, to release the incendiaries and plotters from prison, and to refer their trial to a committee, their sentence to the king; and Charles agreed that the appointment of ministers, judges, and privy counsellors should be by and with the approbation of the estates while parliament was sitting, and of the privy council when it was adjourned or dissolved. But still the matter was far from being settled: Argyle, the great champion of the Covenant, desired the post of chancellor; Charles preferred giving it to Loudon, whom he had committed to the Tower for the famous letter "Au Roy." While the discontent was great, and intrigue in full activity, there happened what Scottish historians significantly call the "Incident." Argyle, who was feared and detested by the king, and Hamilton, who had incurred the royal suspicion ever since he had consented to play that double part with the Covenanters, which Charles had put upon him as a proof of his loyalty and affection, were the most powerful men in the Scottish parliament. If they could be crushed the king might yet raise his head, or so he fondly fancied. There was a third noble Scot involved in the "Incident"—a man far more remarkable than the former two: this was the brave, adroit, and unprincipled Earl of Montrose, who had already been, by turns, courtier and Covenanter, and then king's man again. He had marched into England with the army of Leslie; he had enjoyed, as we have seen, the entire confidence of the Covenanters; he had been appointed one of their commissioners to treat with the king at Ripon and York; and, in the latter place, he had been won over by the graces, the arts, and promises of Charles, to betray his colleagues. It was agreed between them that Montrose, in order to be more useful, should continue to play the part of a zealous Covenanter. Charles, with all his cunning, was at times very careless: he kept in his pocket, at York, a letter, in which Montrose

[1] Leslie himself was a man not very likely to fall into the trap. Some time before, he had expressed to a friend his sense of Charles's good intentions towards him. "His majesty," said he, "with all reverence would see me hanged." And then the old campaigner referred to his easy means of living well elsewhere. "Last of all," said he, "I can live abroad, and get preferment with honour."—Dalrymple, *Memorials.*

[2] "Henderson," says Wemyss, "is greater with him than even Canterbury was; he is never from him day nor night"

engaged to do his service; and this letter was stolen out of his pocket, copied, and sent to the Covenanters. Whitelock says that this was done by Hamilton. While Montrose had time he assured the king, by letter, that there were men in Scotland who, if supported by his majesty's presence, would both make and prove a charge of treason against Hamilton and Argyle; but he and some of his associates were soon arrested and committed to the castle of Edinburgh as plotters and banders. It was observed, however, that Charles did not treat Hamilton with his former

James Graham, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Montrose.[1]

respect or favour; and one day the Lord Ker sent him a charge of treason. Hamilton appealed to the parliament, which declared him innocent, and compelled Ker to make an apology. Montrose, from his dungeon, found means of communicating with the king, and he repeated his charge against Hamilton and Argyle; and, according to Clarendon, who does not appear to have been much shocked at the proposal, "frankly undertook" to make away with them both. About a fortnight after this, Hamilton was warned of a plot to have him seized, as he entered the presence chamber, by an armed band, under the command of the Earl of Crawford—the man who had carried to him Ker's challenge of treason, and who was to convey him and his brother Lanark, and the Earl of Argyle, on board a king's ship which was lying in Leith Roads, or to kill them in case of resistance or difficulty. Hamilton had time to communicate with his friends; and then he, his brother, and Argyle secured themselves as well as they could, and their associates in Edinburgh fortified their houses, and spread the alarm among the citizens, who flew to arms, and paraded the streets all night. On the following morning Hamilton and the other noblemen wrote to inform his majesty of the reasons of their absenting themselves the preceding night from court, and desired to know what his majesty would be pleased to command them to do: but Charles was not satisfied with their letters; and in the afternoon he proceeded to the parliament house with near "500 soldiers, and the worst affected men about him, with their arms in a menacing way." "To prevent tumult in the streets," says Lanark, "we resolved to leave the town, which could not have been shunned if we had gone to the parliament house with our friends at our backs, who would by no means condescend to leave us."[2] "The king's array," Baillie writes, "broke in near-hand to the parliament's outer wall. The states were mightily offended, and would not be pacified till Leslie had got a commission, very absolute, to guard the parliament, with all the bands of the city and regiments yet on foot, and some troops of horse."

Charles complained of the absence of the three noblemen, and of the vile slander which their needless flight and fear had brought upon him. "He professed to detest all such vile treacheries as were spoken of; urged a present trial, in face of parliament, for the more clearing of his innocency." The states hesitated, and proposed the appointing of a committee for a more accurate trial in private than could have been had in public. It has been asserted that the objection to a public investigation was, that the king's presence would overawe the freedom of inquiry; but it should seem to us that the humbled king had then little power to overawe anybody in Scotland. The parliament made fast the Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochrane, and Colonel Stewart, who were accused of being the principal instruments in the plot; and the king departed dissatisfied. Yet for several days Charles repeated his demand for a public trial, even shedding tears to obtain it; but the more popular party insisted on a private investigation; and Charles was at last obliged to give up the point to a committee. "Many evil-favoured things," says Baillie, "were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the king." The investigation was so secret in all respects that no records or reports of its proceedings have been preserved, and, together with the rest of the story of the "Incident," it still remains an historical mystery. The end of it was, that, after some two or three weeks' absence, upon the king's and parliament's letters the fugitive lords returned, and at once seemed to have as much of the king's confidence as ever. "Sure," says Baillie, "their late danger was the means to increase their favour with the parlia-

[1] From the portrait in *Memorials of Montrose*, printed for the Maitland Club.

[2] Lanark's Letters, in *Hardwicke State Papers*.

ment; so, whatever ruling they had before, it was then multiplied." Shortly after Hamilton was made a duke, and Argyle a marquis.[1]

But, before this satisfactory adjustment was brought about, the "Incident" produced great suspicions and stirs in London. The English parliament, which had sat for eleven months, adjourned from the 9th of September to the 20th of October, taking care, however, to leave a standing committee of both houses to act during the short recess. On the appointed day the houses met again; and the lords, observing Palace-yard to be full of armed men, moved to know the reason thereof. The Earl of Essex, captain-general of the south, signified to their lordships that the committee of the House of Commons, which sat during the recess, had desired that there might be a guard of soldiers set about the parliament, to prevent the insolence and affronts of the disbanded soldiers about town, and to secure the houses against other designs which they had reason to suspect. In effect, Lord Howard, Hampden, and the other parliamentary commissioners sent into Scotland, had instantly communicated the affair of the "Incident," and this was interpreted into a vast conspiracy, which was to embrace the three kingdoms, and which was, as usual, denominated a plot of the Papists. And thereupon the commons had sent to the lord-mayor to secure the city of London, and had required the justices of Middlesex and Surrey to obey such orders as the Earl of Essex might think fit to give them for the public safety. Now they desired a conference with the lords, to express their sense of the great danger to the nation from a conspiracy with many ramifications, and from the old design of seducing the English army. The lords, in conference, fully agreed with the commons, and thereupon new instructions were sent down to Howard and Hampden, and their brother commissioners. But everything that Charles now did, or left undone, was made an object of doubt and suspicion, and guarded against by the vigilance of the popular party. It seemed to all men a strange circumstance that he should prolong his stay in Scotland, when his presence was so much required in England; and many, both friends and foes, were murmuring at it. He had most of the crown jewels with him, and it was thought that he had endeavoured to bribe some of the Scottish leaders with them—the said jewels to be afterwards redeemed by money; and by this time it was known that the great collar of rubies had been conveyed into Holland, and there pawned. General Leslie, who a short time before had expressed his assurance that the king would hang him if he could, was created a Scottish peer, with the title of Earl of Leven. It is said that the soldier of fortune was profuse in his expressions of gratitude, and promised never again to take up the sword against his sacred majesty. One or two other earldoms were conferred on Covenanting leaders; and out of the revenues of the dissolved bishoprics, &c., the king dispensed gratuities to many individuals, including, it is said, his Presbyterian chaplain, Henderson. But presently there came a blast from Ireland, which caused all men to turn their eyes solely to that country.

The Irish people, far more oppressed than ever the Scots had been—for they had been deprived not only of their religious freedom, but of their rights in their own property—were encouraged by the example of the Scots, and the successful issue of that struggle, to contemplate the possibility of a similar victory in their own case over the tyranny that bound them. It was not merely their religion that tempted them—it was also a prospect of recovering the broad acres which they had once possessed, and which were now in the hands of the descendants of the foreign invaders and Protestant colonists. Theirs was a struggle, not merely for the eucharist, but for loaves of bread. Roger Moore, a gentleman of Kildare, of ancient descent, who saw the patrimony of his ancestors in the hands of English and Scotch settlers, was one of the first and most active agents in the present rising. Within narrow limits Moore had played the part of John of Procida: he had visited most parts of Ireland, and secretly harangued the discontented natives, who generally agreed to rise when called upon. In Ulster, Cornelius Maguire, Baron of Inniskillen, and Sir Phelim O'Neil, who, after the death of the son of Tyrone, became chieftain of his sept, entered with ardour into all the views of Roger Moore, and it was agreed among them to prepare for a general insurrection. Strafford had held that the best card the king had to play, was the Irish army which he had raised; and Charles had sent instructions (he hoped secret ones) to the Earls of Ormond and Antrim, to secure this army, to recruit it, and, if possible, to surprise the castle of Dublin, where they would find ammunition, stores, and arms for 12,000 men. But this Irish army, this last card of a desperate gamester, consisted almost entirely of Catholics, and was an object of dread or suspicion, not only to the English parliament, but also to all Irish Protestants. With great difficulty, an order was

[1] *Balfour; Malcolm Laing;* Baillie's *Letters: Hardwicke State Papers;* Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion.* It appears that the Scottish committee of investigation declared that Hamilton and Argyle were falsely accused by Montrose, and also that they (Hamilton and Argyle) had good reasons for fleeing from Edinburgh. Evelyn says that, subsequently, the English privy council examined the matter, and declared that no imputation could be cast upon the honour of the king for anything done by *himself* therein.

wrung from the king for the disbanding of this force; but, in remitting the order to Ireland, Charles sent with it a secret message to Ormond and Antrim to keep as many of the men together as they possibly could, using their ingenuity to devise pretexts for so doing, and to lull asleep the suspicions of the Protestant Irish. One of the plans hit upon for keeping the Irish troops together was, to pretend that they were to be allowed to enter the service of the Spanish government of Flanders, and regular commissions were sent to certain picked officers to enlist the whole body, as if for the King of Spain. Of the two higher agents, Antrim was the more active: he intrigued with these picked officers, and these officers intrigued with some of the members of the Irish parliament, who were glad to learn that the army was not, in reality, maintained for service abroad, but for the king's service at home. The English, the Scots, had disobliged his majesty: if the Irish could restore him to his former state, what might they not expect from his gratitude? If the Catholic Irish loved their religion, what had they to expect from the parliament of England, which was fiercely Protestant—which denounced the Papists at every move they took —which coerced alike the king's prerogative and the conscience of the subject? Appeals like these produced a wonderful effect. In a short time, though their views were different, some of the officers and men were in intelligence with Cornelius Maguire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and the other chieftains of Ulster, with Roger Moore, and with the converts he had made in all parts. Some intimations were given by Sir William Cole, in a letter to the Lords-justices of Ireland, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, concerning dangerous resorts and secret meetings, but no one received any certain notice of the conspiracy till the very eve of its execution. It had been agreed that the plot should take effect upon the 23d of October. On that day, many of the Irish gentry of great quality went into Dublin, but many failed the rendezvous, and, of a forlorn hope, appointed to surprise or storm the castle, only eighty men appeared. In the course of that night Hugh M'Mahon got drunk in a tavern, and revealed the great design to one Owen O'Connelly of Irish extraction, but a Protestant, and servant to Sir John Clotworthy, a member of the English parliament. This Owen hastened to reveal what he had heard to Sir William Parsons; and Dublin Castle was saved. But in other parts the bloody rising took place without check or warning. The Ulster chieftains and their associates fell furiously upon the towns: Sir Phelim O'Neil took Charlemont and Dungannon; O'Quin took Mountjoy; M'Ginnis, Newry; and O'Hanlan took Tanderagee. No man made head against them; the Protestant settlers were robbed and butchered almost without resistance. No capitulation or agreement signed by the chiefs and officers could rescue them from the fury of the more than half-naked Irish peasantry. The flames spread far and near, and in a few days all the open country in Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, Derry, and part of Down, was in the hands of the insurgents. In the course of a few weeks the English and Scottish colonies seemed to be almost everywhere uprooted. The Protestants exaggerated their loss, but still it remains certain that the massacre was prodigious. The colonists of Ulster, a brave and active set of men, but who were taken completely by surprise, as they were living at the time in seeming good fellowship with the natives, were so reduced in numbers by the first onslaught, that they could make no head for a considerable time after. Sir John Temple,[1] who was at that time master of the rolls and a member of the Irish privy council, described the insurgents as murdering or stripping and driving out men, women, and children, wherever their force or their cunning prevailed. The Earl of Castlehaven, a Catholic, says that all the water in the sea could not wash off from the Irish the taint of that rebellion, which begun most bloodily on the English in a time of settled peace. Clarendon says that forty or fifty thousand were murdered in the first insurrection; and if, instead of first insurrection, we read during the whole insurrection, that is, from the breaking out, in October, 1641, to the cessation, in September, 1643, this number will not be exaggerated; nor will it include the Protestants who fell in regular warfare with arms in their hands.

On the last day of October O'Connelly, "the happy discoverer of the first plot," arrived in London with letters from the lords-justices, and gave a full account of all particulars within his knowledge to the House of Lords. The lords immediately desired a conference, and the House of Commons resolved that they should forthwith sit in committee to consider of the rebellion in Ireland, and to provide for the safety of England. This tragical business occupied the House of Commons nearly the whole of the month of November. They showed a rare vigour and alacrity. Within a week they resolved that £200,000 should be set apart for the Irish government; that ships should be provided for guarding the Irish coasts; that 6000 foot and 2000 horse should be raised for the Irish service; and that the committee of Irish affairs should consider in what manner this kingdom might make the best use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland.

[1] Father of the better known Sir William Temple.

The king had received the dreadful news in Scotland before O'Connelly arrived in London. In Scotland, as in England, the effect produced was appalling, and in both countries, from the very beginning, the general feeling connected the bloody massacre with the intrigues of the king and queen. Charles named the Earl of Ormond lieutenant-general of all his forces in Ireland; and, at last, at the end of November, he took the road for London, where people continued to wonder at his protracted absence. Upon his arrival in the city he was received with some congratulations, and was sumptuously feasted by the citizens; all which led him to hope that he might again be a king indeed. In return he banqueted the citizens at Hampton Court, and knighted several of the aldermen. He instantly took offence at the houses surrounding themselves with an armed guard. The Earl of Essex acquainted the lords that he had surrendered his commission of captain-general of the south into his majesty's hands, and therefore could take no further order for these guards. The intelligence was communicated by their lordships to the commons. Then Charles informed the houses, through the lord-keeper, that as he saw no reason for any such guards, it was his royal pleasure that they should be dismissed, hoping that now his presence would be a sufficient protection to them. As soon as this order was communicated to the commons, they proposed that both houses should petition the king for the continuance of the guard till they might satisfy his majesty why a guard was necessary. After some dispute the lords consented, and the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Digby waited upon the king, who thereupon said, that he would command the Earl of Dorset to appoint some of the train-bands, only for a few days, to wait upon both houses. The commons, not satisfied, considered the matter in committee, and drew up reasons to prove the necessity of a protection. They also told the king that they could not trust him with the nomination of the commander of their guard, who must be a person chosen by themselves.

Two days after this the commons presented to the king their celebrated "Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom." This paper was brought before the house on the 22d of November. The house had sat from eight o'clock till about noon, the hour at which the members usually retired to dine. Then there was a loud call for the Remonstrance. Some would have postponed it, at so late an hour, but Oliver Cromwell, and some others, insisted that they should proceed with it. Oliver Cromwell, who at that time was little taken notice of, asked the Lord Falkland why he would have it put off, for that day would have settled it. Falkland answered, that there would not have been time enough, "for sure it would take some debate." Cromwell replied, "a very sorry one;" for he and his party had calculated that very few would oppose the Remonstrance. But Cromwell was disappointed, for there was a formidable opposition, consisting of men who considered the Remonstrance as an extreme measure, appealing too openly to the people against the king and government; and so fierce and long was the debate about it, that it took up not only the day, but a good part of the night also; and though the popular party carried it at two o'clock in the morning, it was only by a majority of nine, or, according to another account, of eleven. At the beginning of the debate there was a full house, but before its close many of the members had retired from exhaustion;[2] and hence the decision was compared to the verdict of a starved jury. So important a trial of strength was it deemed, that Oliver Cromwell is said to have declared, after the division, that he would have sold his estate, and retired to America, if the question had been lost. A violent debate then followed, on the motion of Mr. Hampden, that there might be an order entered for the present printing of their Remonstrance; and the excitement became so great, that several members were on the point of proceeding to personal violence. Mr. Hyde (Clarendon) maintained that to print and publish the Remonstrance, *without the consent of the peers*, was illegal; and upon a division, the popular side lost this question by 124 to 101.

The Remonstrance thus carried, was certainly put forward to stem the returning tide of loyalty, by men who felt that the king's love of arbitrary dominion was much better proved than his sincerity in relinquishing it;[3] who were informed on all sides that Charles deplored the restrictions put upon him by the parliament, and was constantly making efforts or forming designs to shake off those restrictions. The paper consisted of a long preamble, and 206 several clauses. From the lending of English shipping to the Papist forces proceeding against the Protestant Rochellers, to the rumoured Popish plots of the day—from the imprisonment of Sir John Eliot, to the late army plot—nothing was omitted that told against Charles and his government.[4]

[1] *Clarendon.* This writer thus, not very incorrectly, describes the Remonstrance:—"It contained a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done from the first hour of the king's coming to the crown to that minute; with all the sharp reflections which could be made upon the king himself, the queen, and council; and published all the unreasonable jealousies of the present government, of the introducing Popery; and all other particulars that might disturb the minds of the people: which were enough discomposed."

[2] Three hundred and seven, however, remained to vote. The majority, according to the journals of the commons, was 159, the minority 148. [3] *Hallam.*

[4] "Thus in the minds of the authors of the Remonstrance, reform in the church against Episcopacy—reform in the govern-

Sir Ralph Hopeton presented this paper to the king at Hampton Court on the evening of the 1st of December. Charles, at the reading of it, hesitated at the charges respecting a malignant party, and the design of altering religion, and said, "The devil take him, whosoever he be, that hath a design of that sort." He also stopped at the reading of that part of the Remonstrance which gave the lands of the rebels in Ireland to those who should suppress the rebellion, and said, "We must not dispose of the bear's skin till the bear be dead." When the petition was read, Charles asked several questions, but Hopeton told him that he had no power to speak to anything without the permission of the commons. "Doth the house intend to publish this declaration?" said Charles. Again Hopeton said that he could not answer.

On the following day the king sent to the commons his answer to the petition which accompanied the Remonstrance. He told them that he thought their declaration or remonstrance unparliamentary; that he could not at all understand what was meant by a wicked and malignant party; that the bishops were entitled to their votes in parliament by the laws of the kingdom, and that their inordinate power was sufficiently abridged by the taking away of the High Commission Court; that he would consider of a proposal for the calling of a national synod, to examine church ceremonies, &c.; that he was persuaded in his conscience that the Church of England professed the true religion, with more purity than any other; that its government and discipline were more beautified and free from superstition; and that, as for the removing of evil counsellors, they must name who they were, bringing a particular charge, and sufficient proofs, against them, and forbearing their general aspersions.

Two Scotch commissioners came up to concert measures with the English parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion; but they had many tales both to tell and to hear, which had no reference to that business. On the 8th of December the commons debated upon certain propositions about to be offered to his majesty by the Irish rebels, who, as a preliminary, asked for a full toleration of the Catholic religion; and it was resolved, both by the lords and commons of England, that they would never give consent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of his majesty's dominions! During the debate a great stir was caused by the report that a guard had been set near the parliament without their privity. Forthwith the commons sent a sergeant-at-arms to bring the commander of that guard to their bar. The officer said that the sheriff had received a writ to that purpose, and that the soldiers had a warrant from the justices of the peace. The commons immediately resolved that this was a dangerous breach of the privileges of their house, and that the guards should be discharged.

Six days after (on the 14th of December), the king spoke to both houses upon the business of Ireland. He again complained of the slowness of their proceedings, and recommended despatch. These delays had in part arisen out of the commons' jealousy of the royal prerogative of levying troops. Charles spoke directly to this point, and told them that he had taken notice of the bill for pressing of soldiers, now debating among the lords; and that in case the bill came to him in such a shape as not to infringe or diminish his prerogative, he would pass it as they chose. "And, further," said he, "seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholden to him whosoever at this time began it), concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer that the bill may pass with a *salvo jure* both for king and people, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this bill pass

ment against the king—the commercial aggrandizement of England against an ignorant, incapable, and corrupt administration—presented themselves as three grand tasks to be accomplished, and the entire revolution was resolved on. The Presbyterian majority in parliament, as well as out of doors, were eager to begin the work, thinking they could end readily on the king's consenting to the abolition of Episcopacy, which, in order to obtain that consent, they declared to be a mere form; then they went so far as to say that it was not necessary, that the will of the parliament was the law, and that the king must submit to it. But this last pretension shocked those who desired neither parliamentary omnipotence nor royal absolutism; it forced the various elements, united hitherto against the latter abuse, to separate and distribute themselves, and thenceforth the king had a party resolved on asserting for him, and even, if need were, on restoring to him by the sword, rights sanctioned by time equally with those of the parliament and the people.

"When the king unfurled at Nottingham his royal standard in token of a still haughty distress, the thirty-two lords, the sixty members of the House of Commons, and the ministers who responded to this appeal, formed, together with the bishops, the Roman Catholic peers, and the great officers of the crown, the head of the party called the *Cavaliers*. The regular troops which remained faithful, a part also of the country nobility—who for the last thirty years had been living strangers altogether to what was passing around them, and still retaining the pure monarchical doctrines of Queen Elizabeth's time—and some adventurers, younger members of the universities, promptly formed an army which was ready to act for this party. Glorying in the name of Roundheads, given to the national party in derision by the Cavaliers, the mass of the population supported the parliament, which now seized the revenues of the crown, and invested a committee of its members with all the functions of government. The women divested themselves of their ornaments in order to furnish means. The men filled with enthusiasm the ranks of the militia. The leading chiefs of the parliamentary army were naturally those members of the two houses, who by their wealth could contribute most towards the cost of the war, the great lords and rich landed gentry, nearly all of whom were Presbyterians. In the secondary ranks, illustrious orators and soldiers by profession sided with the members of the lower house, who until now were better known by their religious and patriotic zeal than by their talents."—Armand Carrel, *History of the Counter-Revolution in England*, p. 28.

not, but theirs that refuse so fair an offer."[1] Parliament took fire at this speech, and lords and commons instantly joined in a petition touching the privileges of parliament, the birthright and inheritance not only of themselves, but of the whole kingdom. They declared, with all duty, that the king ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either house, except by their information; that he ought not to propose any condition, provision, or limitation to any bill in debate or preparation, nor express his consent or dissent, approbation or dislike, until the bill was presented to him in due course. They complained that his majesty had broken those privileges in his speech, particularly in mentioning the bill of impress, in offering a provisional clause before it was presented, and in expressing his displeasure against such as moved a question concerning the same; and they desired to know the names of such persons as had seduced his majesty to that item, that they might be punished as his great council should advise. The parliament at first resolved not to proceed with any business till they had a satisfactory answer to their petition: and, during their heat, hints were thrown out that the Irish rebels were actually favoured by some about the queen; "and divers went yet higher." On the very next day (the 15th of December), the motion for printing the Remonstrance, which had been lost on the 22d of November by a majority of twenty-three, was triumphantly carried by 135 to 83. This striking paper, when distributed through the country, was of more effect than an army could have been.

Charles, moody and discontented, withdrew to Hampton Court[2] to prepare an answer to the Remonstrance in the shape of a declaration. He chose this very moment of doubt and suspicion for an attempt to get the Tower of London into his hands by changing the governor or lieutenant. Upon the 20th of December a report was made to the vigilant commons that his majesty intended to remove Sir William Balfour, the sturdy lieutenant who had secured the Earl of Strafford for them; and they ordered that Sir William should appear before them the very next day. Balfour attended, and was examined touching the causes of his removal; after which the house fell into debate about a petition to be presented to his majesty for continuing him in his charge.

HAMPTON COURT.[2]—From an old picture in possession of W. Bray, Esq.

But on the following day Sir William resigned the keys of the Tower to the king, who forthwith appointed Colonel Lunsford, who took the oaths, and entered upon the charge. The very day after this appointment, the common councilmen, and others of the city of London, petitioned the House of Commons against it, representing this Colonel Lunsford as a man outlawed, most notorious for outrages, and therefore fit for any desperate enterprise, and reminding the house that they (the citizens) had lately been put into fear of some dangerous design from that citadel. The commons demanded a conference with the lords, and communicated to their lordships the petition from the city, representing the unfitness of Lunsford for a place of such great trust, and desired their lordships to concur in a remonstrance, and in a prayer to the king to recommend Sir John Conyers to be lieutenant, under the command of that honourable person the Earl of Newport, who was constable of the Tower. The lords declined doing anything, upon which the commons passed the following vote:—"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this house holds Colonel Lunsford unfit to be, or continue, lieutenant of the Tower, as being a person whom the commons of England cannot confide in." When this was done they sent to desire a second conference with the peers. The managers of this conference, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Strode, Sir Edmond Montfort, Mr. Glynne, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Martin, and Sir John Hobham, importuned their lordships to join in their petition for removing Colonel Lunsford, alleging that they already found the evil consequence of his being lieutenant, inasmuch as merchants had already

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock.*

[2] The original palace of Hampton Court was a brick building, but erected upon a plan of superior magnificence, and furnished with a splendour which was not to be seen on this side of the Alps. It contained 280 beds, which were adorned with silk and gold hangings. Henry VIII., whom Wolsey found it expedient to compliment with the assurance that he had built it expressly for his pleasure and accommodation, greatly enlarged the building. Of the original splendour there are few remains. The principal of them is the spacious hall, formerly used as a banqueting room. Hentzner, in his *Itinerary*, gives a description of the apartments, and their superb contents and fittings.

withdrawn their bullion out of the mint, &c. Still the lords refused to join. That same evening, being Christmas Eve, the commons ordered that Sir Thomas Barrington and Mr. Martin should that night repair to the Earl of Newport, constable of the Tower, and desire him, in the name of their house, to lodge and reside within the citadel, and take the custody and entire care of that place. The two members went, but the Earl of Newport was not to be found. The second day after this, being Sunday, the 26th of December, the lord mayor waited upon his majesty to tell him that the apprentices of London were contemplating a rising, to carry the Tower by storm, unless he should be pleased to remove his new lieutenant. That same evening Charles took the keys from Colonel Lunsford. On the morrow Sir Thomas Barrington reported to the commons that the Earl of Newport had been with him on Sunday evening, to tell him that the king had discharged him from the constableship of the Tower. This earl, though very acceptable to the citizens, was odious to the king, who, at this moment—this critical moment—had a violent altercation with him, which was reported to the House of Lords on the same Monday morning.

All this day the houses of parliament were surrounded by tumultuous multitudes—for it was not yet publicly known that the king had removed Colonel Lunsford. The citizens who had petitioned against that officer collected at Westminster for an answer to that petition, and the London apprentices were there also for an answer to their petition. It was a Monday morning, and they made of it a most noisy St. Monday, crying out, "Beware of plots! No bishops! no bishops!" Old Bishop Williams seems to have lost his coolness and circumspection with increase of age. On his way to the House of Lords with the Earl of Dover, observing a youth crying out lustily against the bishops, he stepped from the earl, rushed into the crowd, and laid hands upon the stripling. Thereupon the citizens rescued the youth, and about a hundred of them coming up so hemmed in the lord bishop, that he could not stir; and then all of them with a loud voice cried out "No bishops!" The mob let old Williams go, apparently without injuring him; but one David Hide, a reformado in the late army against the Scots, and now appointed to go upon some command into Ireland, began to bustle and to say that he would cut the throats of those round-headed dogs[1] that bawled against bishops. Nor did this David Hide stop at threats, for he drew his sword, and called upon three or four others with him to second him; but his comrades refused, and he was soon disarmed by the citizens and carried before the House of Commons, who first committed him, and afterwards cashiered him. On the same stormy Monday, Colonel Lunsford, the recently dismissed lieutenant of the Tower, went through Westminster Hall, with no fewer than thirty or forty friends at his back. A fray ensued, the colonel drew his sword, and some hurt was done among the citizens and apprentices. Presently there came swarming down to Westminster some hundreds more of apprentices and others, with swords, staves, and other weapons. The lords sent out the gentleman usher, to bid them depart in the king's name. The people said that they were willing to be gone, but durst not, because Colonel Lunsford and other swordsmen in Westminster Hall were lying in wait for them with their swords drawn, and because some of them that were going home through Westminster Hall had been slashed and wounded by those soldiers. With great difficulty the lord mayor and sheriffs appeased this tumult, which caused the loss of some blood, and which was the prelude to the fiercer battles that soon followed between the Roundheads and Cavaliers.

[1] Rushworth attributes the origin of the term Roundhead to this David Hide:—"Which passionate expression," says he, "as far as I could ever learn, was the first minting of that term or compellation of Roundheads, which afterwards grew so general."

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1641—1642.

CHARLES I.

The bishops protest against their exclusion from parliament—They declare the proceedings of the lords null during their absence—They are committed to the Tower—The commons petition the king for a guard—He offers them one of his own choosing—He accuses six leaders of the commons of high treason—He commands their arrest—He prepares, on the refusal of the house, to secure them by force—His arrival in the house for the purpose—He finds the accused withdrawn—Indignation at his intrusion—He again attempts to secure the members in the city—Petition and remonstrance of the commons on the occasion—Voluntary offers tendered for the protection of the accused members—Charles retires with his family and court from London—He abandons his prosecution of the members—Parliament alarmed by reports of military musters—Their preparations for defence—Symptoms of approaching civil war—Proceedings of both parties in the Irish rebellion—The lukewarmness of the lords denounced by the commons—Intercepted letters produced before the commons—Their contents produce alarm and remonstrance—The queen departs from England—The commons demand the power of the sword to be lodged in their own hands—They pass the Militia bill to that effect—Charles refuses to sanction it—The commons put the kingdom in a state of defence—They proclaim the Militia ordinance in their own name—A Declaration agreed by the lords and commons—Indignant remarks of Charles on receiving it—His abrupt refusal to intrust the militia to parliament—Justification he delivers for his proceedings—His message to the two houses—Their resolutions in consequence—They transmit their justification to the king—Both parties attempt to secure possession of Hull—It is secured for the commons—Intrigues of Charles to recover it—He is refused admittance into the town—The commons approve of the refusal—Reply of the king, and his remonstrance—Counter-remonstrance of parliament—Charles forbids the muster of troops without his orders—The lieutenants of the counties disregard his prohibition—Gathering of the parliamentary army—The English fleet inclined to the popular cause—Charles attempts to win the Scots to his party—They reject his advances—The adherents of the king, and their proceedings—Dilemma occasioned by the application of Charles for the great seal—Clarendon's account of its delivery—Preparations of Charles to besiege Hull—Nine peers enlist themselves on the side of the king—They are impeached by the commons—Proposals from the commons of an accommodation rejected by the king.

THE thirteen bishops impeached for their share in the obnoxious canons and Laud's last convocation, had been admitted to bail, and, after a short time, to their seats in the House of Lords. Now, twelve of them drew up a protest and petition to the king, stating, that they could not attend in their places in parliament, where they had a clear and indubitable right to vote, because they had several times been violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multitudes of people, and had lately been chased away from the House of Lords, and put in danger of their lives—for all which they could find no redress or protection, though they had lodged several complaints in both houses. "Therefore," continued the document, "they (the bishops) do in all duty and humility protest before your majesty and the peers against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence have already passed; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in the House of Lords, during the time of this their forced and violent absence," &c. To the surprise of most men, the first signature to this protest and petition was that of old Williams, who had been translated to the archbishopric of York a very few days before. The other eleven bishops that signed were Durham, Lichfield, Norwich, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Oxford, Ely, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Llandaff. If the lords had acquiesced in the views of the petitioners, the Long Parliament might have been ended now, in so far at least as the upper house was concerned, and the slur of illegality might have been cast upon all the acts that had been passed during the last year in the frequent absence of the lords spiritual. The move on the part of the court was a bold one; but the revolution was now in progress, and, without even offering to provide for the bishops' safety, so that they might come to their house, or be accused of staying away wilfully and voluntarily, the lords desired a conference with the commons, and denounced the petition and protest as highly criminal, and subversive of the fundamental privileges and the very being of parliament. The commons instantly re-echoed the charge, accused these twelve bishops of high treason, and sent Mr. Glynne to the bar of the lords, to charge the prelates in the name of the House of Commons, and to desire that they might be forthwith sequestered from parliament and put into safe custody. "The lords sent the black rod instantly to find out these bishops and apprehend them; and by eight o'clock

at night they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the bar, and ten of them committed to the Tower; and two (in regard of their age, and indeed of the worthy parts of one of them, the learned Bishop of Durham) were committed to the black rod."[1] Thus ten more prelates were sent to join Laud in his captivity—twelve votes were lost to the court party in the House of Lords.

On the last day of this eventful year the commons sent Mr. Denzil Hollis to the king, with what they called an *Address* to his majesty, praying for a guard, and an answer without delay.

Denzil Hollis.—From a print by R. White.

Hollis told the king, by word of mouth, that the House of Commons were ready to spend the last drop of their blood for his majesty, but that they had great apprehensions and just fears of mischievous designs to ruin and destroy them; that there had been several attempts made heretofore to bring destruction upon their whole body at once, and threats and menaces used against particular persons; that there was a malignant party daily gathering strength and confidence, and now come to such a height as to imbrue their hands in blood in the face and at the very doors of the parliament; and that the same party at his majesty's own gates had given out insolent and menacing speeches against the parliament itself. And in the end Hollis informed him, that it was the humble desire of the commons to have a guard to protect them out of the city, and commanded by the Earl of Essex, chamberlain of his majesty's household, and equally faithful to his majesty and the commonwealth. Charles desired to have this message in writing; the paper was sent to him accordingly, and he replied to it, *not* without delay, as the commons had requested, or enjoined, but three days after. In the interval the commons had ordered that halberts should be provided and brought into the house for their own better security. The halberts were brought in accordingly, and Rushworth informs us that they stood in the house for a considerable time afterwards. Then, understanding that the lords would not sit on the morrow, which was New Year's Day, they adjourned till Monday, the 3d of January, resolving, however, that they should meet on the morrow, in a grand committee at Guildhall, leaving another committee at Westminster, to receive his majesty's answer to their petition, if it should come in the meantime.[2]

On the 3d of January the commons, meeting in their usual place, received the king's tardy and unsatisfactory answer to their petition for a guard. Charles expressed his great grief of heart at finding, after a whole year's sitting of this parliament, that there should be such jealousies, distrusts, and fears; he protested his ignorance of the grounds of their apprehension, and he offered to appoint them a guard if they should continue to think one necessary. A guard of the king's appointing was precisely the thing that the commons did not want. While they were debating upon the message they received a communication from the lords, the effect of which was galvanic. That morning Herbert, the king's attorney, was admitted into the House of Lords at the request of the lord-keeper, and approaching the clerks' table (*not the bar*),[3] Herbert said that the king had commanded him to tell their lordships that divers great and treasonable designs and practices, against him and the state, had come to his majesty's knowledge. "For which," continued Herbert, "his majesty hath given me command, in his name, to accuse, and I do accuse, by delivering unto your lordships these articles in writing, which I received of his majesty, the six persons therein named of high treason, the heads of which treason are contained in the said articles, which I desire may be read." The lords took the articles, and commanded the reading of them. They were entitled "Articles of high treason, and other high misdemeanours, against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode." The seventh, and the last and most significant article,

[1] *Rushworth.*

[2] *Rushworth.* This establishing a committee in the city before the king's violent act of attempting to seize the five members has been generally overlooked.

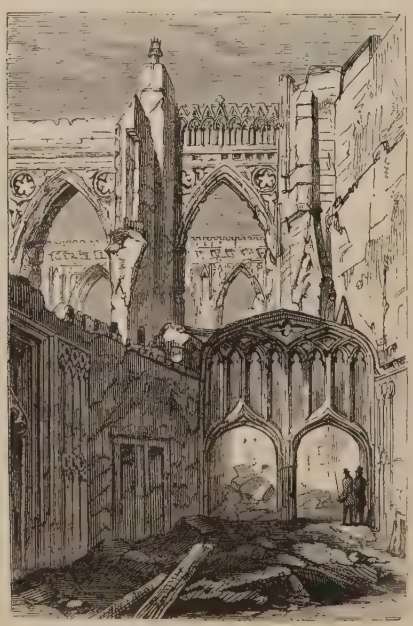
[3] The attorney and solicitor-general are legally considered to be attendants upon the House of Lords, and have, as well as the judges, their regular writs of summons issued out at the beginning of every parliament, *ad tractandum et consilium impendendum*, though not *ad consentiendum*, with their lordships.—Blackstone. *Com.* i. 168.

affirmed "that they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied war against the king." Lord Kimbolton, who was in his seat, stood up, and expressed his readiness to meet the charge, offering to obey whatever the house should order. None of the courtiers had courage to move his arrest as a traitor. The lords wavered, stood still, and then appointed a committee, consisting of the lord-steward, and the Earls of Essex, Bath, Southampton, Warwick, Bristol, and Holland, to consider precedents and records touching the regularity of this accusation, and to discover whether such an accusation might be brought by the king's attorney into their house against a peer, &c. Thus they avoided committing themselves, gained time, and no doubt made sure that the commons, whom they warned by message, would take the affair upon themselves.[1] And nearly at the same moment that their message was delivered in the lower house, information was also carried thither that several officers were sealing up the doors, trunks, and papers of Hampden, Pym, and the other accused members. Upon which the commons instantly voted, "That if any person whatsoever shall come to the lodgings of any member of this house, and offer to seal the trunks, doors, or papers of any of them, or seize upon their persons, such member shall require the aid of the constable to keep such persons in safe custody till this house do give further order; and that if any person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the person of any member without first acquainting this house, it is lawful for such member, or any person, to assist him, and to stand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make a resistance, according to the protestation taken to defend the privileges of parliament."[2] They also ordered that the serjeant-at-arms attending their house should proceed and break open the seals set upon the doors, papers, &c., of Mr. Hampden and the rest; and that the speaker should sign a warrant for the apprehension of those who had done the deed. The house then desired an immediate conference with the lords; but before they could receive an answer, they were told that a serjeant-at-arms was at their door, with a message to deliver from his majesty to their speaker. Forthwith they called in the said serjeant to the bar, making him, however, leave his mace behind him. "I am commanded by the king's majesty, my master," said the serjeant, "upon my allegiance, to require of Mr. Speaker five gentlemen, members of the House of Commons; and those gentlemen being delivered, I am commanded to arrest them, in his majesty's name, of high treason: their names are Denzil Hollis, Arthur Hazlerig, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Strode." When he had delivered this message the house commanded him to withdraw, and sent Lord Falkland, and three other members, to acquaint his majesty that the matter was of great consequence, and that the House of Commons would take it into their serious consideration, holding the members ready to answer any legal charge made against them.

All this was on the 3d of January. "The next day after that the king had answered the petition of the house (about the guard), being the 4th of January, 1642," says May, "he gave, unhappily, a just occasion for all men to think that their fears and jealousies were not causeless." He spent the preceding evening in making preparations. Arms were removed from the Tower to Whitehall, where a table was spread in the palace for a band of rash young men, who were ready to proceed to extremities for the re-establishment of royalty in its pristine state. Charles had determined to charge the five members with private meetings and treasonable correspondence with the Scots (a case met and provided for by the amnesty which had been procured both in Scotland and England), and with countenancing the late tumults from the city of London; and he now resolved to go in person to seize the five members of the House of Commons. On the morning of the 4th the five accused members attended in their places, as they had been ordered. Lord Falkland stated, that he was desired to inform the house that the serjeant-at-arms had done nothing the preceding day but what he had it in command to do. Then Hampden rose, and powerfully repelled the vague accusations which had been brought against them by the king. If to be resolute in the defence of parliament, the liberties of the subject, the Reformed religion, was to be a traitor, then he acknowledged he might be guilty of treason, but not otherwise. Hazlerig followed Hampden. The house being informed that it was Sir William Fleming and Sir William Killigrew, with others, who had sealed up the studies and papers of the five members, ordered that they should be forthwith apprehended, and kept in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms till further notice. They also voted that a conference should be desired with the lords, to acquaint them of *a scandalous paper*, published with articles of high treason, against their five members, and the Lord Kimbolton, a peer. The house rose at the usual dinner-hour, but met again immediately after. They had scarcely taken their seats when intelligence was brought by Captain Langrish, who had passed

[1] *Rushworth: Parl. Hist.* Clarendon says, "The House of Peers was somewhat appalled at this alarum, but took time to consider of it till the next day, that they might see how their masters, the commons, would behave themselves; the Lord Kimbolton being present in the house, and making great professions of his innocence; and no lord being so hardy to press for his commitment on the behalf of the king." [2] *Whitelock.*

the party in the streets, that the king was advancing towards Westminster Hall, guarded by his gentlemen pensioners, and followed by some hundreds of courtiers, officers, and soldiers of fortune, most of them armed with swords and pistols. The house was bound by its recent and solemn protestation to protect its privileges and the persons of its members: there were halberts and probably other arms at hand; but could they defend their members against this array, led on by the king in person? Would it be wise, on any grounds, to make the sacred inclosures of parliament a scene of war and bloodshed? They ordered the five members to withdraw; "to the end," says Rushworth, "to avoid combustion in the house, if the said soldiers should use violence to pull any of them out." Four of the members yielded ready obedience to this prudent order, but Mr. Strode insisted upon staying and facing the king, and was obstinate till his old friend Sir Walter Earle pulled him out by force, the king being at that time entering into New Palace-yard, and almost at the door of the house. As Charles passed through Westminster Hall to the



Passage from Westminster Hall to the House of Commons.[1]

entrance of the House of Commons, the officers, reformados, &c., that attended him made a lane on both sides the hall, reaching to the door of the commons. He knocked hastily, and the door was opened to him. Leaving his armed band at the door and in the hall, he entered the house, with his nephew Charles, the Prince-palatine of the Rhine, at his side. He glanced his eyes towards the place where Pym usually sat, and then walked directly to the chair, saying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little." Lenthall, the speaker, dropped upon his knee, and Charles took his seat; the mace was removed; the whole house stood up uncovered. Charles cast searching glances among them, but he could nowhere see any of the five members. He then sat down and addressed them with much agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that upon my commandment were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here, that, albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the utmost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that I have accused, for no slight crime, but for treason, are here. I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it, therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them." Then he again looked round the house, and said to the speaker, now standing below the chair, "Are any of those persons in the house? Do you see any of them? Where are they?" Lenthall fell on his knees, and told his majesty that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him. Then again casting his eyes round about the house, Charles said, "Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you do send them to me, as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the house, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them." With these words the disappointed king rose and retired amidst loud cries of "Privilege! privilege!"—and the house instantly adjourned.[2]

That night the city was a gayer place than the court. Early on the following morning the com-

[1] From a sketch by J. W. Archer, taken immediately after the burning of the Houses of Parliament

[2] *Rushworth. Whitelock.*

mons, safe in "that mighty heart," sent Mr. Fiennes with a message to the lords, to give them notice of "the king's coming yesterday," and to repeat their desires that their lordships would

GUILDHALL, LONDON.—From an old view in the Crowle Pennant, British Museum.

join with them in a petition for a guard to secure them, and also to let them know that they were sitting at Guildhall, and had appointed the committee for the pressing Irish affairs to meet there. The commons then appointed that a permanent committee should sit at Guildhall, in the city of London, with power to consider and resolve of all things that might concern the good and safety of the city; and thereupon adjourned till Tuesday, the 11th of January, at one in the afternoon. In the meantime Charles had sent orders to stop the sea-ports, as if the five members could be scared into a flight. On the morning, after a night of painful doubt and debate, Charles set off to the city in person, with his usual attendants, but without any reformados or bravos. On his way he was saluted with cries of "Privileges of parliament! privileges of parliament!" and one Henry Walker, an ironmonger and pamphlet-writer, threw into his majesty's coach a paper whereon was written, "To your tents, O Israel."[1] The common council had assembled at Guildhall, and they met the king as he went up to that building almost alone. Concealing his ill-humour, and his irritation against the citizens, he thus addressed them:—"Gentlemen, I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high treason, and do believe are shrouded in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treasons and misdemeanours of a high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial. And whereas there are divers suspicions raised that I am a favourer of the Popish religion, I do profess in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power be a prosecutor of all such as shall any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either Papists or Separatists; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true Protestant religion which my father did profess, and I will continue it during my life."[2] This conciliatory speech produced little or no effect; Charles did not get the five members, but he got a very good dinner at the house of one of the sheriffs, and after dinner returned to Whitehall without interruption or tumult.

The lords, on receiving the commons' message, had also adjourned to the 11th of January. The permanent committee, which sat sometimes at Guildhall, sometimes at Grocers'-hall, proceeded actively in drawing up a declaration touching his majesty's intrusive visit to their house; and this occupied them till the 9th of January, many witnesses being examined to prove the words, actions,

GROCERS'-HALL, LONDON, South View.—From Maitland's London.

[1] *Rushworth.* The pamphleteer was committed, and afterwards proceeded against at the sessions.

[2] *Rushworth.*

and gestures of that array of men who had followed his majesty and stood near the door of the House of Commons. Papers and records were also sent for. It was reported to them, that on the 4th of January the lieutenant of the Tower had permitted 100 stand of arms, two barrels of powder, and match and shot proportionate, to go out of the Tower to Whitehall; and the committee, upon examination, found this report to be true. The common council, who went hand in hand with the committee, drew up a petition to the king, representing the great dangers, fears, and distractions of the city, by reason of the prevailing progress of the bloody rebels in Ireland; the dangerous putting out of persons of honour and trust from being constable and lieutenant of the Tower; the fortifying of Whitehall; the wounding of unarmed citizens in Westminster Hall; the strange visit paid to the House of Commons by his majesty, &c.; and in the end, the petitioners prayed his sacred majesty to give up his intention of arresting the Lord Kimbolton and the five members, and not to proceed against them otherwise than according to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in his answer to this petition, justified his late proceedings. At the same time he published a proclamation, charging the Lord Kimbolton and the five members with high treason, and commanding the magistrates to apprehend them, and carry them to the Tower. Forthwith many mariners and seamen went to the committee with a petition signed by 1000 hands, tendering their services, and offering to escort the committee by water to Westminster on the appointed day. The committee accepted their offer, and ordered them to provide such artillery as was necessary, and to take care that all great guns and muskets in their vessels should be cleared before hand, *to the end that there might be no shooting that day, except in case of great necessity.* When the sailors were gone, the London apprentices flocked in great numbers to the committee, and offered their services as guards for the journey from the city back to Westminster. Serjeant Wild gave the apprentices thanks for their affection and willingness to serve the parliament, but told them that they were already provided with a sufficient guard. On the Monday following the committee declared that the proclamation of treason was a great scandal to his majesty and his government—a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace of the kingdom, and to the injury and dishonour of the accused members, against whom there was no legal charge or accusation whatever.[1]

On the afternoon of the same day, Charles, with the queen, his children, and the whole court, left Whitehall and went to Hampton Court. He never entered London again until he came as a helpless prisoner, whose destinies were in the iron hand of Oliver Cromwell. On the morrow afternoon the committee, together with the Lord Kimbolton and the five accused members, took water at the Three Cranes, attended by thirty or forty long boats with guns and flags, and by a vast number of citizens and seamen in other boats and barges; and thus they proceeded triumphantly to their old port at Westminster, some of the train-bands marching at the same time by land, to be a guard to the two Houses of Parliament. The next day they received a very humble message from Hampton Court—"His majesty, taking notice that some conceive it disputable whether his proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, be legal and agreeable to the privileges of parliament, and being very desirous to give satisfaction to all men in all matters that may seem to have relation to privilege, is pleased to waive his former proceedings; and all doubts by this means being settled, when the minds of men are composed, his majesty will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way, and assures his parliament that upon all occasions he will be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown." On the same day "divers knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Bucks, to the number of about 4000, as they were computed, came to London, riding every one with a printed copy of the protestation lately taken in his hat."[2] These countrymen of Hampden presented a petition, not to the House of Commons, but to the House of Peers, praying them to co-operate with the lower house in perfecting the great work of reformation. At the same time, these Buckinghamshire petitioners, who received the thanks of both houses, acquainted the commons that they had another petition which they wished to present to his majesty on behalf of their loyal countryman, neighbour, and member, Mr. John Hampden, in whom they had ever found good cause to confide. They asked the commons which would be the best way of delivering this petition; and the commons selected six or eight of their members to wait upon his majesty with it. These members accordingly went to Hampton Court; but Charles was not there, having gone on to Windsor Castle. The members followed him to Windsor, and presented the paper, which told him that the malice which Hampden's zeal for his majesty's service and the service of the state had excited in the enemies of king, church, and commonwealth, had occasioned this foul accusation of their friend. Charles instantly repeated his determination of waiving

[1] *Rushworth.*

[2] *Rushworth.*

the accusation. And yet this was not done very clearly or very graciously.

On the 12th of January, the day after Charles's departure from Whitehall, information was brought to the House of Commons that the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford, with other disbanded officers and reformados, were gathering some troops of horse at Kingston-upon-Thames. The alarm was the greater, because the magazine of arms for that part of Surrey was at Kingston. The lords and commons ordered the sheriffs and justices of peace to suppress the gathering with the train-bands and secure the magazine. The like orders were soon sent into every part of the kingdom; and nearly everywhere they were readily obeyed. Lord Digby escaped and fled beyond sea; Colonel Lunsford was taken and safely lodged in the Tower. On the same day (the 12th of January) the lord-steward reported to the lords that his majesty would command the lord-mayor to appoint 200 men out of the train-bands of the city to wait on the two houses, under the command of the Earl of Lindsay. The House of Commons, without regarding this message, called up two companies of the train-bands of the city and suburbs, and placed them under the command of Sergeant-major Skippon. They also ordered, in conjunction with the lords, that the Earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, and the lieutenant of the Tower, should not suffer any arms or ammunition to be removed without their express orders; and that, for the better safeguard of the Tower, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should appoint a sufficient guard to watch that fortress both by land and water. Their minds, indeed, were now almost wholly occupied by the thoughts of arsenals, arms, and ammunition. A committee was appointed to attend especially to the best means of putting the kingdom in a posture of defence. The members of this committee were Mr. Pierpoint, Sir Richard Carr, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Glynne, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Henry Vane, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the Solicitor-general St. John.

It was now apparent to most men that the kingdom was about to blaze with the long-conceived flame of civil war.[1] The Scottish commissioners, raised into vast importance by their skilful management of affairs, chose this moment to offer their mediation between the king and his English parliament. On the 19th of January, Charles, in a letter from Windsor, let the Scottish commissioners know that he had expected, before they should have intermeddled, that they would have acquainted him with their resolution in private; and that he trusted that, for the time coming, they would no way engage themselves in these *private differences*, without first communicating their intentions to him in private. He also wrote to the Earl of Lanark, now secretary for Scotland, to whom he bitterly complained of the course pursued by the commissioners in meddling and offering to mediate betwixt him and his English parliament. The House of Commons, of course, received the offer of mediation in a very different manner. On the day after it was presented they ordered Sir Philip Stapleton to return thanks to the Scottish commissioners, assuring them that what they had done was very acceptable to the house, who would continue their care to remove the present distractions, as also to confirm and preserve the union between the two nations. A few days after this the commissioners concluded an arrangement for the sending of 2500 men of the Scotch army into Ireland, to make head against the rebellion, which now threatened the entire loss of that country.

The lords joined the commons in petitioning the king to proceed with the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members. Charles again offered a free pardon. With this the two houses would not rest satisfied; and they both demanded justice against the informers on whose testimony his majesty had acted. On the 20th of January, the king, by message, desired the parliament to digest and condense into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, promising his favourable assent to those means which should be found most effectual for redress; but the commons scarcely heeded this message, knowing at the moment that Charles had already sent Lord Digby abroad in search of foreign assistance. Charles's conduct with regard to the Irish rebels also excited their discontent and vehement suspicions. When the rebellion broke out, he had delayed his royal proclamation against the insurgents for three months, and when it was issued at last, only forty copies were printed.

The Irish insurgents, or rebels, had styled themselves the queen's army, and professed that the cause of their rising was to maintain the king's prerogative and the queen's religion against the Puritan parliament of England. There was also observed on the part of Charles a backwardness to send over assistance to the Protestant party in Ireland, who were as much Puritans as his English subjects, and a forwardness to expedite men who were notorious for their attachment to the old Roman church. Great numbers of Papists, both English and Irish, some of whom had served the king in his unlucky campaigns against the Scottish Covenanters, went out of England immediately before or shortly after the insurrection and joined their co-religionists in arms; others remaining in England prepared, or were said to be preparing arms, ammunition, money, corn, and other victual for the assistance

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*.

and encouragement of the Irish. On the 29th of January, the lords and commons issued strict orders to the sheriffs, justices of peace, &c., to stay and prevent these perilous enterprises. The commons had found it necessary to apply to the city for a loan of £100,000 for the service in Ireland; and the petitions poured in from the city of London, from the counties of Essex and Hertford, and from the knights, gentlemen, ministers, and others, of various other counties. These papers were full of a boiling patriotism and fiery fanaticism—they deplored the destruction of the properties, lives, and religion of Englishmen in Ireland; and they proposed, as the proper means of ending rebellion, cruelty, and massacre in Ireland, the execution in England of all Catholic priests, Jesuits, &c., *legally* condemned; and they further denounced the ill-affected persons about court, and the bishops and Popish lords in the House of Peers who were hindering, by their votes, the effectual and speedy cure of all our state evils.

Upon these remarkable petitions the commons desired a conference with the lords, and appointed Pym to manage it. The lower house had been for some time apprehensive of a falling-off on the part of the upper house. Pym now flatly told their lordships that they must either join the commons in the cure of this epidemical disease, whereof the commonwealth lay gasping, or be content to see the commons do without them. The House of Commons forthwith ordered that the speaker, in the name of all, should give thanks to Mr. Pym for his able performance of the service in which he had been employed; and they further desired that Mr. Pym would deliver in writing to the house the bold speech he had made at this conference, in order that it might be printed.[1]

From this day the gauntlet was thrown down to the peers, the overthrow of the upper house became a familiar idea with a great part of the nation, and the movement of reform was changed into the march of revolution.

A few days after Lord Digby's escape, a packet, addressed by his lordship to his brother-in-law, Sir Lewis Dives, was intercepted and read in the House of Commons.[2] A letter for the queen inclosed in the packet was opened and read with just as little ceremony. In the letter Digby said —"If the king betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants (from rage I mean, and violence, for from justice I will never implore it), I shall then live in impatience and misery till I wait upon you. But if, after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my industry." At the very opening of this letter was an offer to correspond with the queen in ciphers, and to do service abroad, for which the king's instructions were desired. The commons were naturally thrown into a great heat by the strain in which their proceedings were now spoken of by one who, like Strafford, had formerly been among the most zealous assertors of popular rights. They appointed a committee to consider the intercepted letters, and with little loss of time, both houses joined in a strong representation to his most gracious majesty. At the end of this paper the lords and commons said—"We most earnestly beseech your majesty to persuade the queen that she will not vouchsafe any countenance to or correspondence with the Lord Digby, or any other the fugitives or traitors, whose offences now depend under the examination and judgment of parliament; which, we assure ourselves, will be very effectual to further the removal of all jealousies and discontents betwixt your majesty and your people, and the settling the great affairs of your majesty and the kingdom in an assured state and condition of honour, safety, and prosperity."

This was worse than gall and wormwood to the court. Nor did the parliament stop here; a committee of the commons drew up a charge of high treason against Lord Digby. Henrietta Maria, who never was the heroine that some have delighted to picture her, who in no particular of her life showed any high-mindedness, was terrified almost out of her senses by the notion that the commons meant to impeach her; and self-preservation, and wounded pride, and an indefinite hope of doing great things against the parliament of England among the absolute princes on the Continent, all prompted her to be gone. Both houses intimated to her, through the Earl of Newport and the Lord Seymour, that there was no ground for the fears they were aware she entertained of the intention of the commons to accuse her of high treason. But there was now an excellent pretext for Henrietta Maria's departure. In the midst of this unhappy turmoil with his parliament, Charles had married his daughter Mary to the young Prince of Orange, and it seemed proper and expedient that the young lady should be conducted by her mother to her betrothed husband. The king readily entered into the scheme of this journey, but it was necessary to obtain the consent of parliament. He therefore acquainted both houses with the matter; and, as neither of them raised any very

[1] *Rushworth.*

[2] According to Clarendon, Digby's letter was brought to the House of Commons by the treachery of the person to whose care it was intrusted for conveyance. We learn from Rushworth that, besides writing to Dives, Digby also wrote to Secretary Nicholas, who was now trusted with most of the secret plans of the court.

strong opposition, the royal party got ready for the coast, Charles resolving to accompany them as far as Dover. The plate of the queen's chamber was melted down for the expenses of the journey, and the whole of the crown jewels were secretly packed up to be converted on the other side of the water into arms and gunpowder. On the 9th of February, Charles, with his wife and children, came back from Windsor to Hampton Court; on the 10th he proceeded to Greenwich; on the morrow to Rochester, and so by slow stages to Dover, where the queen and princess embarked for Holland on the 23d of February.[1]

While he was yet at Canterbury, and his wife with him, Charles's assent was demanded to two bills which the commons had got carried through the lords; the one was to take away the votes of the bishops in parliament, and to remove them and all others in holy orders from all temporal jurisdiction and offices whatsoever; the other for pressing of soldiers for the service of Ireland. Charles passed the two bills, and, in a message to both houses, said he felt assured that his so doing (the bill about the bishops he had formerly declared he would die rather than pass) would convince them that he desired nothing more than the satisfaction of his kingdom. But of the bishops, whose political existence was annihilated by the passing of the first of these two acts —of Laud, who lay in the Tower uncertain of his fate—Charles breathed not a syllable. And, from his promptness in passing the bill, and his unmurmuring silence upon it, all thinking men concluded that he was acting with mental reservation, and with the determined purpose of declaring that bill and others null and void, and his consent as a painful but necessary sacrifice to the present violence and strength of the parliament, as soon as ever he should be in a condition to do so. The lords and commons, however, professed to acknowledge, with much joy and thankfulness, his majesty's grace and favour in giving his royal assent to these two bills. On the next day the House of Commons suggested new modes of raising money for the reduction of Ireland, grandly proposing to apply to that purpose a million of money—the first time, we believe, that so large a sum was ever mentioned in a parliamentary estimate. On the 17th of February they went into committee on a bill for the suppressing of innovations in the church, for the abolishing of superstitious and scandalous ministers, and all idolatrous practices, for the better observance of the Lord's-day called Sunday, and for the settling of preaching and preachers.

But there was another bill which the commons had at heart, and which Charles was resolute not to pass, wishing, however, it should seem, to get the queen safely out of the country before he should declare this resolution. The commons felt that they could never be safe until they had the whole power of the sword in their own hands. It was undeniably Charles's attempt to seize the five members, which induced them to insist peremptorily upon vesting the command of the militia in officers of their own choice and nomination. There had been a strong tendency this way before: for example, on the 5th of May, 1641, upon the discovery of Percy's and Jermyn's conspiracy to ride over the parliament with the army of the north, an order was made that the members of each county, &c., should meet to consider in what state the places for which they served were in respect of arms and ammunition, and whether the deputy-lieutenants and lord-lieutenants were persons well affected to religion and the public peace, &c.[2] On the 7th of December, 1641, when the storm was thickening and the whole atmosphere overcast by the horrors from Ireland, Hazlerig brought in a bill for appointing certain persons, whose names were left in blank, to the offices of lords-general of all the forces within England and Wales, and Lord-admiral of England. The bill, however, was laid aside, and a new plan devised, it being ordered, on the 31st of December, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on Monday next, to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom. That Monday—that black Monday—was the day on which Charles sent his first message by the Attorney-general Herbert about Lord Kimbolton and the five members. On January the 13th, of the present year, 1642, the second day after the triumphant return of the commons from the city, a declaration, as we have mentioned, was passed for providing for the defence of the kingdom, by which all officers, magistrates, &c., were enjoined to take care that no soldiers should be raised, nor any castles or arms given up without his majesty's pleasure *signified to both Houses of Parliament.* The lords at first refused to concur in this declaration;[3] but, when the danger thickened, their lordships changed their minds, and only a few days after their refusal (on February the 16th), they resolved to go along with the other house. This ordinance concerning the militia, however, had not even been carried through the lower house without opposition; for while the majority

[1] *Rushworth; May; Clarendon.*

[2] Commons' *Journals.*

[3] Thirty-two peers declared that the demand of the commons was reasonable and necessary, and protested against the vote by which their lordships rejected the declaration about the militia. These protesting peers were Essex, Warwick, Pembroke, Holland, Stamford, Bedford, Leicester, Clare, Lincoln, Sarum, Bolingbroke, Peterborough, Thanet, Nottingham, Say and Sele, Conway, Paget, Kimbolton, Brooke, Roberts, North, Wharton, St. John, Spenser, Newnham, Willoughby, Bruce, Dacres, Howard de Escrick, Grey de Werk, Chandos, Hunsdon.

maintained that the power of the militia was not in the king but solely in the parliament, the minority insisted that the power of the militia was solely in the king, that it ought to be left to him, and that the parliament never did or ought to meddle with it. Whitelock gave it as his humble opinion that the power of the militia was neither in the king alone nor in the parliament alone; but if anywhere in the eye of the law, it was in the king and parliament both consenting together. In fact, the entire business was now in such a state that the appeal to the sword was inevitable, and, constitutionally or unconstitutionally, parliament determined not to resign the command of troops who might be on the very morrow employed against them. They therefore resolved to place the command of the sword in the hands of those whom they could both trust and control, and they nominated in their bill the lords-lieutenants of all the counties, who were to obey the orders of the two Houses of Parliament, and to be irremoveable by the king for two years. This was an open death-blow to the prerogative, but it is difficult to conceive by what other fence the members of that parliament could have secured their existence, or guaranteed for a week the many great and many good things they had obtained for the nation.[1]

The Militia bill was tendered to Charles on the 19th or 20th of February: he was then on the Kentish coast, and the queen had not yet got off. On the 21st the Lord Stamford reported to the House of Peers the king's answer to their petition respecting the ordering of the militia of the kingdom, which was, that this being a business of the highest importance, not only for the kingdom in general, but also for his majesty's regal authority, he thought it most necessary to take some time to advise thereupon, and that therefore he could not promise a positive answer until he should return, which he intended to do as soon as he should have put his dearest consort the queen, and his dear daughter the Princess Mary, on board. When this message was brought down to the commons, though it fell far short of an absolute refusal (and that, we believe, solely because the queen was not safely off), it excited great discontent, and led to the immediate drawing up of another petition more energetic than its predecessor. The lords joined in this petition, and it was ordered to be presented by the Earl of Portland and two members of the lower house. Charles was now less courteous than before, for by the time this petition was presented, the queen was on ship-board.[2] On the day on which she sailed, the 23d of February, he wrote an extraordinary letter to the Earl of Berkshire, who produced it in the House of Lords, where several other peers affirmed that they had received letters from the king to the same effect; whereupon the house went into committee to consider what ill counsels had been given to his majesty, &c. On the 25th Charles returned to Canterbury, and sent orders that the Prince of Wales should meet him at Greenwich. This order was instantly communicated to parliament, apparently by the Marquis of Hertford, the governor of the young prince. Both houses joined in a message, representing that it was their humble desire that the prince might not be removed from Hampton Court. To the reasons they assigned for their request, Charles answered, that the prince's going to meet him at Greenwich was no way contrary to his former intention—that he was very sorry to hear of the indisposition of the Marquis of Hertford—and that, as for the fears and jealousies spoken of, that might arise from the prince's removal, he knew not what answer to give, not being able to imagine from what grounds they proceeded. In the meantime Hertford, who had got as suddenly well as he had fallen sick, had been at Greenwich, and, in defiance of parliament, had put the young prince into his father's hands. On Sunday, the 27th of February, some of the lords were sent to Greenwich to endeavour to bring the prince back to London; but the king told them haughtily, that he would take charge of the prince himself, and carry him along with him wherever he went. Charles then moved from Greenwich to Theobalds, being now, as he conceived, ready for a longer journey. He was followed to Theobalds by an urgent petition of both houses, entreating him to yield the point about the militia, and telling him that if he did not, they should be compelled, and were resolved, to take that matter into their own hands for the safety of the kingdom. They moreover besought him to return to his capital and parliament, and not to remove the young prince to a distance from them. This was plain speaking. Charles also thought that the time was now come for him to adopt the same kind of language. He said hastily, "I am so much amazed at this message that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears: lay your hands to your hearts and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and, if so, I assure you this message hath nothing lessened them. For the militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that answer, and am so much

[1] Clarendon himself says, that Charles's violent proceedings in the case of the five members made the house feel that they had no security except in this Militia bill.—*Hist.*

[2] His answer, usually called the king's final answer, was not received in parliament till the 28th of February. In it Charles referred at some length to his mad attempt to seize in person the five members, and laboured to excuse his conduct in that particular.

assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall; ask yourselves whether I have not. For my son, I shall take that care of him which shall justify me to God as a father, and to my dominions as a king. To conclude: I assure you, upon my honour, that I have no thought but of peace and justice to my people, which I shall, by all fair means, seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of myself and rights."[1] As soon as this answer from Theobalds was made known in the house, the commons resolved that the kingdom should be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of parliament alone; and that a committee should be appointed to prepare a declaration laying down the just causes of their fears and jealousies, to clear their house from any jealousies conceived of it, and to consider and declare their opinion as to all matters that might arise out of this crisis. Then the commons demanded a conference with the lords, and invited them to join in these their resolutions. The first resolution about putting the kingdom on its defence was carried in the upper house, but not till after a serious debate, nor without some protests; the second resolution was adopted unanimously. Instantly an order was issued by the two houses for fitting out the entire fleet, and for putting it under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, Lord High-admiral of England, who was instructed to see all the royal ships rigged and put in readiness, and to make known to all merchants, masters, and owners of trading vessels, that it would be an acceptable service to the king and parliament if they likewise would cause all their ships to be rigged and equipped, so that they might put to sea at the shortest notice. Both lords and commons then adjourned for two days to give time for their joint committee to meet at Merchant Tailors'-hall, and there prepare other matters. On the 5th of March the former Militia ordinance was read again in the lords; but this time the king's name and authority were wholly left out, and the blanks for the names of the lords-lieutenants were all filled up by noblemen and gentlemen who had been recommended by the commons. Many of these lieutenants of counties who were to have the command of the militia were royalists—nearly all were men of the highest rank and attached to monarchy; but then there were many hated names in the list, and Charles was convinced, and probably upon good grounds, that, in the case of a civil war, the majority of them would lean rather to the parliament than to him. He seems to have felt that the array of the aristocracy would have been against him in any attempt to restore the old despotism. To strengthen the ordinance, the commons sent up to the other house the following resolutions:—That the commissions recently granted under the great seal for lieutenancies for counties were illegal and void; that such commissions should be all called in and cancelled; and that whosoever should attempt to execute any such power without consent of parliament should be accounted a disturber of the peace of the kingdom—and these resolutions were adopted by the lords with a feeble murmur of dissent from three voices. After this the commons sent up their famous Declaration, setting forth the causes of their fears and jealousies, linking the king and the court with the Irish rebellion and massacre, asserting all along there had been a plan for the altering of religion and breaking the neck of parliament—that the Kings of France and Spain had been solicited by the pope's nuncio to lend his majesty 8000 men, to help to maintain his royalty against the parliament; and, in the end, inviting his majesty to return to Whitehall, and bring the prince with him, as one of the best ways of removing their apprehension. The lords, after some debate, resolved that they agreed with the House of Commons in this Declaration. But fourteen peers entered their names as dissenting from this vote.

The king had removed from Theobalds to Royston on the 3d of March, and on the 7th he proceeded from Royston to Newmarket, many persons joining him on the road. On the 9th his "revolted courtiers," the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, were after him, and presented at Newcastle this unreserved Declaration of the parliament. Holland, it appears, the man who had formerly been the queen's favourite, read the provoking paper. When he came to the passages which related to the royal warrants granted to the two fugitives from parliament, the Lord Digby and Mr. Jermyn, Charles interrupted him by crying, "That is false!" and when Holland went on and touched again upon the same subject, his majesty exclaimed, "'Tis a lie!" He said that it was a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise; that, for this Declaration, he could not have believed the parliament would have sent him such a paper if he had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. "I am sorry for the parliament," continued he, "but am glad I have it (the Declaration), for by that I doubt not to satisfy my people. Ye speak of ill counsels, but I am confident the parliament hath had worse information than I have had counsels." He then asked them what he had denied the par-

[1] *Rushworth.*

liament. The Earl of Holland instanced the militia. "That was no bill," cried the king. "But it is a necessary request at this time," said Holland. "But I have not denied it yet," retorted Charles. On the following day the king delivered his deliberate answer to the Declaration. Holland read it, and then endeavoured to persuade his majesty to return to his capital. "I would," said Charles, "you had given me cause; but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to lead me to it. In all Aristotle's rhetoric there is no such argument of persuasion as this. Then the Earl of Pembroke told him that the parliament had humbly besought his majesty to come near them. "I have learnt by their Declaration," said Charles, "that these words are not enough." Pembroke then entreated him clearly to express what he would have. "I would whip a boy in Westminster School," said Charles, "who could not tell that by my answer." The king was coarsely oracular, and inclined to play at cross purposes—that wretched game which had brought him to his present straits. Presently he told the messengers of parliament that they were much mistaken if they thought his answer a denial. "Then," said Pembroke, "may not the militia be granted as desired by the parliament *for a time?*" "No, by God!" exclaimed Charles, "not for an hour. You have asked that of me that was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."[1] Charles then turned to Ireland, saying, "The business of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in. Four hundred will never do that work; it must be put into the hands of *one*. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work; and though I am a beggar myself, by God I can find money for that." "In the meantime," he continued, "I must tell you that I rather expected a vindication for the imputation laid on me in Master Pym's speech, than that any more general rumours and discourses should get credit with you. For my fears and doubts, I did not think they should have been so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious pamphlets and sermons are looked upon, and so great tumults are remembered, unpunished, uninquired into: I still confess my fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my people, and laws, than for my own rights or safety; though I must tell you I conceive that none of these are free from danger. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a pardon as yourselves can desire. All this considered, there is a judgment from heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright, for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation." These were solemn asseverations: nevertheless, at that very moment, the queen was selling and pawning the crown jewels of England in order to purchase arms and ammunition, and to bring in a foreign army upon the English people. There was truth in the assertion that he had passed many bills for the ease and security of his subjects—that he had made great and valuable concessions; but then, unfortunately for him, it was equally true—as it was equally well known—that he had yielded later than at the eleventh hour, and only in the face of a power rising paramount to his own—that, as long as he could, he had proudly and scornfully resisted the slightest concession. Could such a prince get credit for a sudden conversion? The thing was scarcely to be expected, even had there been no circumstances to provoke suspicion; and there were a thousand such circumstances. Every wind that blew from the Continent brought reports of foreign alliances and projected invasions.

At the same time Charles edged away to the north-east, towards the very coast which had been mentioned as the spot selected for the landing of the invading army. On the 14th of March he went from Newmarket to Huntingdon, whence he dated an elaborate message to the two houses, and then proceeded to Stamford. In this message he announced to them that he intended fixing his residence for some time in the city of York. He again exculpated himself at the expense of parliament; forbade them to presume, upon any pretence, to settle the militia, and protested that all their acts to which he was no party would, and must be, illegal and void. Thereupon it was voted by both houses—"1. That the king's absence so far remote from his parliament is not only an obstruction, but may be a destruction to the affairs of Ireland. 2. That, when the lords and commons in parliament shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament. 3. That they which advised the king to absent himself from the parliament are enemies to the peace of this kingdom, and justly to be suspected as favourers of the rebellion in Ireland." On the same day (the 16th of March), the commons voted that the kingdom had been

[1] *Rushworth.*

of late, and still was in imminent danger, both from enemies abroad and from faction at home; that, in this case of extreme danger, seeing his majesty's refusal, the ordinance agreed upon by both houses for the militia ought to be obeyed according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and that such persons as should be nominated to take the command should execute their office by the joint authority of the two houses. The lords agreed; and the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties began to organize the militia. On the 18th of March Charles was at Doncaster; on the 19th at York, where he began to organize a separate government. On the 26th the Lord Willoughby, Lord Dungarvon, and Sir Anthony Ereby, arrived at York, to present to him the parliament's justification of their late Declaration. This document accused him of being the cause of all the troubles by resisting the Militia bill; told him that his fears and doubts were unfounded; besought him to remember that the government of the kingdom, before the beginning of the present parliament, consisted of many continued and multiplying acts of violation of the laws; "the wounds whereof were scarcely healed, when the extremity of all those violations was far exceeded by the strange and unheard-of breach of law, in the accusation of the Lord Kimbolton and five members of the commons' house," for which they had as yet received no full satisfaction. With much thankfulness they acknowledged that his majesty had passed many good bills, full of contentment and advantage to his people; but truth and necessity enforced them to add, "*that ever in or about the time of passing those bills, some design or other had been on foot, which, if successful, would not only have deprived them of the fruit of those bills, but would have reduced them to a worse condition than that in which this present parliament had found the nation.*" They threw back his offer of a pardon with cold disdain, telling him that it could be no security to their fears and jealousies, which arose, not from any guilt of their own, but from the evil designs and attempts of others. They ended by advising and beseeching his majesty to return to his capital and parliament with all convenient speed, where he should find dutiful affections and earnest endeavours to establish his throne upon the sure foundation of the peace and prosperity of all his kingdoms. In his reply, Charles assumed a haughty and sarcastic tone, telling them that they need not expect his presence until they should both secure him concerning his just apprehensions of tumultuary insolences, and give him satisfaction for those insupportable scandals that had been raised against him. He, however, again protested that he neither desired nor needed any foreign force to preserve him from oppression. The fact was, that he and his parliament were now scrambling for arms and warlike means, and, having failed in getting possession of the Tower of London, Charles had his eyes fixed upon Hull, as a place,

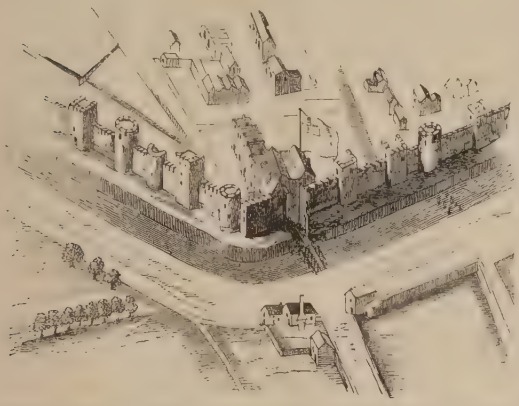
General View of Hull at the Period.—From a print by Hollar.

in present circumstances, more important than his capital. Nor was that city, with its magazines of arms, much less important in the eyes of parliament. Sir John Hotham was governor there, and the younger Hotham had undertaken, in the House of Commons, to carry down their orders. Nearly at the same moment the king hurried off the Earl of Newcastle, with most gracious letters in his majesty's name, full of clemency and fine promises, to the townsmen of Hull, who were commanded to deliver instantly to the said earl, the keys of the ports, magazines, block-houses, &c. Newcastle, whose heart misgave him, assumed the name of Sir John Savage, and tried to pass into the town unknown; but he was recognized by some by-standers, and presently forced

to own both his name and his errand. The mayor, aldermen, and townsmen of Hull, foreseeing the coming tempest, and knowing that the parliament had resolved to leave the government of their town in the hands of Sir John Hotham, resolved upon a petition, to beseech his majesty to be pleased to agree with his parliament in this business, that so, without breach of fealty or incurring the displeasure of either king or parliament, they might know in whose hands they were to intrust that strength of the kingdom, and their own lives and property. The king took no notice of this petition; but the House of Lords instantly summoned the Earl of Newcastle to attend at his place in parliament. Charles, it appears, then requested the townsmen to keep Hull themselves, with their mayor as sole governor; and the earl and Captain Legg bestirred themselves among the people: but all was of no avail; the courtiers were driven out, and the younger Hotham was received in the town with three companies of train-bands. The authorities freely surrendered into his hands the magazines and block-houses, and shortly after Sir John Hotham arrived with more companies of the train-bands of Yorkshire. The garrison of Hull was thus raised to about 800 men. From the 19th of March to the 22d of April, Charles resided at York: a court was formed around him; a crazy, tottering, timid ministry was put in action, and nights as well as days were spent in deep deliberation, and in the drawing up of declarations, protestations, and other state papers. On the 24th of March, the day on which the act granting him tonnage and poundage expired, Charles issued a proclamation, commanding the continuance of the payment of that tax or duty, and charging all his customers, comptrollers, collectors, searchers, waiters, &c., and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, head-boroughs, and others, his majesty's officers and ministers, to take care that the proclamation should be fully executed and the orders performed. Upon the very same day the lords and commons published an order, retaining to themselves the entire control of that source of revenue.

On the 8th of April Charles sent to acquaint the parliament with his resolution of going into Ireland for suppressing the rebellion there. He assured them, and all his loving subjects, that he would earnestly pursue the design for the defence of God's true religion, not declining any hazard of his person; and he called God to witness the sincerity of his professions, and the further assurance that he would never consent to a toleration of the Popish profession in Ireland. He then lamely introduced the great subject of Hull, telling them that he intended forthwith to raise, by his own commissions, a guard for his person, which was to consist of 2000 foot and 200 horse, all to be armed from his magazines at Hull. He added that he had sent despatches into Scotland to quicken the levies there making for Ireland, and that he hoped the encouragement given to adventurers would facilitate the raising of men and money for that service. Charles was perfectly aware that the commons would oppose with all their might his entrance into Hull. Days wore away, and he received no answer to this his last message. On the 22d of April he sent the young Duke of York, his nephew the prince-palatine, the Earl of Newport, the Lord Willoughby, and "some other persons of honour," but without any armed force, to see the town of Hull. These visitors were respectfully received and entertained by the mayor and the governor, Sir John Hotham. They spent that day in viewing the beauty and the strength of the place, and partaking of a banquet prepared by the mayor and aldermen of Hull. On the morrow, the 23d of April, being St. George's Day, they were all invited to dine with the governor; but a little before dinner-time, Sir John Hotham being busy in discourse with their highnesses, was suddenly saluted by Sir Lewis Dives, the brother-in-law and correspondent of the fugitive Lord Digby. Sir Lewis delivered to Sir John a message from his majesty, purporting that his majesty also intended to dine with him that day, being then within four miles of Hull with an escort of 300 horse and upwards. Old Hotham was startled, but, perceiving what was intended, he hastened to consult with Mr. Pelham, a member of the House of Commons and alderman of Hull, and with some others who were equally pledged to the parliament side. These gentlemen presently decided (there was short time for deliberation) that a messenger should be sent to his majesty, humbly to beseech him to forbear to come, forasmuch as the governor could not, without betraying his trust, admit him with so great a guard. As soon as this messenger had returned, and had brought certain information of the king's advance, Hotham drew up the bridge, shut the gates, and commanded his soldiers to stand to their arms. This was scarcely done when Charles rode up to Beverley gate, called for Sir John Hotham, and commanded him to open the gate. To that frequently repeated command Sir John's only answer was, that he was intrusted by the parliament with the securing of the town for his majesty's honour and the kingdom's use—that he intended, by God's help, to do this duty—that his majesty ought not to misinterpret his conduct into disloyalty—that, if his majesty would be pleased to come in with the Prince of Wales and twelve more, he should be welcome. The king refused to enter without his

whole guard. The altercation began at eleven o'clock; at one o'clock the Duke of York, the Elector-palatine, and their attendants, were allowed to go out of the town to join the king. Charles stayed by the gate till four o'clock, when he retired, and gave Sir John Hotham one hour to consider what he did. At five o'clock Charles returned to the gate, where he received from the



Beverley Gate, and Fortifications of Hull.—From Hollar's Map of Hull.

governor the same answer. Thereupon he caused two heralds-at-arms to proclaim Sir John Hotham a traitor; and then, disappointed, enraged, humiliated, he retreated to Beverley, where he lodged that unhappy night. The next morning he sent a herald and some others back to Hull to offer the governor a pardon and tempting conditions if he would yet open the gate. Hotham replied as he had done the day before; and Charles then rode away to York, whence he despatched another message to the parliament. On the next day (the 25th) he sent another message to parliament, and a very gracious letter to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Hull. Both were worse than useless. The lords and commons declared instantly that his stopping up the passages between Hull and the parliament, and intercepting of messengers employed by parliament,[1] was a high breach of their privileges; that the sheriffs and justices of the peace of the counties of York and Lincoln, and all other his majesty's officers, should be called upon to suppress all forces that should be raised in those counties, either to force the town of Hull, or to stop passengers to and from it; that Sir John Hotham had done nothing but in obedience to the command of both Houses of Parliament; that the declaring Sir John a traitor, he being a member of the House of Commons, was a high breach of the privileges of parliament, and, being without due process of law, was against the liberty of the subject and the law of the land. On the same day that these last resolutions were carried they drew up a petition against his majesty's going over to Ireland, telling him plainly that they could never consent to any levies or raising of soldiers to be made by his majesty alone for this his intended expedition, or to the payment of any army except such as should be employed and commanded according to the advice and direction of parliament. And all this was accompanied by an energetic declaration, in which they insisted that their precaution in securing Hull had been necessary to the safety of the country; and that it was the king and his adherents, and not Sir John Hotham, that had transgressed. This petition was delivered to his majesty by the Earl of Stamford. On the 4th of May Charles gave a long answer to the petition and to the declaration of the two houses. He began by complaining that his message demanding justice for the high and unheard-of affront offered to him at the gates of Hull by Sir John Hotham had not been thought worthy of an answer, but that, instead thereof, parliament had thought it fit, by their printed votes, to own and avow that unparalleled act as being done in obedience to the command of both Houses of Parliament. He claimed an entire right of property in the towns, forts, and magazines of the kingdom. "And we would fain be answered," said he, "what title any subject of our kingdom hath to his house or land that we have not to our town of Hull? Or what right hath he to his money, plate, or jewels that we have not to our magazine or munition there? . . . . . We very well know the great and unlimited power of parliament, but we know as well that it is only in that sense as we are a part of that parliament. Without us, and against our consent, the votes of either or both houses together must not, cannot, shall not forbid anything that is enjoined by the law, or enjoin anything that is forbidden by the law." He said that Lord Digby's intercepted letters, wherein mention was made of his retreat to a place of safety, ought not to hinder him from visiting his own town and fort; and, quitting this ticklish point with the fewest words possible, he protested with all solemnity that his heart bled at the apprehension of a civil war, and that, if any such should arise, the blood and destruction must be laid to the account of parliament, his own conscience telling him that he was clear. He re-asserted the notorious falsehood, that he had offered to go into

[1] Charles had laid scouts to intercept all letters passing between the parliament and Hull.—*Whitelock.*

Hull with twenty horse only, his whole train being unarmed. As for Hotham, he said, "We had been contemptibly stupid if we had made any scruple to proclaim him traitor. . . . . And that, in such a case, the declaring him traitor, being a member of the House of Commons, should be a breach of privilege of parliament, we must have other reasons than bare votes to prove." He had rather happily quoted before from Pym's speech on the trial of Strafford, and he ended his answer with another extract from the same "great driver:"—"We conclude with Mr. Pym's own words: 'If the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned to tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy.'"

On the 26th of May the parliament sent him their remonstrance, or declaration, in answer to his declaration concerning the business of Hull. The royal declaration, which, like most of these papers, is supposed to be the composition of Hyde, was considered by the two houses in the light of an appeal to the people, and a declining of further negotiation between the king and them. "Therefore," said they, "we likewise shall address our answer to the people, not by way of appeal, but to prevent them from being their own executioners, and from being persuaded, under false colours of defending the law and their liberties, to destroy both with their own hands, by taking their lives, liberties, and estates out of their hands whom they have chosen and intrusted therewith, and resigning them up to some evil counsellors about his majesty, who can lay no foundation of their own greatness but upon the ruin of this, and in it of all parliaments, and in them of the true religion and the freedom of this nation." They announced, in the highest and most intelligible tone, their conceptions as to the king's right of property. Referring to Charles's assertion that he had the same property in the town of Hull, and in the magazines there, that any of his subjects had in their houses, lands, or money, they said, "Here that is laid down for a principle which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, and interest of every subject in particular, and of all the subjects in general; . . . . for his majesty's towns are no more his own than the kingdom is his own; and his kingdom is no more his own than his people are his own: and, if the king had a property in all his towns, what would become of the subjects' property in their houses therein? And if he had a property in his kingdom, what would become of the subjects' property in their lands throughout the kingdom? or of their liberties, if his majesty had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands or goods?" They went on to observe that the erroneous notion being infused into princes that their kingdoms were their own, and that they might do with them what they would—"as if their kingdoms were for them, and not they for their kingdoms"—was the root of all their invasions of their subjects' just rights and liberties; and that so far was the notion in question from being true, that in fact their kingdoms, their towns, the people, the public treasure, and whatsoever was bought therewith, were all only given to them in trust: by the known laws of England, the very jewels of the crown were not the king's property, but were only confided to his keeping for the use and ornament of his regal dignity. The remonstrance of the two houses went on to affirm that they had given no occasion to his majesty to declare with so much earnestness that their votes would be nothing without or against his consent; that they were very tender of the law themselves, and so would never allow a few private persons about his majesty, nor his majesty himself out of his courts, to be judge of the law, and that, too, contrary to the judgment of the highest court of judicature. They then returned to Lord Digby's intercepted letter. "We appeal," said they, "to the judgment of any indifferent man that shall read that letter, and compare it with the posture that his majesty then did and still doth stand in towards the parliament, and with the circumstances of that late action of his majesty in going to Hull, whether the advisers of that journey intended only a visit of that fort and magazine?" They told the king that it was a resolution most worthy of a prince to shut his ears against any that would incline him to a civil war; but they could not believe that spirit to have animated those that came with his majesty to the House of Commons; or those that accompanied him from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston; or those that followed him to Hull; or those that, after that expedition, drew their swords at York, demanding who would be for the king; or those that advised his majesty to declare Sir John Hotham a traitor. And then they imitated Charles in casting the weight of blood from themselves, declaring that they stood acquitted by God and their consciences if those malignant spirits should ever force them to defend their religion, their country, the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the subject, with their swords. To this long paper Charles returned a still longer reply, and both were printed and published in the form of pamphlets. The two houses again took up the controversial pen shortly afterwards; but their rejoinder was of such a length as to appear very tedious, even to the patient and long-winded Rushworth. Charles issued a proclamation, stating that, for some

months, his town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull had been withheld from him, and his entrance traitorously resisted, by Sir John Hotham, &c. But not hoping to gain so important a prize by a proclamation, the royalists had recourse to stratagem and bribes. But Hotham counterplotted, and outwitted them, and the *ruse* entirely failed. The parliament voted thanks to Sir John Hotham for this good service. Seeing that the king's troops were daily increasing at York, and that they were bent upon the capture of Hull, Hotham, for his own security, and to prevent any practices of bribery within the town, exacted from the inhabitants a solemn protestation or oath that they would faithfully maintain Hull for the king and parliament and kingdom's use. The greater part of the inhabitants took the protestation willingly, and those that refused it were expelled from the town. As the great aim of Charles was to get possession of the magazines, Hotham, by order of parliament, sent all the great ordnance and most of the arms and ammunition back to the Tower of London.

Charles now issued a proclamation, forbidding the muster of any troops or any militia without his commands and commission; but several days before this (on the 5th of May) the parliament had issued a declaration, in which, after condemning the king's refusal to give his assent to an amended bill for settling the militia, they stated that they should forthwith carry into effect their own ordinance respecting the militia, and required all persons in authority to put the said ordinance into execution. The lords-lieutenants being named for their several counties, nominated their deputy-lieutenants, subject to the approbation of parliament. Thus the Lord Paget being named in the ordinance for Buckinghamshire, he named Hampden, Goodwin, Grenville, Tyrrel, Winwood, and Whitelock as his deputy-lieutenants; and these gentlemen, being approved by the two houses, entered upon the command of the Buckinghamshire militia.[1] St. John, Selden, Maynard, Glynne, Grimston, and many other members of the House of Commons, accepted the like commissions, and turned their attention from oratory and debate to drilling and tactics. The king declared that there was now no legal power in the houses to do what they had done, commanded all men to refuse obedience to the parliament's "pretended ordinance," and summoned a county meeting at York for the purpose of promoting the levy of troops for his own service. But there were more men attended this meeting than Charles had wished, and Sir Thomas Fairfax boldly laid upon the pummel of the king's saddle the warm remonstrance and petition of the lesser gentry and farmers and freeholders of Yorkshire, who asserted their right of being present, and desired the king to agree with his parliament. Even the aristocracy of the county were divided, and all that Charles obtained was one troop of horse, composed of gentlemen volunteers, who were nominally to be under the command of the boy Prince of Wales, and a foot regiment formed out of some of the train-bands. This paltry gathering at York was no sooner reported in parliament than the three following resolutions were hurled at the king and his throne:—1. That the king, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war on the parliament. 2. That whensoever the king made war upon the parliament, it was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government. 3. That whosoever should assist him in such war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom. After this the houses published another remonstrance, exposing the king's misdeeds, and explaining their own privileges and intentions. Charles answered, and they rejoined, and then they ordered that all sheriffs, justices of the peace, &c., within 150 miles of that city, should stop all arms and ammunition going to York, and apprehend the conveyers, and also suppress all forces coming together by the king's commission. The ordinance of parliament was more effective than the proclamations and summonses of the king. In London alone a little army was raised. In the month of May the train-bands had a general muster in Finsbury Fields, where Major-general Skippon appeared as their commander, and where tents were pitched for the accommodation of the members of both houses. Eight thousand men were under arms. These were divided into six regiments, and officered by men hearty in the cause.

The king, it is said, had given offence to the English sailors by calling them "water-rats;" and whether the story be true or not, it seems certain that his government was unpopular with the navy. It will be remembered that the houses had commissioned the lord high-admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, to put the fleet into a warlike attitude. This nobleman, who enjoyed the confidence of neither party, was, or pretended to be very sick. The commons voted that he should be desired to appoint the Earl of Warwick to the command of the fleet, and requested the concurrence of the lords. The lords scrupled and hesitated, objecting that the appointment required the sanction of the king. But thereupon the commons, without the consent of the lords, and

[1] "The Lord Paget, not long after this, began to boggle and was unfixed in his resolutions: and upon the king's publishing of his commission of array, and declaration against the ordinance of parliament for the militia (his lordship's heart failing him, and being unsatisfied with his judgment), he revolted from the parliament and went to the king."—*Whitelock.*

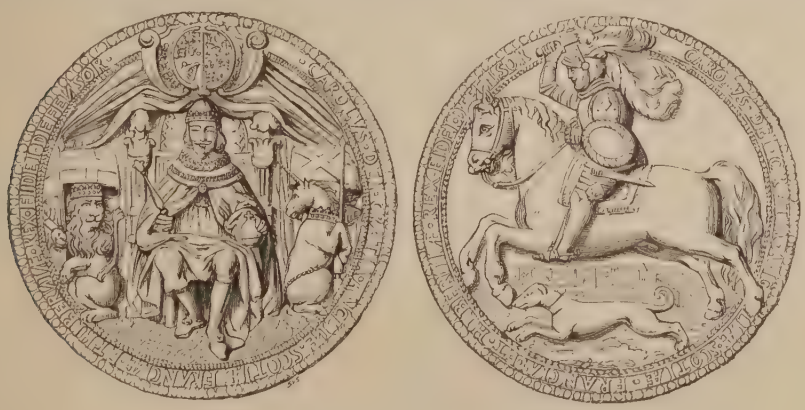
against the command of Charles, compelled Northumberland to depute his authority to Warwick, and actually put Warwick, who was acceptable to the sailors, into the command of the fleet. Charles revoked Northumberland's commission, and appointed Pennington to the command of the fleet; but the sailors would not receive this officer, and the parliament declared his appointment to be illegal. The king hoped to gain over the fleet, as he had hoped to gain possession of Hull, by a *ruse;*[1] but the event showed that he had widely miscalculated the temper of the English seamen. If we are to believe the royalist historian, the king had not at this time one barrel of powder, nor one musket, nor any other provision necessary for an army; and what was worse, he was not sure of any port at which warlike stores might be safely landed from the Continent. "He expected with impatience the arrival of all those necessaries by the care and activity of the queen, who was then in Holland, and by the sale of her own, as well as of the crown jewels, and by the friendship of Henry Prince of Orange, did all she could to provide all that was necessary."[2] The parliament, well aware of these preparations in Holland, decreed, that whosoever should lend or bring money into the kingdom raised upon the crown jewels should be held as an enemy to the state. Some weeks before this, when the act was passed for the speedy reducing of the rebels in Ireland, and the immediate securing the future peace and safety of England, many members of parliament voluntarily subscribed large sums of money, and their example was followed by other gentlemen and freeholders, who set on foot subscriptions in their several counties. The county of Buckingham, for example, advanced £6000. Foremost in the list of the subscribing members in the commons, we find the names of Sir Henry Martin for £1200, Mr. Walter Long, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and Sir John Harrison for the same sum each, Mr. Oliver Cromwell for £500, John Pym for £600, John Hampden for £1000, Bulstrode Whitelock, £600, &c.

While the king was lying at York he was writing hard and working by other means to interest the Scots in his favour, and to get up a strong party among them. From the Scottish council he received a dutiful and affectionate answer, and he also got a petition from divers of the nobility and people there full of expressions of zeal and loyalty.[3] But the English parliament, hearing of these proceedings, "took a course to turn the balance," and within eight days after, the Scottish council declared both to king and parliament their earnest desire to see them reconciled with one another; and they moreover humbly desired his majesty "to hearken to his greatest, his best, and most unparalleled council." The Scottish ministers, indeed, were checked in any exuberance of loyalty by the stern spirit of the people, who still looked upon the king as the enemy to their kirk and their liberties, and upon the English House of Commons as their best friends. No sooner had the people of Edinburgh heard of the correspondence carrying on between Charles and the council, than they petitioned the latter not to take part, by any verbal or real engagement to the king, against the parliament of England. "These passages in Scotland" were of much advantage to the affairs of the English parliament, who still protested their fidelity to the king, at the same time that they courted the Scots with very kind expressions.[4]

Several members of both houses—some who were in the service of the court, others who believed that the parliament was going too far or too fast—now withdrew to the king at York. For the present, the commons satisfied themselves with passing an order that every member should be in his place by a certain day, or forfeit £100 to the Irish war. On his first arrival at York, Charles was attended by no other ostensible minister than Secretary Nicholas, a timid and wavering old man, who never knew half of his master's mind, or saw the full intention of any measure proposed by the king. Lord Falkland, Hyde, and Culpeper, who had abandoned the parliament and pledged themselves to the court,[5] and who were, in fact, the chief directors of the royal councils (though they again scarcely knew more of Charles's mind than Nicholas), remained in London to watch the proceedings of the House of Commons, and to perform secret services of various kinds. About the end of April, Hyde received a letter from the king, commanding him to repair to York as soon as he could be *spared from his business* in London. The historian says that he communicated this letter to his two friends, Lord Falkland and Sir John Culpeper, who agreed with him that he should defer that journey for some time, there being every day great occasion of consulting together, and of sending despatches to the king[6]—which despatches, like nearly all the state papers, were written by

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* [2] Ibid.
[3] Whitelock, *Memorials.* [4] Ibid.
[5] They had all three been in very decided opposition to the court; they had all been actively concerned in the impeachment of Strafford, and they had all, it should appear, voted for his bill of attainder—certainly not one of the three had voted against it. Hyde, so much better known by his title of Lord Clarendon, had been eloquently fierce against the council of York; Lord Falkland, the idol of his party, had voted for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords. In fact, up to the end of the preceding year, Hyde, Falkland, and Culpeper, were all and each of them as enthusiastic on the side of the parliament as Hampden or as Pym.
[6] "And it was a wonderful expedition that was then used

Hyde, the great penman of the royalist party. "And," adds Clarendon himself, "it was happy that he did stay; for there was an occasion then fell out in which his presence was very useful *towards disposing the Lord-keeper Littleton to send the great seal to the king at York.*"[1] It appears that Charles wanted the great seal, but not the lord-keeper; for Littleton had made himself very obnoxious to the court by swimming with the strong stream of parliament. Besides other offences, he had recently voted in favour of the Militia ordinance, and had learnedly insisted both on the expediency and on the legality of that measure. Clarendon, however, says that he had always been convinced of Littleton's loyalty, and he describes him as an honourable and noble person, who was only acting a double part. "Especially his majesty was assured by some whom he trusted that the affection of the Lord Littleton was very entire to his service, and his compliance only artificial to preserve himself in a capacity of serving him, *which was true.*"[2] The copious and magniloquent historian goes on to say that while Littleton was playing this part, he called upon him one evening, and spoke very freely with him. He told Littleton of the censure and hazard he incurred by his notable compliance and correspondence with "that party" which the king construed to be factious against his just regal power, and that some votes in which his lordship had concurred, and which were generally understood to be contrary to law, in which his lordship's knowledge was unquestionable, were very notorious and much spoken of.[3] The lord-keeper then told Hyde the straits he was in—"that the governing lords had a terrible apprehension of the king's sending for the great seal; and that nothing but his fair deportment towards them, and seeming to be of their mind, prevented their taking the seal into their own custody, allowing it only to be with him whilst he sat in the house and in the court; that they had made some order to that purpose, if, by his interest with them, he had not prevented it, well knowing that it would prove most fatal to the king, who, he foresaw, must be shortly compelled to wish the great seal with him for many reasons. "Now," said he, "let it be considered whether



GREAT SEAL OF CHARLES I.[4]—From a cast in the British Museum.

my voting with them in such particulars, which my not voting with them cannot prevent, be of equal prejudice to the king with the seal's being put into such a condition that the king shall never be able to get it when it is most necessary for him, which undoubtedly will be the case when, by my carriage and opposition against them, the confidence towards me shall be lessened." The end of this long conversation was, that Littleton promised to serve the king "in that article of moment," and even to go to him at York. Hyde and his compeers communicated the happy intelligence to their master, who thereupon despatched Mr. Eliot, a forward young man and a groom of the bedchamber, with a warrant to receive the great seal and a very kind letter to the lord-keeper, requiring him to make all possible haste to York. Littleton gave up the great symbol to Eliot, who posted back to York with it; and then Littleton posted after the seal, and, though he was indisposed, and a much less active traveller than the groom of the chambers, he arrived at York the next day after that gentleman had delivered the seal to his majesty. This is Claren-

between York and London, when gentlemen undertook the service, as enough were willing to do; insomuch as when they despatched a letter on Saturday night, at that time of the year, about twelve at night, they always received the king's answer, Monday, by ten of the clock in the morning."—Clarendon, *Life.*

[1] *Life.* [2] *Hist.;* Oxford edition of 1826.

[3] Clarendon says, that he particularly mentioned to Littleton his late vote upon the militia.

[4] The seal measures six inches in diameter.

don's account, or rather, we should say, *one* of Clarendon's *accounts;* and, according to this narrative, he contributed mainly to the great event, by his ingenious conversation with the lord-keeper. But Eliot, the active groom of the chamber, told the king a very different story, affirming that he had found the lord-keeper altogether averse to the measure; that he had locked the door upon him, and had got the great seal from him only by threatening to blow out his brains. The historian says that Mr. Eliot did this, and told many stories to magnify his own service, not imagining that the lord-keeper intended to follow him to York. But may we not, on the other side, suspect that Clarendon magnified *his* service in this particular, as he obviously does in many other cases? May, an excellent authority, says, that the lord-keeper had continued in all appearance firm to the parliament for some space of time after the rest were gone to York; "insomuch that there seemed no doubt at all made of his constancy, till, at the last, before the end of the month of June, a young gentleman, one Master Thomas Eliot, groom of the privy chamber to the king, was sent closely from York to him; who, being admitted by the lord-keeper into his private chamber when none else were by, so handled the matter, whether by persuasions, threats, or promises, or whatsoever, that, after three hours' time, he got the great seal into his hands, and rid post with it away to the king at York. The Lord-keeper Littleton, after serious consideration with himself what he had done, or rather suffered, and not being able to answer it to the parliament, the next day early in the morning rode after it himself, and went to the king. Great was the complaint at London against him for that action; nor did the king ever show him any great regard afterwards. The reason which the Lord-keeper Littleton gave for parting so with the great seal to some friends of his who went after him to York was this:—that the king, when he made him lord-keeper, gave him an oath in private, which he took, that, whensoever the king should send to him for the great seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This oath (as he averred to his friends) his conscience would by no means suffer him to dispense withal; he only repented (though now too late) that he accepted the office upon those terms." Whitelock says simply—"The Lord-keeper Littleton, after his great adherence to the parliament, delivered the great seal to Mr. Eliot, whom the king sent to him for it; and shortly after Littleton followed the seal to the king, but was not much respected by him or the courtiers." And all that is perfectly clear in this strange manœuvre, which like most of Charles's measures, and all other manœuvres, is liable to a contrariety of doubts, is, that a groom of the chamber carried off the seal, and that the lord-keeper stole out of London, and by by-roads got to York, where he was regarded but coldly by his majesty. Clarendon says that the king was not satisfied with Littleton;[1] that his majesty would not for a long time re-deliver the seal to him, but always kept it in his own bedchamber, and that men remarked "a visible dejectedness" in the lord-keeper. The historian tells us that all this gave him much trouble, as well it might, if his own story were the true one; and he takes to himself the credit of procuring better treatment for the keeper. It is certain, however, that Charles never placed any confidence in Littleton; and that adroit lawyer met with the usual fate of double-dealers, was despised by both parties, lost all spirit and talent for business, and concluded his career about two years after at Oxford, in neglect, poverty, and mental wretchedness.

But it was now time for Clarendon himself to steal away to York. Shortly after Littleton's departure, the king told him that he would find him much to do there, and "*that he thought now there would be less reason every day for his being concealed.*"[2] Before Littleton's flight, Clarendon had arranged all matters for the journey, resolving with Lord Falkland to stay at a friend's house near Oxford, a little out of the road he meant to take for York, till he should hear of the keeper's motion; and to cover his absence from the House of Commons, he had told the speaker that it was very necessary he should take the air of the country for his health. As soon as the keeper had flown, notice was taken in the house of the absence of his friend Hyde; inquiries were made what was become of him, and it was moved that he might be sent for. The house, however, who probably did not consider the historian of quite so much importance as he considered himself, neglected to take any steps for his apprehension for the present; and when (as he says) "they had resolved upon his arrest, he was warned thereof by Lord Falkland, and judging it time for him to be gone," he then left Ditchley, the house of the Lady Lee (afterwards Countess of Rochester), and travelled by unusual ways through Leicestershire and Derbyshire, until he came to Yorkshire. At first he fixed himself at Nostall, within twenty miles of the city of York, and there lay close and secret, corresponding daily or hourly with the king, and preparing answers in his name to the papers and manifestoes of the parliament. It should appear that even the courtiers and ministers at York were kept in ignorance as to his whereabout; for he says, that, when, shortly after, he was summoned to York, the king received him very graciously, and asked some questions aloud of him, as if he thought

[1] *Hist.*; edition of 1826. [2] *Life.*

he had then come from London. But it was thus that Charles dealt even with the instruments of his plans and intrigues, concealing from the rest what was done by one, and never imparting to the whole body the schemes in which all were to work blindly, or at least seeing nothing beyond their own fixed path. After this public reception and masking of circumstances, the king called Hyde aside into the garden, saying that they need not now be afraid of being seen together; and he walked with him in consultation for a full hour.[1]

DITCHLEY HOUSE.—From a drawing by Luke Sullivan, 1759.

Clarendon arrived in Yorkshire at the end of May; on the 2d of June the ship *Providence*, freighted by the queen in Holland, escaped the Earl of Warwick's cruisers, and ran ashore on the Yorkshire coast with sixteen pieces of artillery and great store of arms and ammunition, which had long been expected by the royal party, and the want of which had delayed the king's design of attempting Hull by a siege. The cannon, muskets, and gunpowder were all safely landed and carried to York. At this crisis the arrival of such a supply was of more consequence in the eyes of Charles than the coming of a great penman. The parliament, however, by this time began to be excited and convulsed by the great defection that was taking place, particularly among the lords. On the 30th of May they, by an order, summoned nine peers, the first that had gone away to York, to appear at Westminster. These nine peers utterly refused to quit the king, returning a slighting and scornful answer to the parliament. The commons instantly took their resolution, and on the 15th of June sent Denzil Hollis up to the House of Lords to impeach the whole of them. In an eloquent speech Hollis dwelt upon the history of the earlier parts of this reign; showed that it had ever been the policy of the court "to strike at parliaments, keep off parliaments, break parliaments, or divide parliaments." "A new plot," said Hollis, "is this: the members are drawn away, and persuaded to forsake their duty, and go down to York, thereby to blemish the actions of both houses, as done by a few and inconsiderable number, a party rather than a parliament, and perhaps to raise and set up an anti-parliament there. My lords, this is now the great design against this parliament, which is the only means to continue us to be a nation of freemen, and not of slaves, to be owners of anything: in a word, which must stand in the gap to prevent an inlet and inundation of all misery and confusion." He then, in the name of all the commons of England, impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours, Spenser, Earl of Northampton, William, Earl of Devonshire, Henry, Earl of Dover, Henry, Earl of Monmouth, Charles, Lord Howard of Charleton, Robert, Lord Rich, Charles, Lord Grey of Ruthven, Thomas, Lord Coventry, and Arthur, Lord Capel. The lords that remained made little or no attempt to screen the lords that had fled; and, shortly after, "being in their robes," they adjudged the fugitives never to sit more as members of that house, to be incapable of any benefit or privileges of parliament, and to suffer imprisonment during their pleasure. On June 2d the lords and commons sent a petition to the king with nineteen propositions, as the basis of a treaty of concord and lasting peace. They demanded that the king should dismiss all such great officers and ministers of state as were not approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and that an oath should be taken by all future members of the privy council; that the great affairs of the kingdom should not be transacted by the advice of private men or by any unknown or unsworn counsellors; that he or they unto whom the government and education of the king's children were committed should be approved of by both houses; that the church government and Liturgy should undergo such a reformation as both Houses of Parliament should advise; that

[1] *Life.* It seems quite certain that Clarendon's evasion was not considered so very important a matter by the parliament. Neither Whitelock nor May thought it of weight sufficient to merit any particular notice.

his majesty should contribute his best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, and give his consent to laws for the taking away of innovations, superstitions, and *pluralities;* that he should rest satisfied with the course that the lords and commons had taken for ordering of the militia until the same should be further settled by a bill; that such members of either House of Parliament as had, during this present parliament, been put out of any place and office, might either be restored to that place and office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same upon the petition of that house of which they were members; that all privy counsellors and judges should take an oath for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of other wholesome statutes made by this present parliament; that all the judges, and all the officers appointed by approbation of parliament, should hold their places during good behaviour; that the justice of parliament should be left to take its course with all delinquents, and that all persons cited by either house should appear and abide the censure of parliament; that the forts and castles of the kingdom should be put under the command and custody of such persons as his majesty should appoint, *with the approbation of parliament;* that the extraordinary guards and military forces now attending his majesty should be removed and discharged, and that for the future he should raise no such guards or extraordinary forces, but, according to the law, in case of actual rebellion or invasion, &c., &c.[2]

Charles, with lords about him, with arms and gunpowder, and with the prospect of more from Holland, thought himself as strong as the parliament: he received these propositions with great indignation, and, in replying to them, he taxed the parliament as cabalists and traitors, as the makers of new laws and new constitutional doctrines; and in the end he told them that their demands were unworthy of his royal descent from so many famous ancestors, unworthy of the trust reposed in him by the laws; protesting that, if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than the most unfortunate of his predecessors had ever been reduced to, he would never stoop to grant those demands, and make himself, from a King of England, a Doge of Venice.

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1642—1644.

CHARLES I.

The season of war commences—Charles levies forces—The parliament follows the example—The fleet joins the parliament—The parliamentary military commanders—Hampden and his regiment—Progress of the musters on either side—Preliminary skirmishes—Hostile manifestoes—Dr. Bastwick taken prisoner—His narrow escape from execution—Plots of the royalists to surprise Hull—They are unsuccessful—Charles erects his standard—His unsuccessful attempt on Coventry—Fruitless overtures for negotiation—Prince Rupert's early proceedings in the royalist cause—Proclamations of Charles—Their insincere character—His mode of raising supplies—Encounters of the rival parties—Battle of Edgehill—Particular movements of the conflict—Its indecisive termination—Charles welcomed in Oxford—Overtures for an accommodation between the king and parliament—It is broken by the royalists—Military blunders of the parliament army—The queen arrives with reinforcements to the royalists—Waller's conspiracy—Plot detected to deliver Bristol to the royalists—Prince Rupert's attempt at a night surprise—His encounter with the parliament troops at Chalgrove Field—Death of Hampden—Misfortunes to the parliamentary cause—Skirmishes—London fortified against the king—Battle of Newbury—Death of Lord Falkland—The parliament applies to the Scots for aid—Conditions on which they grant it—Charles in like manner applies to Ireland—The Earls of Montrose and Antrim consent to aid the king—The Irish assistance to the royalist cause ineffectual—Death of Pym—Meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines—Their proceedings to settle the government and form of worship of the Church of England—A royalist parliament convened at Oxford—Its speedy dissolution—Leslie and the Scots come to the aid of the parliamentarians—Battle of Marston Moor—Total defeat of the royalists.

AND now "the fatal time was come when those long and tedious paper-conflicts of declarations, petitions, and proclamations were turned into actual and bloody wars, and the pens seconded by drawn swords."[1] Charles sent out commissions of array, beginning with Leicestershire, and enjoined or invited all men to bring him money, horses, and arms,

[1] *May.*

[2] In their seventeenth proposition, the parliament alluded to the old and now almost forgotten subject of the Palatinate; telling the king that his subjects would be much encouraged by these close Protestant alliances, and enabled in a parliamentary way to give him aid and assistance in restoring his royal sister and her princely issue to those dignities and dominions which belonged to them.

on security of his forests and parks for the principal and eight per cent. interest. He forbade all levies without his consent, and called upon his subjects to be mindful of their oath of allegiance, and faithful to his royal person. It was now found that he had a strong party in the country: the church, the universities, the majority of the nobles, and perhaps of the country gentleman—the loyalty of the latter class being generally great in proportion to their distance from the court and their ignorance of court life—rallied round him.[1] The austerity of the Puritans' manners, and their severe doctrine, drove most of the gay and dissolute, and many who were gay without being dissolute, into his party, which was further strengthened by many good, virtuous, and moderate men, who disliked his former conduct, who dreaded his tyrannical disposition, but dreaded the untried democratic violence still more. Nor was Charles wanting in solemn protestations and assurances. To the lords who had gathered around him at York, and to the members of his privy council there, he made a short and comprehensive declaration of his just and liberal intentions and tender regard for the liberties of his people. And it was upon this express declaration that those lords contracted a solemn engagement, and signed a bond to stand by him, to defend his majesty's person, crown, and dignity, with his just and legal prerogative, against all persons, parties, and powers whatsoever.[2]

At the same time the parliament, declaring all these measures to be against law and the national liberties, made their preparations with at least equal vigour. On the 10th of June an order was made by both houses for bringing in money and plate to maintain horse, horsemen, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, *and defence of the king's person*; for the parliament, down to the appointment of Oliver Cromwell to the chief command, always joined this expression with that of their own safety. The two houses engaged the public faith, that whosoever should bring in any money or plate, or furnish men or arms, should be repaid with eight per cent. interest; and they appointed four treasurers, Sir John Wollaston, alderman of London, Alderman Towes, Alderman Warner, and Alderman Andrewes, to grant receipts to the lenders, and certain commissaries to value the horses and arms which should be furnished for the national service. Forthwith a great mass of money was heaped up at Guildhall, and daily increased by the free contributions of the people. The poor contributed with the rich. "Not only the wealthiest citizens and gentleman who were near dwellers brought in their large bags and goblets, but the poorer sort, like that widow in the gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause, to call this the thimble and bodkin army."[3]

Charles wrote a letter to the lord-mayor of London, the aldermen and sheriffs, forbidding these contributions, and inveighing bitterly against the parliament. This letter was wholly without effect, as was an attempt made at the same time to win over the fleet. Clarendon says that this latter scheme only failed through a mistake or blunder of the king's agents; but it appears evident that the cause of its failure really was the devotion of the captains and seamen to the popular cause. The Earl of Warwick, a great lover of the sea-service and highly popular as a commander, called a council of war, and laid before his officers both the ordinance of parliament which appointed him to the command, and the letters of the king which required him to surrender that command to Sir John Pennington. With the exception of five, all the sea-captains agreed with the earl that at this crisis the orders of the two houses were more binding than those of the sovereign, and that the fleet could not be put into the hands of Pennington without the greatest peril to the nation's liberties.

On the 12th of July, the parliament, thus masters of the navy, voted that an army should be raised for the safety of the king's person and defence of the country and parliament; that the Earl of Essex should be captain-general of this army, and the Earl of Bedford general of the

[1] "The spirit of chivalry left behind it a more valuable successor. The character of knight gradually subsided in that of gentleman; and the one distinguishes European society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as much as the other did in the preceding ages. A jealous sense of honour, less romantic, but equally elevated; a ceremonious gallantry and politeness; a strictness in devotional observances; an high pride of birth, and feeling of independence upon any sovereign for the dignity it gave; a sympathy for martial honour, though more subdued by civil habits, are the lineaments which prove an indisputable descent. The Cavaliers of Charles I. were genuine successors of Edward's knights; and the resemblance is much more striking, if we ascend to the civil wars of the League. Time has effaced much also of this gentlemanly, as it did before of the chivalrous character. From the latter part of the seventeenth century, its vigour and purity have undergone a tacit decay, and yielded, perhaps in every country, to increasing commercial wealth, more diffused instruction, the spirit of general liberty in some, and of servile obsequiousness in others, the modes of life in great cities, and the levelling customs of social intercourse."—Hallam, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 510.

[2] These are the names of those who subscribed:—The Lord-keeper Littleton; Duke of Richmond; Marquis of Hertford; Earls of Lindsay, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Caernarvon, Newport; Lords Mowbray and Maltravers, Willoughby of Eresby, Rich, Charles Howard of Charleton, Newark, Paget, Chandois, Falconbridge, Paulet, Lovelace, Coventry, Savile, Mohun, Dunsmore, Seymour, Grey of Ruthven, Falkland, the comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Sir John Culpeper, Lord Chief-justice Banks.

[3] *May*.

horse. They appointed a committee of both houses to assist the Earl of Essex, and to nominate colonels, field-officers, and captains to this army, "which, considering the long peace that had prevailed in England, and the unprovided state of the country in respect of military stores, was not only raised, but also well armed, in a short time." Many of the lords, who still sat in the house at Westminster, took commissions as colonels, under Essex, and many gentlemen of the House of Commons of greatest rank and quality there, entered the service, some in the cavalry, some in the common foot regiments. Among these latter were Sir John Merrick, the Lord Grey of Groby, Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Bulstrode Whitelock, Sir William Waller, and the excellent Hampden, who took a colonel's commission, and went into Buckinghamshire to raise a regiment of infantry among his own tenants and servants, friends and neighbours. Hampden's regiment was known by its excellent appointments, its green uniform, and its standard, which bore on one side the watchword of the parliament, "God with us," and on the other the patriot's own motto, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*" This high-minded commoner, who had been bred up in wealth and in peace, and who had studied the art of war only in books, presently became one of the best officers in the parliamentary service, and he made his regiment one of the very best. He made himself thoroughly master of his military duties, and, according to Clarendon, he performed them upon all occasions most punctually. "He was," says Clarendon, "of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been a friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be."

Meanwhile the king was moving about from place to place to gather forces, and draw over the people. His commission of array and the parliament's ordinance of militia were jostling together in nearly every county in England; the greatest of the nobility upon both sides coming forward personally to seize upon those places which they were appointed to look after either by the king or by the parliament. The one party held the ordinances to be illegal, the other denounced the royal proclamations. Yet in some counties there was no struggle at all, but one party wholly prevailed from the beginning. Generally speaking, the more commercial, more civilized and thriving districts were for the parliament; the more remote, the less prosperous, and less civilized were for the king; but this general rule had its exceptions. In Lincolnshire the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was appointed lord-lieutenant by the parliament, raised the militia with great vigour and success, and was foremost in securing the services of that portion of the army. In Essex, the Earl of Warwick, whose care was not confined to the navy, but who had been also appointed lord-lieutenant, soon completed the levy of militia, which was increased by volunteers in unusual numbers. In Kent there was cheerful obedience shown to the ordinance of parliament. In Surrey and Middlesex the militia was raised with enthusiasm. The eastern part of Sussex, or all that portion which lay upon the sea, was firm to the parliament, but the western part of that county stood for the king under some lords and members who had deserted the parliament. The eastern counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge were kept quiet from the beginning, chiefly through the great wisdom and indefatigable industry of Oliver Cromwell, who had taken out a commission as colonel of horse. There, too, many of the gentry rather inclined in their affections to the king's commission of array; but the traders, the freeholders, and the yeomen in general liked the ordinance, and the militia they raised was too strong to permit the other party to engage in a war; those gentlemen that attempted to raise men or provide arms for the king were crushed at the beginning, and from first to last one of the greatest supports of the parliamentary cause was found in the county of Cromwell's birth. In Berkshire the Earl of Holland, the parliament's lord-lieutenant, raised the militia in spite of the faint resistance of the Earl of Berkshire, the Lord Lovelace, and others. Hampden fell upon the Earl of Berkshire soon after, made him prisoner while engaged in an attempt to seize the magazine of arms, ammunition, &c., gathered at Watlington in Oxfordshire, and sent him up to the parliament. Buckinghamshire, Hampden's county, was true almost to a man to the parliament. The county of Southampton was divided at first, and long continued to be so. In Derbyshire, where many great lords and gentlemen dwelt, not one of note stood for the parliament, except Sir John Gell and his brother. Farther north the king's party was very prevalent: the Earl of Newcastle kept the town of Newcastle with a strong garrison for the king; and the Earl of Cumberland, Charles's lord-lieutenant of Yorkshire, actively pressed the commission of array, although resisted by the Lord Fairfax and other parliamentarians. In Lancashire the Lord Strange, son to the Earl of Derby, whom Charles had appointed lord-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, endeavoured to put in action the commission of array, while Sir Thomas Stanley, the Egertons, and others, urged forward the ordinance. On the 15th of July, Lord Strange made an attempt to gain Manchester; a skirmish ensued, and one man was slain, "which," says May,

"was the first blood shed in these civil wars." Some time after Strange returned to Manchester with 3000 men, but he was beaten off, and that time with considerable loss. Nor was he more successful in Cheshire, where Charles had joined in commission with him the Roman Catholic Earl of Rivers. It was in Lancashire and Cheshire that the Papists were most numerous: in the first they kept quiet, in Cheshire they were disarmed by the parliamentarians. In the west of England, especially in the extreme west, the king's party was numerous. The most considerable skirmish that occurred before Charles's raising his standard, was in Somersetshire, where the Marquis of Hertford was opposed by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, and where ten men were slain and many wounded.[1]

About the end of July the parliament had sent a commission to the king, who was then at Beverley, to entreat him to forbear his hostile preparations, and dismiss his garrisons. His reply was, that they ought to lay down their arms first, and he ordered this answer, which contained many bitter reflections on their proceedings, to be read in all churches. They replied, ordering their answer to be read in churches and everywhere else. A few days after, Charles published a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning the proceedings of this present parliament. This paper occupied fifty large and close quarto pages of print; it contained a kind of history of all that had passed between him and the houses, vowed a wonderful love to parliaments, but required that the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons before accused, and two other members, Mr. Henry Martin and Sir Henry Ludlow, should be given up to the king's justice. Charles also desired to have delivered up to him Alderman Pennington, the new lord-mayor of London,[2] and Captain Venn, an officer of the city train-bands; and he required that indictments of high treason should be drawn against the Earls of Essex, Warwick, and Stamford, the Lord Brooke, Sir John Hotham, and Sergeant-major-general Skippon, as likewise against all those who should dare to raise the militia by virtue of the ordinance of parliament. The royal pen was, indeed, "very quick upon all occasions;" and the day after the publication of this long declaration, Charles sent a message, upbraiding both houses for borrowing a sum for their present uses out of a loan made by adventurers for reducing Ireland, and affirming that *they* were the cause of prolonging the bloody rebellion in that country. This was turning upon parliament one of the heaviest accusations they had made against the king. They replied vehemently, and yet circumstantially, calling to remembrance the many particulars of their care for the relief of Ireland, and the many instances in which the king had hindered it.[3]

Charles flattered himself that, if he could only obtain possession of Hull, he might soon be undisputed master of all the north. A secret correspondence was opened with Sir John Hotham, who so far departed from his former line of conduct as to allow the royalists to entertain hopes that he would betray the parliament and deliver up that important town. The king posted Lord Lindsay at Beverley, with 3000 foot and 1000 horse, to carry the place by siege, if Hotham should not keep his engagement; and in the meantime he himself visited other points; "and, within three weeks, both in his own person and by his messengers, with speeches, proclamations, and declarations, he advanced his business in a wonderful manner. At Newark he made a speech to the gentry of Nottinghamshire in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him; which was a great part of persuasion for the future, coming from a king himself. Another speech he made at Lincoln to the gentry of that county, full of protestations concerning his good intentions, not only to them, but to the whole kingdom, the laws and liberties of it."[4] From Lincoln Charles went to Leicester, where the Earl of Stamford was executing the parliament's ordinance of the militia. He hoped to take the earl in the fact, but that nobleman fell back upon Northampton, whither Charles durst not follow him; for Northampton was a town so true to the parliament, that it would have shut its gates against the king, as Hull had done. The king, however, seized that noted victim of Laud's barbarity, Dr. Bastwick, who had taken a commission under the Earl of Stamford, and remained doing his duty in levying men when his general beat a retreat. Charles would have had him instantly indicted of high treason at the assizes then sitting, but the judge entreated his majesty not to put a matter of so great moment upon one single judge, but to cause the law in that case to be declared by all the twelve judges. The latter course, he said, might do his majesty good, whereas the publishing of *his* particular opinion could only destroy himself, and nothing advance his majesty's service. This judge also expressed his doubts whether any jury suddenly summoned at that moment would have courage

[1] *May; Rushworth; Whitelock; Ludlow.*

[2] Sir Richard Gurney, the late lord-mayor of London, was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, to which he had been committed by the parliament, for being a mover of sedition in the kingdom, in causing the king's proclamation concerning the commission of array to be cried in the city. He was put from his mayoralty, declared incapable of ever bearing any office in city or commonwealth, and sentenced to imprisonment during the pleasure of both houses.

[3] *May; Rushworth.*

[4] *May.*

to find the bill; and upon this suggestion Charles gave up the idea of hanging, drawing, and quartering the doctor, who had already been scourged, pilloried, mutilated, and branded by Laud. There is a great deal in this little transaction to show that the character of the king had undergone no change. The night before his leaving Leicester, the judge and the gentlemen of the county, including even those that were most loyal, waited upon him with a request that he would liberate the prisoner, or suffer the judge to do so upon his *habeas corpus*. Charles told them "he would think of it till the next morning;" and in the meanwhile he directed a messenger of the chamber very early, with such assistance as the sheriff should give, to carry Bastwick away to Nottingham, and by the help of the sheriff there, to the jail at York, all which was executed accordingly with expedition and secrecy, for fear of a rescue.[1]

Returning to Beverley, Charles received a letter from Lord Digby, who had returned from the Continent in disguise, and smuggled himself into Hull, where he had voluntarily discovered himself to the governor for the purpose of tampering with him. But now Digby, the daring and restless head of the queen's faction, informed Charles that he found Hotham much shaken in his resolution of delivering Hull—seeing, as Sir John said, that his officers were of a temper not to be relied upon, and his own son, the younger Hotham, was grown jealous of some design, and was counterworking it. Presently after this information, the king's army, not confident of carrying the town by open force, and no longer counting on the treachery of the governor, had recourse to another plot; and, knowing some men within the walls fit for their purpose, they arranged that Hull should be set on fire in four several places, and that, while the parliament soldiers and inhabitants were busied in quenching the flames, 2000 men should assault the walls. The signal to those within the town, was to be a fire lit in the night on Beverley Minster; but the plot was discovered by one of the instruments, and it so provoked the townsmen of Hull that the walls could not contain them; but 500 of them, conducted by Sir John Meldrum, made a sortie, and fell fiercely upon the beleaguerers. The king's soldiers seemed inclined to fight bravely, but the train-bands of that county were not forward to be engaged against their neighbours, and horse and foot fled as fast as they could to Beverley. Sir John Meldrum followed in their wake, killed two, took thirty prisoners, and carried some important magazines which the king had placed between Beverley and Hull, where again the train-bands and other Yorkshiremen, bearing no great affection to that war, ran away and left their arms behind them. The king now called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to break up the siege of Hull and march away. Meldrum, that fiery Scot, got back to Hull with a good prize in ammunition and arms; but the elder Hotham, who was still wavering, and who evidently wished to keep well with both parties, safely dismissed to the king the Lord Digby and that other active servant of royalty, John Ashburnham.[2] Charles dismissed the train-bands, and returned to York, in much less credit than when he came from thence. But his spirits were revived by the news "that so notable a place as Portsmouth had declared for him, . . . and that so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty, and in possession of that town." Hereupon he published a declaration, in which he recapitulated all the insolent and rebellious actions of the two houses, forbidding all his subjects to yield any obedience to what was no longer a parliament, but a cabal and faction. And at the same time he issued his proclamation requiring all men that could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham by the 25th of August.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.—From a drawing by P. Sandby

"According to the proclamation," proceeds the noble historian, "upon the 25th day of August, the standard was erected about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. The king himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the castle-hill, Varney, the knight-

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[2] *May; Rushworth; Clarendon; Warwick.*

FROM THE PAINTING BY C.W. COPE R.A. IN THE PEERS CORRIDOR, HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE OPENING SCENE OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

A collision between Charles I. and his parliament had become a necessity of the strained situation. The king had given his assent to the famous "Petition of Rights", yet taxes and ship-money were still being raised by his arbitrary authority, and Puritans imprisoned and tortured, so that a large part of the nation had ceased to believe in him, ceased to respect him, and even ceased to fear him. After the execution of Strafford, and the king's attempt to arrest five members of the House of Commons, both sides made preparations for war. With the king was the great bulk of the gentry, while nearly all the Puritans and the people of the trading towns adhered to the Parliament. *In August, 1642, Charles began the terrible Civil War by raising the royal standard at Nottingham on the evening of a very tempestuous day.* During the night the standard was blown down by the wind,—a mischance which was prophetic of the disasters which befell the royal cause, and the final defeat of the king at the battle of Naseby.

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marshal, who was standard-bearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet brought thither, so that the train-bands which the sheriff had drawn together were all the strength the king had for his person and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs when the standard was set up."[1]

The king's dejection of spirits was increased by the failure of an attempt which he had made two or three days before upon the town of Coventry. Learning that Hampden's regiment and some other corps of parliamentarians were marching, by order of the Earl of Essex, to garrison Coventry, he had struck aside in that direction at the head of his cavalry, amounting to about 800 men, not doubting that he should secure the town, provided only he could arrive before the parliamentarian foot. But the people of Coventry, like those of most manufacturing places, loved their parliament and their Puritan preachers; and, though he did arrive first, the gates were shut in his face and some shots fired from the walls, by which some of his attendants were wounded. He had then retired to Stoneleigh, near Warwick, to pass the night there; and in the morning he had seen his horse in an open plain decline giving combat to Hampden's foot, and retreat before them without making a single charge for the honour of arms. Discouraged, hopeless, and wavering, the royalists at Nottingham proposed the king's immediate return to York, conceiving that not even his person was secure at Nottingham, as Essex was concentrating his forces at Northampton, where in fact that earl soon saw himself surrounded by an army of 15,000 men, composed of substantial yeomen and industrious burghers, the inhabitants of trading and manufacturing towns. Charles would not hear of this retreat; and when some of his council urged the expediency of making overtures for an accommodation with his parliament, he was so offended at the advice, that he declared he would never yield to it, and hastily broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged. The next day, however, the king yielded to the earnestness of the Earl of Southampton, who suggested to his majesty that if the parliament should refuse to treat, as it was thought they would, they would render themselves odious to the people, and thus dispose men to serve the king. It was upon this plea that Charles reluctantly agreed to send the Earls of Southampton and Dorset and Sir John Culpeper to London, on the third day after raising the standard at Nottingham. Culpeper was very obnoxious in the capital, for he was one of those who were considered as renegades; but all three of the king's messengers were watched very suspiciously, and all the answer they could get was, that the parliament would enter upon no negotiations whatever until the king should have taken down his standard, and called in those proclamations by which he had declared the Earl of Essex and his adherents to be traitors, and had put the two houses out of his protection, proclaiming their actions to be treasonable. Another message was sent from the king to the two houses: but, on every ground, it was now hopeless to think of a peaceful arrangement; and Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, who had at last arrived in England, insulted all the royalists that still ventured to recommend pacific measures. This rash young man, who was instantly appointed to the highest command, so excited some of the principal officers with indignation at the thought of the overture recently made to parliament, that they were well nigh offering personal violence to the members of the council who had recommended that measure. Rupert, whom the English people soon learned to call "Prince Robber," was accompanied by his younger brother, Prince Maurice, and both "showed themselves very forward and active."[2] Prince Rupert, the elder brother, and

STONELEIGH, WARWICKSHIRE.
From a print in the King's Collection, British Museum.

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* Rushworth says that the standard was raised, not on the 25th of August, but on the *twenty-second*. His account differs in other essentials.

[2] *May.*

the more furious of the two, within a fortnight after his arrival at Nottingham took the command of a small party and scoured through divers counties, hoping to roll himself, like a snow-ball, into a larger bulk, by the accession of recruits. He flew

Prince Rupert.—From a rare print by T. Bernard.

rather than marched through parts of Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, not so much inviting the people by fair promises and kind demeanour, as compelling them by extreme rigour to take his side. It was upon this occasion, that the German word *plunder*, was first used in England, and adopted into the national language. The proceedings of the followers of Rupert made its meaning sufficiently intelligible.

Charles vainly loitered at Nottingham, few or none joining his standard, or seeming likely to do so, when Essex was at hand with such a superior force. About the middle of September he began to move towards the west of England, where the Marquis of Hertford engaged to do great things, and where several regiments were actually raised for his service. Essex had tendered to him the parliament's petition, praying for his return to his capital, and for the disbanding of his army; but Charles had refused to receive what he termed the insulting message of a set of traitors. On his march westward the king did not act like the fierce Rupert, but in a gentler and calmer way. Between Stafford and Wellington he halted his troops, and, having caused his orders of the day to be read at the head of each corps, he advanced to the front, and told the men for their comfort, that they should meet no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, or Atheists, who would destroy both church and commonwealth. He then made one of his solemn protestations, imprecating the vengeance of Heaven upon himself and his posterity if his intentions were not solely for the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant religion established in the Church of England, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the just privileges of parliament. He had already, at York, issued a proclamation against Papists, forbidding the resort of any men of that religion to his camp; and yet at this moment he was surrounded by Catholics, and on his way to meet many more. His protestation and declaration only tended, therefore, to confirm his reputation for habitual falsehood and duplicity; but at the same time we cannot pass without reprobation the religious intolerance of the parliament and the great mass of the nation, which seemed in Charles's eyes to render this double course necessary.[1] Clarendon intimates that this conduct, and addresses of this kind, had a wonderful effect in increasing the king's party; but Charles could not always adhere to the line of mildness and persuasion. In part of his march he courteously summoned the county train-bands to attend him and guard his royal person; and when they were met, he expressed doubts of their loyalty, forcibly disarmed them, gave their arms to others, and sent them away. Besides, he levied contributions, or, to use the quaint language of a contemporary, "he got good sums of money, which, not without some constraint, he borrowed from them." On the 20th of September he reached Shrewsbury, where he was cordially received. With fresh protestations on his lips that he would never suffer an army of Papists to be raised, he wrote away to the Earl of Newcastle in the north, bidding him raise as many men as he could without any regard to their religion;[2] and at this moment, or a little later, he sent over to Ireland for Anglo-Irish troops, or for troops of native Catholics. Considerable quantities of plate were brought in, both voluntarily and by force; and a mint having been erected, money was struck with great rapidity. The Catholics of Shropshire and Staffordshire advanced the king £5000 in cash; a country gentleman paid him £6000 for the title of baron; and a few sums were secretly remitted by his partizans in London.

In the meantime the Earl of Essex, having secured the country round Northampton, put a good garrison into Coventry, and taking possession of Warwick, struck off to the west, in order to throw himself between the king and the capital, and get possession of the important city of Worcester. Prince Rupert and a detachment of the parliamentarians had a struggle for the possession of Worcester, before Essex, whose move-

[1] *Rushworth; May.* [2] *Sir Henry Ellis.*

ments were generally slow and formal, could come up. Colonel Sandys, a gallant officer, fell in charging Rupert up a narrow lane, but in the end the prince was driven from the town and across the bridge, leaving twenty dead and thirty prisoners behind him. Essex appeared almost immediately after this fight, and took an assured possession of Worcester; Prince Rupert rode back to the king. For three weeks Essex lay at Worcester doing nothing. Encouraged by this strange inaction, and by his own great accession of men, arms, and money, Charles quitted Shrewsbury on the 20th of October, with the intention of turning Essex's army, and marching straight upon London by Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Essex, it appears, was wholly ignorant of his movements till the king had got behind him; but he then followed with some alacrity, and entered the village of Keinton, in Warwickshire, on the 22d, the same evening that the royalists halted at Edgehill, a very little in advance. Charles, by the advice of a council of war, resolved to turn round and face his pursuers, who, in their late and sudden movement, had left whole regiments behind them.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 23d of October, when Essex looked towards Edgehill, he saw that the royalists had not retreated, but were there drawn up in order of battle. He presently arranged his own forces, placing the best of his field-pieces upon his right wing, guarded by two regiments of foot and some horse. But the parliamentarians liked not to charge the royalists up hill, and the royalists seemed determined not to quit their advantageous position. It might well be, too, that other considerations, apart from merely military ones, imposed a long and solemn pause. But whatever were the causes of the delay, it is certain that the two armies spent many hours in gazing at each other—long hours infinitely more trying than the heat and hurry of actual combat to the spirits of men, particularly to men newly, and for the far greater part for the first time in their lives, under arms. Charles was on the field in complete armour. He had retained to himself the title of generalissimo, naming the Earl of Lindsay (a brave and experienced old soldier, who in former times had been the comrade of Essex in the foreign wars), chief general under him; but Lindsay, disgusted with the petulance and impertinence of Prince Rupert, regarded himself as only a nominal chief, and took his place, pike in hand, at the head of his own regiment. Sir Jacob Astley was major-general under the Earl of Lindsay. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horse, and Lord Wilmot the left, and two reserves of horse were commanded, the one by Lord Digby, and the other by Sir John Byron. The royalists exceeded the parliamentarians in total number and in horse, but Essex had the better train of artillery. Pike in hand, Essex advanced into the broad plain at the foot of Edgehill, called the Vale of the Red Horse—"a name," says May, "suitable to the colour which that day was to bestow upon it—for *there* happened the greatest part of the encounter." At last about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Earl of Essex commanded his artillery to fire upon the enemy. The royalists presently replied with their cannon, and "the great shot was exchanged for the space of an hour or thereabout." Then the royalists began to descend the hill, and their main body of foot surrounding the king's standard, advanced within musket-shot. The parliamentarians made a charge to break them and seize the standard, but they were repulsed. Then Prince Rupert with his cavalry charged the left wing of the parliamentarians, broke it, and pursued it as far as the village of Keinton, where his men took to plundering instead of thinking of the main body which they had left. Though their left wing was thus broken, the right wing of the parliamentarians was intact, and a charge from that quarter, under Sir William Balfour, was so successful, that the king's artillerymen were driven from their guns, and several of the cannon spiked. After this brilliant charge, Sir William Balfour fell back upon the main body, whence the Earl of Essex advanced two regiments of foot to attack the mass of infantry which surrounded the royal standard. This body of royalists stood firm, and fought most gallantly; but presently Balfour came up with his horse, turned them, and attacked them in the rear, while some other squadrons of parliamentarians threatened them in flank; and then the royalists broke and ran back towards the hill. The Earl of Lindsay, the nominal general-in-chief under the king, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The parliamentarians took many colours, and Lieutenant Middleton seized the royal standard and carried it to the Earl of Essex, who delivered it to his secretary, Mr. Chambers, who suffered it to be taken from him, and so "privately conveyed away." The royalists, however, rallied on the hill top, and kept up a fire till nightfall. Rupert returned with his sword red with English blood, with his horses loaded with plunder; but he found the king's left wing broken, and the centre in the greatest confusion, nor could he recover his position on the right wing without sustaining a terrible charge from the parliamentarian horse, led on by Sir Philip Stapleton.[1]

[1] Both parties agree in opinion as to Prince Rupert's headlong rashness. Sir Philip Warwick, who was in the battle, says, that the cavalry pursued the chase contrary to all discipline of war, and left the king and his foot so alone, that it gave Essex

Essex retained possession of the ground which his enemies had chosen to fight upon—the Vale of the Red Horse—during the night; but the royalists did not move from the top of the hill, where they made great fires all the night long. Great military faults had been committed on both sides, but there was certainly no deficiency of courage on either. The substantial yeomen, the burghers, the artisans, were new at the bloody game; but in this first great encounter they taught the Cavaliers to respect the valour of the "thimble and bodkin" army. There is a great variety of statements as to the actual number of the slain; but taking a medium calculation, it appears that 4000 men lay dead that night in the Vale of the Red Horse. The loss of the royalists was greater than that of the parliamentarians, and Charles lost many distinguished officers, while Essex lost only two colonels, the Lord St. John and Colonel Walton.

On the following morning the parliamentarians were reinforced by three regiments commanded by Hampden, Denzil Hollis, and Lord Willoughby. Leaving some troops on the hill-top to mask their retreat, the royalists began to move off as fast as they could. Hampden, Hollis, Stapleton, and other members of parliament commanding militia regiments, urged Essex to follow up the king and renew the battle; but the military men by profession—the officers who had served in regular wars on the Continent—thought that enough had been done by an army of recruits, and that it would be wiser to accustom the men by degrees to warfare, and not to risk everything at once. The king marched to Banbury, and summoned it; and though about 1000 parliamentarians were in the town, they surrendered to him apparently without a blow.[1]

Charles then proceeded to Oxford, where he was welcomed by the university, which was enthusiastically loyal from the beginning. "Then, too, many of the greatest gentlemen of divers counties began to consider the king as one that in possibility might prove a conqueror, and many of those who before had stood at gaze as neutral, in hope that one quick blow might clear the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came in readily and adhered to that side where there seemed to be least fears and greatest hopes."[2] The Cavaliers that flocked to Oxford were generally well mounted, and this allowed Charles greatly to reinforce the cavalry under his nephew. Issuing from Oxford, Prince Rupert scoured the country, visited Abingdon, Henley, and other towns, and returned with great booty. Within a few days he made still nearer approaches towards London, penetrating as far as Staines and Egham. The parliament and the city of London were thrown into consternation, but they provided with spirit for their defence. Trenches were dug, and ramparts thrown up round the capital; seamen were embarked in boats and small vessels, and sent up the river; forces were detached to possess and fortify Windsor Castle. The train-bands of London, Middlesex, and Surrey were concentrated, and kept continually under arms. Associations of counties for mutual defence had already been allowed and recommended by the two houses, and those bonds were now drawn closer at the approach of danger. In the eastern counties the association, which had been mainly organized and directed by Oliver Cromwell, was exceedingly formidable. The parliament, taking notice that the king had, by a formal commission, empowered Sir William Gerrard, Sir Cecil Trafford, and other Popish gentlemen, to take arms with their tenants and servants, resolved to strengthen themselves by the Presbyterian interest, and applied to the Scots for immediate assistance. Very varying news blew hot and cold among the Londoners: but at last, the Earl of Essex reached the neighbourhood of London, with his army in good condition and disposition; and quartering his men about Acton, he himself (on the 7th of November) rode into Westminster to give the parliament an account of his campaign. It was clear to most men that Essex had been far from doing the best that might have been done, but the two houses wisely welcomed him, voted him thanks, and presented him with a gift of £5000, as an acknowledgment of his care, pains, and valour.

The earl had scarcely arrived in the capital when the king, quitting Oxford, marched upon Reading. Mr. Henry Martin, one of the most remarkable men in the House of Commons, commanded at this town; but, considering the place untenable with the forces he had with him, he evacuated it at the king's approach, and fell back upon London. Charles then advanced to Colnbrook, where he was met by the Earl of Northumberland and three members of the House of Commons, who presented a petition for an accommodation. Charles seemed to receive their address with great willingness, and he returned them a fair and smooth answer, calling God to witness that he was tenderly compassionate of his bleeding people, and so desirous of nothing as for a speedy peace. The deputation, well pleased, returned to the parliament, where the king's gracious answer was read to both houses. Thereupon the Earl of Essex rose, and asked whether he was now to pursue or suspend hostilities? Parliament ordered the earl to suspend

a title to the victory of that day; which might have been his last day, if they had done their parts and stood their ground.

[1] *May; Whitelock; Rushworth; Ludlow; Warwick.*

[2] *May.*

them, and despatched Sir Peter Killigrew to require a like cessation on the part of the royalists, not having, however, the smallest doubt that Charles would consider himself bound by his entertaining their propositions of an accommodation, and by his gracious message of the preceding evening, to remain in a state of truce. But Killigrew was scarcely gone when the loud roar of cannon was heard in the House of Lords. The Earl of Essex rushed out of the house, mounted his horse, and galloped across the parks in the direction of the ominous sound. As he approached Brentford the earl learned, to his astonishment, the trick which had been played. Prince Rupert, closely followed by the king in person and by the whole royal army, taking advantage of a dense November fog, had advanced and fallen unexpectedly upon Brentford, which was occupied by a broken regiment of Colonel Hollis's, "but stout men all, who had before done good service at Edgehill." The royalists fancied they should cut their way through Brentford without any difficulty, get on to Hammersmith, where the parliament's train of artillery lay, and then perhaps take London by sudden night assault. But Hollis's men opposed their passage and stopped their march so long at Brentford, that the gallant regiments of Hampden and Lord Brooke had time to come up. These three regiments, not without great loss, completely barred the road; and, when Essex, who had gathered a considerable force of horse as he rode along, came to the spot, he found that the royalists had given over the attack, and were lying quietly on the western side of Brentford. Charles had kept himself safe at Hounslow, and there he lay that night. "All that night," says May, "the city of London poured out men towards Brentford, who every hour marched thither; and all the lords and gentlemen that belonged to the parliament army were there ready by Sunday morning, the 14th of November." The city bands had marched forth cheerfully under the command of Major-general Skippon, who enjoyed the entire confidence of parliament and the extraordinary favour of the Londoners.[1] Essex found himself in the course of this Sunday at the head of 24,000 men, who were drawn up in battle array on Turnham-green.[2] Hampden, with his brave men of Buckinghamshire, began to make a detour with the intention of falling upon the king's rear, while the rest of the parliamentarians should attack him in front and turn his flanks; but they had scarcely marched a mile, when Sir John Merrick, Essex's major-general, galloped after them, and told them that the general had changed his mind as to dividing his forces, and ordered them back. Hampden and his green coats, exceedingly troubled, fell back accordingly. And thus, leaving the king's rear unencumbered, the parliamentarians stood at gaze, facing the royalists, but doing nothing. At last it was consulted whether the parliament army should not advance and fall upon the king's forces, as was advised by most of the members of parliament and gentlemen who were officers, "but the soldiers of fortune, who love long campaigns as physicians love long diseases," were altogether against it; and while they were consulting, Charles drew off his carriages and ordnance. Upon this there was another consultation, whether the parliamentarians should pursue. Again Hampden, Hollis, all the members of parliament, all the gentlemen who had become soldiers only for their principles, were for the bolder course, and all the old soldiers of fortune, the men who had made war their regular trade and profession, were against it. Charles, scarcely crediting his good luck, got safe to Kingston, and crossed the bridge there without opposition, and without ammunition enough in his own army to have lasted a quarter of an hour.[3]

The parliament, indignant, voted that they would never again have any treaty or truce with the king; yet at the opening of the following year (1643) they entertained more pacific notions, and in the month of March they begun a hopeless treaty at Oxford, where Charles was lying in great strength. Their principal demand was that the king should disband his army, and return to his capital and parliament, leaving delinquents to trial, and Papists to be disarmed; that he should pass a bill for abolishing bishops, and such other bills as should be presented for reformation.

When the negotiations had been wire-drawn through several weeks they ended in nothing. They had never interrupted the progress of hostilities; and the warlike operations in the interval had, on the whole, been favourable to the parliamentarians. Reading was taken by the Earl of Essex. Then Hampden, ever the proposer or advocate of bold measures, recommended the immediate investing of Oxford, hoping to finish the war at once by the capture of Charles and

[1] Skippon was a character. He was accustomed to make very short, pithy, and homely speeches to the train-bands and Cockney troops, the most zealous of which were, of course, all Puritans. On this occasion Whitelock tells us his speech was to this effect:—"Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily, and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us." "Thus," continues Whitelock, "he went all along with the soldiers, talking to them, sometimes with one company, sometimes to another; and the soldiers seemed to be more taken with it than with a set formal oration."

[2] *Whitelock.*

[3] *Rushworth; May; Ludlow; Clarendon; Warwick.*

his court. Clarendon confesses that, if this measure had been adopted, it could scarcely have failed of success; but again the Earl of Essex objected, and consulted his professional officers, who agreed in representing the enterprize as too hazardous. The king, who had already deliberated respecting a retreat into the north, took fresh courage.

The queen had arrived in Burlington Bay, where the Earl of Newcastle met her with his army to conduct her to York. She remained four months in Yorkshire, strengthening and inspiriting the royalist party. Again overtures were made to Sir John Hotham in Hull; and the Earl of Newcastle was so considerably reinforced, that Lord Fairfax, the general for parliament in the north, could scarcely make head against him. A fierce war of outposts ensued between these two commanders; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, then a young man and general of the horse to his father, began to acquire in this service that military skill and experience which subsequently rendered him one of the best officers in England. By the month of May Henrietta Maria was enabled to send arms and ammunition to her husband at Oxford, who had for some time been lying inactive for want of gunpowder. Charles then prepared to act, but, that he might commence a sanguinary campaign with peaceful professions, he sent a message to the parliament to speak again of accommodation. The lords, or that minority of them which remained in London, received his message with respect: the commons threw his messenger into prison and then impeached the queen of high treason. Pym carried up the impeachment to the lords, "where it stuck many months." About this time a conspiracy was discovered, headed by Waller the poet, who had been for some time in secret communication with Lord Falkland, now the king's secretary. The main objects of it were to seize the persons of the leading members of the House of Commons, and deliver up the city of London to Charles. A jury in Guildhall found a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Challoner, and Tomkins, who was brother-in-law to Waller, were hanged; three others were reprieved and eventually saved by the mercy of parliament; and Waller, the chief of the conspiracy, after a year's imprisonment in the Tower, was, upon payment of £10,000, "released to go travel abroad."[1]

About the same time, in the busy month of May, the commons unanimously took a solemn vow never to consent to lay down their arms so long as the Papists in open war against the parliament should be protected from the justice thereof, made a new great seal, and passed the act for an assembly of divines to settle religion. Commissioners were appointed to execute the office of lord-keeper, and the first day that the seal was brought into play, which was not until several months after, no fewer than 500 writs were passed under it. An important plot had also been discovered at Bristol, where Robert Yeomans, late sheriff, William Yeomans, his brother, and some other royalists, had engaged to deliver that city to the king's forces under the command of Prince Rupert. Colonel Fiennes, the governor, son of the Lord Say and Sele, discovered this plot in good time, apprehended the conspirators, and brought them to trial before a council of war, which condemned four of them to the gallows. The king interfered to save their lives, telling the governor of Bristol that if he presumed to execute any of them he (the king) would do the same by four prisoners taken in rebellion and now at York. Governor Fiennes replied, that the laws of nature among all men, and the laws of arms among soldiers, made a difference between open enemies and secret spies and conspirators. Fiennes also threatened to retaliate upon royalist prisoners in his hands.[2] The king ordered the mayor of Bristol to hinder the murder of his loyal subjects, but Fiennes forthwith hanged Robert Yeomans, the chief conspirator, and one George Bourchier. Luckily the king did not retaliate as he had threatened. But before this correspondence took place, Charles had been obliged to acknowledge the laws of war, and to treat his prisoners not as captured rebels, but as soldiers fighting with a sufficient commission.

By means of the supplies which he had received from the queen, Charles was enabled to renew active operations; and Prince Rupert and the cavalry during the month of June swept the whole country between Oxford and Bath on one side, and on the other, where Essex's lines were too much extended, broke through and pillaged in Berkshire and in Buckinghamshire. At this time Colonel Hurry, or Urrie, one of the lord-general's soldiers of fortune, deserted to the king, and informed Prince Rupert that two parliament regiments, detached and open to attack, lay at Wycombe. The prince resolved upon a night attack. On Saturday, the 17th of June, about four o'clock in the afternoon, his trumpets sounded through the streets of Oxford to boot and saddle; and in less than half an hour his cavalry crossed over Magdalen bridge, and, being joined by some infantry, pushed on rapidly towards the parliament country. They were 2000 men, but they were allowed to pass within two or three miles of Thame, where Essex now lay with the main body of the parliament army, without interruption or challenge. They crossed the Cherwell at Chiselhampton bridge, and, stealing through

[1] *Whitelock; May; Journals.*

[2] *Rushworth.*

the woodlands about Stokenchurch, they got to the quiet little hamlet of Postcombe at about three o'clock in the morning. There, apparently to their surprise, they found a troop of horse, who mounted, and, after a slight skirmish, retired in good order, beating up the people, and giving the alarm to other pickets and outposts. Thereupon, instead of pushing forward to the two regiments at Wycombe, Rupert turned aside with his whole force of cavalry to Chinnor, where he slaughtered some fifty parliamentarians, and dragged away half naked at the horses' sides about sixscore prisoners. The sun now rose, and a party of the parliament's horse appeared on the side of the Beacon-hill. It was led on by the patriot Hampden, who had slept that night at Watlington, in the neighbourhood, and who had vainly urged Essex the day before to strengthen his line by calling in the remote pickets from Wycombe, Postcombe, and Chinnor. On the first alarm of Rupert's night irruption he despatched a trooper to the lord-general at Thame, advising him to detach a force of infantry and cavalry to Chiselhampton bridge, the only point at which the royalists could recross the Cherwell. And, this done, Hampden instantly rode with a troop of Captain Sheffield's horse, and some of Gunter's dragoons, to keep the royalists in play till the slow Essex should have time to come up or send his column to Chiselhampton bridge. A sharp encounter presently took place on Chalgrove-field among the standing corn. The parliamentarians were checked and thrown into confusion, and Major Gunter was slain. Hampden, who expected every moment to see the head of Essex's column, rode up to rally and support the disordered horse of Gunter; and, putting himself at the head of a squadron, he charged Rupert's right. But as he was spurring up to the royalists, he was struck in the shoulder with two carabine balls, which broke the bone and entered his body. The reins fell from his disabled arm, and with his head bent in agony over his horse's neck, he turned away from that fatal charge. His friends then fell into disorder, and, looking in vain for the tardy Essex, they commenced a retreat, leaving many officers and men dead on the field. Rupert pushed on for Chiselhampton bridge. There was no Essex there, nor any troops of his sending. The royalists recrossed the Cherwell, and hurried back with their prisoners and booty to Oxford. Meanwhile Hampden was seen riding off the field before the action was quite over. At first he moved in the direction of his father-in-law Simeon's house at Pyrton, where he had in his youth married the first wife of his love, and whither he would fain have gone to die; but Rupert's cavalry covered the plain in that direction, and so he turned his horse's head and rode towards Thame. Fainting with pain, he reached Thame, and was conducted to the house

House at Thame in which Hampden died.[1]

of one Ezekiel Browne. The surgeons at first gave him hopes of life, but he felt himself that his hurts were mortal. The pain of the wounds was excruciating, yet he almost immediately occupied himself in writing letters to the parliament. He again sent to head-quarters, earnestly to recommend the correction of those military errors to which he had fallen a sacrifice; to implore Essex to concentrate his army so as to cover London and set at defiance the flying incursions of Rupert's horse. After nearly six days of suffering, he felt that the weakness and decay of the body were prevailing over the strength of his soul, and he prepared to die like a Christian. He expired on the 24th of June, with a prayer upon his lips for his country, and was buried a few days after in the parish church of Hampden. His gallant greencoats—one of the best regiments that as yet bore arms for the parliament—bare-headed, with their arms reversed, their drums and ensigns muffled, followed him to the grave, singing the 90th Psalm. And when those hardy soldiers had seen the dust heaped upon him who had been the friend of all of them from their youth upwards, they returned chanting a more hopeful strain, calling upon the God of

[1] The house where the great English patriot breathed his last is still pointed out at Thame, Oxfordshire. It was formerly the Greyhound Inn, and has been somewhat altered in appearance since the days of Hampden. Other houses in the same place likewise claim the honour, but this, according to the best authenticated tradition, appears to have the justest title.

their strength to plead their cause, to send out his light and truth, and prevent their soul from being disquieted.[1] Never in the memory of those

The Parish Church of Hampden, in which John Hampden is buried.[2]

times had there been so general a consternation and sorrow at any one man's death as that with which the tidings were received in London, and by the friends of the parliament all over the land.

Other misfortunes came thick upon the parliament. On the 30th of June the Earl of Newcastle entirely defeated Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, at Atherton Moor; while, in the meantime, he had opened a secret correspondence with the Hothams, who had conceived a great jealousy of the younger Fairfax. The Hothams agreed to shut out the Fairfaxes, and to admit Newcastle, who was to garrison Hull for the king. But some members gained timely intelligence of this dangerous plot, seized the two Hothams, fettered and chained them, and put the Lord Fairfax into the town. A few months after they were tried and convicted of high treason; and both father and son were executed on Tower-hill, at the beginning of January, 1644.

Oliver Cromwell, marching at the head of 1000 horse of his own raising, gained several conspicuous advantages in the field. At the same time he put a new life into the dispirited levies of the parliament, and with their assistance he gained a brilliant victory near Grantham. The parliament was not so successful in the west, where Sir William Waller was defeated near Devizes. And shortly after this Prince Rupert, who had many correspondents and friends within that town, fell upon Bristol with all his fury. Nathaniel Fiennes, the parliamentary governor, was a better debater in the house than military commander, and he surrendered Bristol after a siege of only three days. For this he was afterwards sentenced by a council of war to lose his life, but he was pardoned by the Earl of Essex. Exeter, whither the queen had retired to be delivered of a daughter, was strongly fortified, and the wild and hardy men of Cornwall were furiously loyal. The only strong place in the west which held out for the parliament was the city of Gloucester, wherein lay for some weeks the whole fortune of the war. In her way from the north, the queen, bringing very considerable reinforcements, among whom were many French and Walloons, had passed through Oxford, and spent some time there with her husband. At this moment it was apprehended that Charles would make another attempt upon the capital, and the Londoners set themselves to work to fortify the city. "The example of gentlemen of the best quality, knights and

Entrance to Bristol (Temple Street).
J. S. Prout, from his drawing on the spot.

ladies, going out with drums beating and spades and mattocks in their hands to assist in the work, put life into the drooping people;"[3] and in an incredibly short space of time entrenchments,

[1] Forty-third Psalm.

[2] No monument of any kind marks the resting-place of Hampden, but tradition asserts it to be close to the monument erected by him in memory of his wife—a marble tablet between the windows on the south side of the chancel in Hampden Church, Bucks.

[3] *May.*

twelve miles in circuit, were thrown up round London. Upon this, Charles, instead of advancing into the south, struck away to the west, to lay siege to Gloucester. Essex soon followed him to relieve that important place; and, by an admirably conducted march, he got from Hounslow to Gloucester just in time to save that city.

Leaving a good garrison and all necessary supplies in Gloucester, Essex turned back to recover his position in front of London. This retrograde march was as well conducted as the advance had been, but, when he got near Newbury, he found the king strongly posted there, and drawn up to cut off his retreat. A fierce battle was the consequence. The parliamentarian horse was sharply handled and thrown into confusion, but their excellent foot restored the fortune of the day. "For," says Clarendon, "though the king's horse made the enemy's horse often give ground, yet their foot were so immoveable that little was gotten by the other." Night at last came on, and separated the combatants. During the darkness the royalists removed their cannon and other carriages to Donnington Castle, and having lodged them there, marched off towards Oxford. In the morning Essex entered Newbury, whence he proceeded without opposition to Reading. In the battle of Newbury, which was fought on the 20th of September, Essex's men "were full of mettle;" and the London recruits, the apprentices, the artisans, and the shopkeepers of London, particularly distinguished themselves.[1] The parliamentarians lost some 500 men and very few officers: the king lost treble the number of men and many officers of rank; but the greatest loss of all was estimated to be that of the accomplished Lord Falkland, then Charles's secretary of state, who was struck with a musket ball, and died on the field, only three months after the death of his opponent, but once bosom friend, Hampden.

Lord Falkland.[3]

This young nobleman was too remarkable a person to be dismissed with a mere passing notice. Lucius Carey, the second who bore the title of Lord Viscount Falkland, was born about the year 1610, and was the son of that Sir Robert Carey who posted to Edinburgh with such selfish haste to communicate the tidings of the death of Elizabeth,[2] for which James rewarded him with the Scottish title of nobility. Even as if in boyhood he had anticipated the shortness of his career, the youth of Lucius, Lord Falkland, was distinguished by precocious intellect and remarkable literary attainments, so that his beautiful mansion near Burford, within ten miles of Oxford, was a sort of college in miniature, from the learned men who frequented it, and the intellectual intercourse with which it was pervaded. Here, also, he is said to have assisted Chillingworth, who was his guest, in the composition of his distinguished work against Popery. Rich, young, and unambitious, he would have preferred his beloved studious seclusion; but when the pressure of events carried him into public life, he was distinguished by the moral force of his character and unimpeachable purity of his proceedings, so that he was regarded by both parties in parliament with affection and reverence. At first he sided with the oppositionists of Charles and Laud; but apprehensive that the popular party aimed at nothing short of the subversion of monarchy, he adopted the cause of the king, by whom he was appointed secretary of state. It was a painful position for one who could as little sympathize with the crooked policy and king-craft of Charles, as with the recklessness and licentiousness of the leading royalists; and even already he seems to have regarded the cause as doomed, through the vices of its supporters and adherents. According to Clarendon, from the first entrance into this war, Falkland's natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to. He became sad, pale, and splenetic, neglecting his dress, shunning all recreation, and constantly exclaiming, "Peace! peace!" or declaring that the horrors of war and the desolation of the kingdom deprived him of sleep and rest, and would shortly break his heart.[4] Although holding no military

[1] May mentions that the two train-bands of London were often charged by both horse and foot, but stood to it with undaunted resolution. Clarendon pays the same compliment, stating that all Essex's foot behaved themselves admirably.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 289.

[3] From the statue by John Bell, in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.

[4] Clarendon, *Hist.* There are some little traits in Whitelock's account of Lord Falkland's death quite as touching as anything in the full, eloquent outpouring of Clarendon.

commission, he took part in the active proceedings of the war; but, occupied with melancholy forebodings of the issue, whatever side might prevail, glory had neither the power to allure him onward, nor danger to turn him aside. In preparing for the battle of Newbury, a marked change in his demeanour was perceptible: he resumed his former carefulness and neatness of attire, that, if killed, his body might be found in becoming trim; and on his friends dissuading him from entering the field, as having no call to it, because he had no military office, he answered, "I am weary of the times, and foresee much misery to my country, and believe I shall be out of it ere night." He put himself into the front rank of Byron's regiment, and was shot while advancing upon a hedge which the enemy had lined with musketeers. "Thus fell that incomparable young man in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the true business of life that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency. Whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him."[1]

In the preceding year, when London seemed to be threatened by the king, the parliament had made certain applications for aid to the Scots; but it was not till the middle of the present year (1643) that those negotiations were pressed with any earnestness. In the meantime Charles, by means of the Duke of Hamilton,[2] had required, as the only thing he would ask of them, that his native subjects the Scots would not rebel. But Hamilton had failed, and Montrose had again accused him and his brother, the Earl of Lanark, of treason. Charles hereupon had laid his hands upon Hamilton, but Lanark had the good fortune to escape. After a time the duke was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Mount St. Michael in Cornwall; his brother Lanark joined the English parliament, and assisted them in their difficult negotiations with the old Covenanters. Those zealots insisted, as a preliminary, that the English parliament should take *their* Covenant, and bind themselves to the preservation of the king's person, and to the reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the "pattern of the best reformed," which latter clause meant that the English were to adopt the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. But by this time the Independents, who hated Presbyterianism almost as much as Arminianism and Prelacy, were becoming powerful as a party; and Harry Vane the younger, one of the chiefs of that sect, and one of the most adroit of men, was the negotiator at Edinburgh, charged with the settlement of the treaty. Vane induced the Scots to agree to a simple League and Covenant, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." Charles sent down his commands to the Scots not to take this Covenant: they humbly advised him to take it himself. The English parliament sent down £100,000, and then the Scots prepared an army to march into England. The Covenant was taken in London on the 25th of September, the day on which the Earl of Essex returned to London and received a vote of thanks from parliament. From this date the original National Covenant of the Scots comes to be known as the Solemn League and Covenant of the two kingdoms.

Long before the parliament had settled these arrangements for calling in the Scots, the king had been labouring to bring over the Irish, and to obtain for his own service the troops which the houses had sent to Ireland. The parliament, notwithstanding the troubles at home, had succeeded in checking that mighty insurrection, which at one moment threatened the entire expulsion of the English. Badly armed, and scarcely organized at all, the native Irish had nowhere been able to stand in a regular battle against the English army. They had been beaten from post to post, and the victors, animated by religious intolerance, and by the memory of the barbarities practised by the Papists at the commencement of the war, seldom or never gave quarter. By a series of manœuvres, Charles had prevented the Earl of Leicester, appointed lord-lieutenant with the approval of the English parliament, from going over to Ireland, and had placed the governing power, on the part of the Protestant interest there, in the hands of Ormond, a determined royalist. Ormond, who hoped, when he had restored tranquillity in Ireland, to be able to assist his master in England with men and arms, entered into negotiations with the Catholics, who by this time had been made humble and reasonable in their demands by repeated defeats. From the moment of his retiring to York, Charles had maintained an active correspondence with the confederated Irish Catholics, by means of the Lords Dillon, Taaffe, and Castlehaven, and one Cole, a doctor of the Sorbonne. Towards the end of the year 1642, the confederated Catholics at Kilkenny transmitted a petition to the king, professing great loyalty, and imploring him to appoint certain persons to hear what they had to propose, and what to *offer* for his service. Ormond recommended this petition to Charles; and in January, 1643, a commission was issued to Ormond, conformably to its prayer, and in the month of March commissioners, regularly appointed by Ormond or the king, met the deputies

[1] *Clarendon.*

[2] The Marquis of Hamilton had been made a duke by Charles, at Oxford, in April of this year.

of the Catholics at Trim, and entered upon negotiations. At this juncture, when envoys were continually passing to and from the king and the Irish, the queen arrived at York, and there, in her court, two extraordinary men, the Scottish Earl of Montrose and the Irish Earl of Antrim, found themselves together. Antrim, an unprincipled adventurer, had alternately served the king and the insurgents. He was caught with the red hand in the province of Ulster, by the Scottish general Monro, and sent a prisoner to Dublin; but he had made his escape and got over to York. Now, under the auspices of the queen, he concerted daring measures with Montrose; and it was agreed between them that Montrose should excite the royalists to take up arms in different parts of Scotland, while Antrim should go over and raise an army of Irish Catholics to make a descent upon the Scottish coast. But, in addition to this last service, Antrim undertook to bribe and debauch General Monro and his Presbyterian army, and to induce them to make a simultaneous descent upon the English coast, and then join the king against the parliament. But this scheme fell to the ground. Antrim was again seized and thrown into prison by General Monro; and Montrose, who afterwards met with different success, found the Scottish royalists timid and lukewarm. In the meantime the Marquis of Ormond had continued his negotiations with the confederated Catholics at Kilkenny, and, after many impediments and delays, a truce for a year was concluded on the 15th of September, 1643.[1] In the month of November following, Ormond shipped off five regiments to join the king. These men had been raised or commissioned by the English parliament, against which they now came to fight, but, during a bloody and demoralizing service, they had contracted the habits and feelings of mere soldiers of fortune, and Ormond had introduced into their ranks a very considerable number of native Irish. The greater part of them, landing at Chester, enrolled themselves under Lord Byron, the royalist governor of that city, whom they enabled to resume the offensive. But, about six weeks after their arrival, Sir Thomas Fairfax fell upon them at Nantwich, and completely defeated them. Two hundred were killed, and 1500 threw down their arms and were taken prisoners.[2] The effect of the manœuvres in Ireland was in all respects detrimental to the royal cause. As soon as the news of the treaty with the Papists at Kilkenny reached the Earl of Newcastle's army in the north, many of the men threw down their arms, and refused to fight any longer for the king.[3]

At the close of the present year, 1643, the parliament sustained a great loss in the death of Pym, who had been one of the most popular men of his day, and one of the most distinguished for ability, eloquence, and untiring activity. He died literally worn out by labour, and as poor as he was when he commenced his career. The house voted a sum of money to pay his debts and bury him honourably in Westminster Abbey.

The national synod, for the purpose of settling the government and form of worship of the Church of England, met at Westminster in the month of July. The assembly consisted of 121 clergymen; and, in imitation of the Scottish system, ten members of the House of Lords and twenty members of the House of Commons were joined with them as lay assessors. On the 19th of July the Assembly of Divines, styling themselves "divers ministers of Christ," delivered a petition to both Houses of Parliament. They said that it was evident that God's heavy wrath was lying on the nation for its sins, and that they considered it their duty, as watchmen for the good of the church and kingdom, to present certain earnest requests. The first of these was for a public and extraordinary fast: the second was, that the parliament would vouchsafe instantly to take into their most serious consideration how they might set up Christ more gloriously. They prayed for the removing of the brutish ignorance and palpable darkness possessing the greatest part of the people in all places of the kingdom. They also called for the persecution of the various sects classed under the general head of Independents. Yet even in this assembly the Presbyterians were not without their opponents. Some eight or ten of the members were Independents or other sectaries; about twenty were Episcopalians; and Selden and Whitelock, who were present among the twenty members of the House of Commons, who had all the same liberty with the divines to debate and give their votes, frequently resisted their doctrine as well as their general proceedings.[4] The Independents, few as they were, pleaded for such a toleration as would include at least all those who held what were regarded as the doctrines of orthodox Protestantism, and when they were defeated in their first attempt, they insisted that, whatever the established or dominant religion might be, there

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; Clarendon; Burnet; Borlase.*

[2] There were also taken in this battle 120 women, many of whom had long knives, with which they are said to have done much mischief.

[3] *Whitelock.*

[4] The Scottish ministers and political agents were exceedingly angry with Selden's Oriental learning. Baillie says, "This man Selden is the head of the Erastians; his glory is most in Jewish learning; he avows everywhere that the Jewish church and state were all one, and so in England it must be, the parliament being the church. . . . . Selden is very insolent for his Oriental literature."—*Letters.*

should be a provision for the toleration of those who conscientiously dissented from it. Presbyterians might hold the livings and revenues which had been held by the Arminians, but the sectarians, they contended, ought to be allowed to support ministers of their own. But even this, of a certainty, would not have been granted, but for the rapid rise of Oliver Cromwell and the battle of Naseby.

A.D. 1644. The king had been for some time contemplating the expediency of making a new parliament at Oxford; but he did not resolve upon this measure until he was assured that his Oxford lords and commons would be very submissive and altogether averse to forcing him into a treaty of peace with the commons at Westminster. This anti-parliament—"the mongrel parliament," as Charles himself contemptuously and ungratefully called it—met at Oxford on the 22d of January, 1644. It consisted of the members who had deserted the parliament at Westminster, or had been disabled by it. Forty-three peers and 118 commoners were all that gathered round the king. According to Whitelock, the peers at Westminster were more numerous, while the commoners more than doubled those at Oxford. The king told them that he had called them together to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his good intentions; and that he hoped they would enable him to set all things right, and place the crown above the reach and malice of those who had misled the people. Four days after—on January the 26th—the Oxford parliament resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

Oxford, from the East, as at the period.—From Hollar's view.

that all such subjects of Scotland as had consented to the present expedition into England had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England; that all such of his majesty's subjects of England as did not resist the Scots should be treated as traitors and enemies to the state, &c. On the morrow the lords and commons at Oxford drew up a declaration, that they were there to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood; that they and his majesty desired peace above all things: and this was accompanied by an overture for peace addressed to the Earl of Essex. The profession thus made was a mere feint. They described the parliament at Westminster as those by whom Essex was trusted. Essex told them that they must acknowledge the two houses at Westminster as the true parliament of England, and that he could not deliver their letter. Charles then directed a letter "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster." This address was unexceptionable, but not so were the contents. The two houses looked upon the king's letter as an insult. A few days after, the two Westminster houses addressed a large declaration to the kingdom, in which they denounced this Oxford proposal of a treaty as "a Popish and Jesuitical counsel." The lords and commons at Oxford issued a counter-declaration—the strongest argument in which was, that they had been threatened and coerced when at Westminster by the London populace. They also voted levies of men and money for the king, but these could only be raised in those parts of the kingdom where the royalists were indisputably the strongest. About the middle of April Charles dismissed his "mongrel parliament"—for so, as before noticed, he himself called it.

Meanwhile the fortune of war was setting strongly against the royalists. That tried soldier of fortune, old Leslie, who now rejoiced in the title of Earl of Leven, once more led a Scottish army across the Borders, and advanced without opposition, or without delay, to the banks of the Tyne. Newcastle, however, was this time well fortified, and, after an ineffectual summons, Leslie crossed the river and marched upon Sunderland. There he found himself opposed by the Earl of Newcastle, who had taken up an advantageous position. The Scot took up as good ground, resolving to remain on the defensive till the English parliamentarians of the north should form a junction with him. But the Fairfaxes were engaged elsewhere, and for some time Leslie was obliged to lie inactive between Sunderland and Durham. But the defeat of Lord Byron with his Irish and Anglo-Irish forced Newcastle to move off towards York, which was then

threatened by Lord Fairfax. Leslie followed, sorely harassed Newcastle's rear, and joined Lord Fairfax under the walls of York.

Charles was still lying at Oxford with about 10,000 men. A combined attack which was made upon that place by Essex and Waller would have fully succeeded, but for the disagreement of those two generals, which allowed the king to escape by night between the two armies, and to get to Worcester by forced marches. Essex then turned to the west, leaving Waller to pursue the king.

Fourteen thousand men had been placed by parliament under the command of the Earl of Manchester and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell. This division, which was regarded with pride and hope by at least all the Independents, was sent northward to co-operate with Lord Fairfax and Leslie in the siege of York. The two commanders were accompanied by the sagacious Sir Henry Vane, who was then alike the bosom friend of Manchester and Cromwell. When this force arrived, York was completely invested. Newcastle drew off his army towards the west, and Prince Rupert, resolute to raise the siege, advanced from Cheshire and Lancashire in great force, and joined Newcastle. The united royalist army in the north thus amounted to upwards of 20,000 men. The parliamentarian generals and the Scots raised their siege in presence of such a force, and, on the last day of June, placed themselves in battle array on Marston Moor, about five miles to the south-west of the city. Rupert threw troops and provisions into York, and then proposed giving a general battle. Newcastle was of a different opinion, and the two royalists, as they had often done before, came to a violent altercation. In the end, the English nobleman told the proud German, that if he would fight, it would be upon his own responsibility. The parliamentarians evidently did not expect to be brought to action—for, after staying a day on Marston Moor, they, early on the morning of the 2d of July, began to march off their foot and artillery and their Scottish allies towards Tadcaster; and they were in the disorder of this movement when old Leslie, in the van, received news that Rupert had fallen upon the rear that was still on the moor. The trumpet sounded a halt along the whole line of march, and the Scots, the English foot, and the artillery turned about, endeavouring to get the best ground on the moor, and prevent Rupert from outflanking them. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before these preludes were finished. Then the prince gave his word, "God and the king," and the other party gave theirs, "God with us;" after which they shot at one or another with their great guns, but not very fiercely or effectually. This lasted till about five o'clock, when there was a general silence through both armies, each expecting which would begin the charge. In this posture they continued a considerable time, so that it was believed there would be no action that night; but, about seven o'clock in the evening, the parliament's generals resolved to fall on, and the Earl of Manchester's foot and some of the Scots ran to the ditch or drain in their front, made their way over it, and gave a smart charge. This attack of infantry led to two grand charges of cavalry. The right wing of the parliamentarians, where Scots were mixed with English, was almost totally routed. But, at the same time, the left wing of the parliamentarians, where Cromwell charged with his excellent horse—his "Ironsides"—was completely successful. "Still both sides eagerly contended for victory; which, after an obstinate dispute, was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, the enemy's right wing being totally routed and flying, as the parliament's had done before, our horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight."[1] At ten o'clock at night the victory was completed by charges of the reserves of Oliver Cromwell's brigade, backed by General David Leslie. Rupert fled headlong with his broken and disordered cavalry, his infantry threw down their arms to run the faster, all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage fell into the hands of the parliamentarians, who followed with great slaughter to within a mile of York, and then slept on the ground on Marston Moor.[2]

[1] *Ludlow.*

[2] "Of this battle, the bloodiest of the whole war, I must leave the reader details in the sources indicated below; or to imagine it in general the most enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, and steel-flashings, and death-tumult, ever seen in those regions: the end of which, about ten at night, was, 'Four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies' to be buried, and total ruin to the king's affairs in those northern parts.

"The armies were not completely drawn up till after five in the evening; there was a ditch between them; they stood facing one another, motionless, except the exchange of a few cannon-shots, for an hour and half. Newcastle thought there would be no fighting till the morrow, and had retired to his carriage for the night. There is some shadow of surmise that the stray cannon-shot, which proved fatal to Oliver's nephew, did also, rousing Oliver's humour to the charging point, bring on the general battle. 'The Prince of Plunderers,' invincible hitherto, here first tasted the steel of Oliver's Ironsides, and did not in the least like it. 'The Scots delivered their fire with such constancy and swiftness, it was as if the whole air had become an element of fire,' in the ancient summer gloaming there."—Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 249.

"There had been, from the very commencement of the war, all that distraction in the king's counsels at Oxford, and all those bickerings and heart-burnings among his adherents, which naturally belong to men embarked in a dangerous cause, with different motives and different views. The military men, some of whom had served with the Swedes in Germany, acknowledged no laws but those of war; and could not understand that, either in annoying the enemy or providing for themselves, they were to acknowledge any restraints of the civil power. The lawyers, on the other hand, and the whole constitutional party, laboured to keep up in the midst of arms, the appearances at least of legal justice, and that favourite maxim of Englishmen, the

On the morrow, Prince Rupert drew off from York a few troops of horse, and galloped in all haste to Boroughbridge, where he was joined by Colonel Clavering. On the morning of the 4th of July the parliamentary army again sat down before York, and summoned the garrison to surrender at discretion. Articles of surrender were agreed upon on the 15th, and on the 16th the parliamentarians marched into York, and the royalists marched out of it, with colours flying and drums beating, according to stipulation.[1]

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1644—1646.

CHARLES I.

The parliamentary forces closely pressed by the king—They are reduced to great difficulties—Their retreat—Second engagement at Newbury—The king obliged to retreat—Quarrel between Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester—Dislike between the Presbyterians and the Independents—The Independents seek the command of the army—Cromwell's proposal to continue the war with greater vigour—The "Self-denying Ordinance"—Fairfax appointed commander of the parliamentary army—Changes produced by the "Self-denying Ordinance"—The Independents successful—Proceedings against Archbishop Laud—His impeachment and trial—His sentence and execution—The Scots propose a peaceful negotiation with Charles—Commissioners appointed for the purpose—Their uncourteous reception from the king—He sends his propositions to the English parliament without an address—He refuses to recognize the house as a parliament—Unsatisfactory close of the treaty—War of skirmishes and surprises—State of the parliamentary army—Cromwell's commission from the parliament—He is appointed their lieutenant-general—Battle of Naseby—Total defeat of the royalists—The king's cabinet of letters falls into the hands of the parliament—Their publication, and its effects—Despondency of Charles, and hopelessness of his affairs—Career of the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland—His victories at Tippermuir and the Bridge of Dee—His capture of Aberdeen—His invasion of Argyleshire—He defeats the Earl of Argyle at Inverlochy—His victory at Aldearn—Progress of the Covenanting army of the Scots in England—They keep the king in check—Victory of Montrose at Kilsyth—Unsuccessful attempts of Charles to join him—Charles defeated at Rowton Heath—Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh—Perplexity of Charles—His quarrel with his nephew, Prince Rupert—He escapes to Oxford—Breach widened between the Presbyterians and Independents—The king attempts to negotiate with the contending parties—His application to the Scots—Increase of his difficulties and disasters—He is compelled to flee from Oxford—His applications to the Scottish army—He repairs to it for protection.

THE battle of Marston Moor gave parliament the command of the entire north, where the Scots soon stormed the town of Newcastle. But, in the west, Essex was getting into a position which eventually led to a humiliating reverse. The lord-general, after the frustrated attempt upon the king at York, had marched through the western counties with the confident hope of reducing them all. The queen, who had just got up from her confinement in the city of Exeter, asked him for a safe-conduct to Bath or Bristol. Essex offered her a safe-conduct to London; she preferred making her way to Falmouth and sailing back to France, which she did upon Sunday the 14th of July. "Her majesty landed safely at Brest in France, and resided in that her native kingdom from henceforth, till after the restoration of the royal family."[2] The Lord-general Essex meanwhile kept advancing into the west, ignorant of the storm that was gathering in his rear. Blake, who was afterwards to distinguish himself in a larger theatre and on a different element, was besieged by Prince Maurice in the unimportant town of Lyme-Regis, which he made tenable, and put in fighting order like a ship. Maurice raised the siege on the approach of Essex, who within three weeks occupied Taunton, Tiverton, Weymouth, and Bridport. But the king, who had given Waller the slip at Copredy bridge, and who had reinforced his army, was now in full march after him, and driving him into a corner—the narrow extremity of Cornwall—where the

supremacy of civil over military authority, rather more strictly perhaps than the nature of their actual circumstances would admit. At the head of the former party stood the king's two nephews, Rupert and Maurice, the younger sons of the late unfortunate elector-palatine, soldiers of fortune (as we may truly call them), of rude and imperious characters, avowedly despising the council and the common law, and supported by Charles, with all his injudiciousness and incapacity for affairs, against the greatest men of the kingdom. Another very powerful and obnoxious faction was that of the Catholics, proud of their services and sacrifices, confident in the queen's protection, and looking at least to a full toleration, as their just reward. They were the natural enemies of peace, and little less hated at Oxford than at Westminster."—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 169.

[1] *Rushworth; Clarendon; Ludlow; Newcastle's Life*, by his duchess; *Coke*.

[2] *Rushworth*.

CROMWELL AT THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

One of the most notable engagements during the great Civil War took place on Marston Moor, near York. The forces of the Parliament were besieging that city when they were suddenly confronted by the forces of the king under Prince Rupert. At once the besiegers drew off and put themselves in order of battle with a large ditch in front of them. After a night spent anxiously by both armies the conflict began. Cromwell was in command of the left wing of the parliamentary forces, and with him were three regiments of Scots horse under David Leslie. This division was repeatedly charged by Prince Rupert's best troops, and "they stood at the sword's point a pretty while, hacking at one another, but at last Cromwell brake through them, scattering them like a little dust". *In this struggle Cromwell was wounded, but in spite of this he led a charge against Goring's division which was completely successful.* Ultimately the Royalists were routed, chiefly by the cavalry charges of Cromwell, and as a result of this victory York opened her gates, while a large part of the North of England submitted to the authority of the Parliament.

CROMWELL AT THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

LEADING A [illegible] AFTER BEING WOUNDED IN [illegible] RIGHT ARM.

FROM THE PI[illegible]

fierce natives, except in the sea-ports and trading towns, were exceedingly hostile to the parliament. Prince Maurice also joined his forces to the king's, and a strong hope was entertained of destroying the whole of the parliamentarian army in the west. If Essex had given the king battle on his first making his appearance, and before he was joined by the bands of west country royalists, his chance would have been a good one; but he, on his side, expected to be joined by Middleton, perhaps by Waller, and so lay doing nothing, and allowing his men to be cooped up between Liskeard and the sea. Then Sir Richard Grenville came up with a wild force of Cornwall levies, and cut off some of the parliamentarian foraging parties. Captain Edward Brett arrived with the queen's body-guard, which she had left behind her when embarking for France. Other corps gathered at other points, and all supplies of forage and provisions were soon cut off. "In this posture both armies lay still without any notable action for the space of eight or ten days: when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer."[1] Charles therefore drew closer the toils in which he held the army of Essex; he drove them from a rising ground called Beacon-hill, and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made which shot into their quarters with a plunging fire. And then Goring was sent with the greatest part of the royal horse, and 1500 foot, a little westward to St. Blaze, to drive the enemy yet closer together. The dashing, daring Goring, the bloodiest hand that waved a sword in these civil wars, executed the commission with entire success; and the parliamentarians were reduced to that small strip of land which lies between the river of Foy, or Fowey, and that of St. Blaze, which was not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length, and which had already been eaten bare by the cavalry. At length, the state of the army being desperate, and famine staring them in the face, it was determined that Sir William Balfour should try and break through the king's lines with all the horse, and that then Essex should endeavour to embark the foot at Fowey, and escape by sea. A Frenchman, who deserted from the parliamentarians, went over by night and acquainted the king with these two desperate plans. Warning was sent to Goring and all the royal horse; and further orders were given or renewed for breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees to obstruct the passage. "The effect of all this providence," says Clarendon, "was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. . . . . The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time." Having stayed to see the full success of Sir William Balfour's movement, which saved the most valuable part of the army, Essex fought his way to the shore near the mouth of the Fowey, and there, with his friend the Lord Roberts and with many of his officers, he embarked on board a ship and sailed away to Plymouth on the 1st of September, leaving his foot, cannon, and ammunition to the care of the gallant and faithful Skippon, who had nothing left for it but to make the best capitulation he could. The king had offered good terms of surrender. On the evening of the 2d of September the common men laid down their arms (the officers retaining their swords), delivered up their cannon and ammunition, and were conducted towards the posts of their army at Poole and Portsmouth. They had been promised the safe possession of whatever money and goods belonged to them; but before they were quit of the royalist escorts they were stripped even of their clothes.[2]

If Charles had remained in Cornwall he would soon have been cooped up in his turn. He preferred marching off in great triumph into Devonshire; and, after resting a short time in that plentiful country, he pushed forward for Oxford, in the hope of recovering his old quarters without a battle. But in the meantime the forces of Essex, Manchester, Waller, and Cromwell were concentrated near Newbury; and, on reaching that spot where he had been so fatally engaged the preceding year, the king, who got possession of the town, and who had many other advantages, found himself obliged to consent to a general action. On this occasion no great honour was gained by any of the parliament generals, except Oliver Cromwell. Some sharp skirmishing began on the afternoon of the 26th of

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.*

[2] *Clarendon; Rushworth; Ludlow.* The last writer says, "The parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and, the horse having forced their way as before mentioned, the army was speedily recruited, scarce a man having taken arms on the other side."

October. On the morrow morning (it was a Sabbath morn) Manchester renewed the attack far more vigorously, his men going on to the charge "singing of psalms," as was usual with them. The affairs were prolonged till night, when the king, fearing that before the next morning he might be compassed round, threw his artillery into Donnington Castle, and stole away towards Oxford. As soon as his evasion was known, Cromwell proposed following him up with the whole of the horse; but this was opposed by the Earl of Manchester. Twelve days after this indecisive second battle of Newbury, the king was allowed to return to Donnington Castle, close above the town, and, in the face of the parliament's army, to carry off the artillery, which he had deposited in that castle.[1] Cromwell and his

Donnington Castle.—From a drawing by Buck.

friends now began to murmur. It may, or it may not be, that this was part of a regular plan concerted long before by the Independents for getting the command of the army wholly out of the hands of the aristocracy and into their own, in order to make it the instrument for achieving a thorough revolution; but it must nevertheless be confessed that the conduct of the parliament's generals was calculated to provoke suspicions. The House of Commons was so much dissatisfied at this last business of Donnington Castle, that they ordered an inquiry; and then Cromwell exhibited a formal charge of backwardness and neglect against the Earl of Manchester. That nobleman justified his conduct as a general, in a long narrative sent up to the House of Lords. He declared that he had done the best that could be done in the second battle of Newbury. "But," continued Manchester, "where the horse were that Lieutenant-general Cromwell commanded on that day, I have as yet had no certain account." But, not satisfied with this recrimination, the Earl of Manchester delivered to the lords another paper, which was meant to consume Cromwell in the flames of Presbyterian wrath, by accusing him of a fixed design against the aristocracy and the Church of Christ.

The Earl of Essex was far more bitter against Cromwell than Manchester could be, for the latter nobleman's temper was naturally amiable and generous. The great Presbyterian general-in-chief went down to the House of Lords on the day appointed for reading Manchester's narrative. He had not been there since his return from Cornwall, but he continued to attend in his seat while this business was discussing, and at the same time he opened private consultations in his own house upon the delicate question of the expediency and safety of proceeding against Cromwell as an "incendiary" between the two nations of England and Scotland. The managers of these debates at Essex House were the Scottish commissioners, Hollis, Sir John Meyrick, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other Presbyterian chiefs, who were alike anxious for the preservation of monarchic and aristocratic institutions, and for the establishment of one sole and exclusive form of worship, church government, doctrine, and discipline. Many bitter things were said against Cromwell as the enemy of Presbyterianism and the friend and champion of liberty of conscience. The Lord-chancellor of Scotland declared Oliver to be an incendiary "between the twa nations." But his great and rising power, his vast popularity in the army, and his very considerable influence in both Houses of Parliament were acknowledged, not without fear and trembling, and in the end the conclave at Essex House resolved to attempt nothing against the general for the present.[2]

But now, while the Scottish commissioners, and Essex, and Hollis, and the others that loved Presbyterianism, were plotting at midnight, and devising all kinds of means to drive Cromwell into the toils—that wonderful person, who had no pretension whatever either to the innocency of the dove or the meekness of the lamb, was planning, with infinitely better success, how he might break the neck of the Presbyterian oligarchy, and get the command of the army out of the hands of a set of men, who, as the majority

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; Ludlow; Clarendon; Warwick.*

[2] Whitelock, *Memorials.*

of the nation now certainly believed, were in no haste to finish this desolating war. For some time he and his friend Sir Harry Vane had been almost constantly closeted together. Compared with either of these men, the Manchesters, the Essexes, the Hollises, were intellectually babies; and then Cromwell and Vane had the assistance of the deep, inscrutable, and most sagacious St. John. The effect of their deliberations was made manifest on the 9th of December, when (military operations having been suspended, and both armies having gone into winter-quarters) the commons went into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom in reference to its grievances by the burden of the war. "There was a general silence," says Whitelock, "for a good space of time, many looking upon one another to see who would break the ice and speak first on so tender and sharp a point." At last Cromwell stood up and said: "It is now time to speak or for ever to hold the tongue: the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war hath already brought it into; so that, without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? Even this—that the members of both houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in parliament and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur. This that I speak here to our own faces is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs." He said that he would not reflect upon the private conduct or military character of any man; that he knew how difficult it was to avoid error in war; that he must acknowledge himself to have been guilty of some over-sights, but that he must recommend parliament to put the army into another method, and enable it to prosecute the war with vigour. "And I hope," he continued, "we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either house will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests for the public good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter." Another member, whose name ought to have been preserved, followed Cromwell, very eloquently recommending an active prosecution of the war and a change of commanders. But the first that proposed expressly to exclude all members of parliament, whether of the House of Lords or House of Commons, from commands and offices, was Mr. Zouch Tate, who moved for the bringing in of the ordinance to that effect, which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of the "Self-denying Ordinance." Zouch Tate was seconded by Vane, and the unexpected motion was carried. The Ordinance was reported two days after, on the 11th of December, when a solemn day of fast was appointed for imploring a blessing on the intended new model of the army. The bill was read a third time on the 19th of December; and on the 21st the commons sent it up to the lords. There it met with many delays and much opposition. On the 30th of December the consideration of it was submitted to a committee of eight lords, four of whom were persons most interested in opposing the Ordinance—namely, the Earls of Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh. This committee drew up a paper representing that the bill would deprive the peers of that honour which in all ages had been given to them. They added, that the Self-denying Ordinance was by no means equal in its operation to lords and commons, since, though some of the gentry and commons were comprehended in it as sitting members of parliament, yet the rest were left free to serve either in civil offices or in the field; whereas the Ordinance would operate as a disqualification of the whole hereditary nobility of England. Upon this the commons, who twice before had sent up urgent messages, appointed a committee to prepare reasons to satisfy their lordships; and on the 13th of January, 1645, the whole house, with the speaker at their head, went up to the lords about the same business. But the lords, that same day, finished debating, and rejected the Ordinance. In the meantime the commons went on forming the new model of the army, which they agreed should consist in the whole of 21,000 effective men—namely, 6000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and 14,000 foot. Nor did they stop here; for, on the 21st of January, eight days after the lords had rejected the Self-denying Ordinance, the commons proceeded to nominate the chief commanders of the new-modelled army. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named general-in-chief in lieu of Essex; Skippon, who had begun by commanding the train-bands of the city of London, was made major-general; and the post of lieutenant-general was purposely and artfully left vacant. On the 28th of January, having completed the ordinance for raising and maintaining the army under the supreme command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the commons sent it up to the lords, who, on the 4th of February, returned it passed, but not without additions and alterations. Against some of these alterations, which were calculated to give a new edge to Presbyte-

rian intolerance, the commons remonstrated, and they were finally given up by the lords.

On the 24th of March the commons resumed the debate on the Self-denying Ordinance, and

Sir Thomas Fairfax.—From a print by Hollar.

consented to several material alterations. The bill now discharged the present officers from their commands, without disqualifying them for the future, and for ever, as was at first proposed. The measure, in short, was made to assume a temporary character, to look like an extraordinary arrangement made necessary by the extraordinary circumstances of the times. Exceptions were also voted, as in the first Self-denying Ordinance, in favour of the commissioners of the great seal, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and of the revenue, who, though all members either of the lords or commons, were to remain in office. The bill, in this state, was sent to the upper house on the 31st of March. On the 2d of April the Lord-general Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, in the House of Peers, voluntarily offered to surrender their commissions. This offer was accepted and approved of by the house; and on the following day, the 3d of April, the Self-denying Ordinance was freely passed by the peers. Some things that immediately preceded this tardy consent of the lords are full of significance. They were expressly calculated for the purpose of wringing consent from the aristocracy by intimidation, the commons all the while expressing the greatest tenderness for the lords, and declaring that they "disclaimed and abhorred" any attempt "to undermine their lordships' privileges."

On the same 3d day of April, on which the lords passed the Self-denying Ordinance, Sir Thomas Fairfax went from London to Windsor, which he had appointed his head-quarters, having previously, as commander-in-chief, summoned all his officers and soldiers to rendezvous there by the 7th of April. He continued at Windsor till the end of the month, diligently employed in remodelling the army. Dalbier, that soldier of fortune, who had repeatedly given timid counsel to the Earl of Essex, stood off for some time with eight troops of horse, as if balancing between Oxford and Windsor; but at last he went to the latter place and submitted to the parliament. Thus the parliament was secured;—thus "the Independents cut the grass under the Presbyterians' feet."[1]

Before following Fairfax to the field, we must take up certain matters which reflect disgrace on the parliament. The synod of divines still continued to sit, although prevented by parliament from arrogating to itself any legislative or judicial authority; but if they did not of themselves send their old enemy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a bloody grave, they certainly promoted with heart and soul that execution, which could hardly have taken place but for their vehement hatred. "As yet," says Sir Philip Warwick, "the Scots and Presbyterian party seem to be the ruling interest in the two houses, and the Scotch Covenant to be the idol; and in order to get this form of church service allowed by the king, Archbishop Laud must be taken out of the way." The republican Ludlow says that it was expressly for the encouragement of the Scots, that the lords and commons sentenced and caused execution to be done upon William Laud, their capital enemy; but it does not appear that the Scots either were, or possibly could be, more eager for the old man's death than were the English Presbyterians.

Diseased, helpless, apparently almost friendless, the *summus pontifex* of former days might have lain forgotten in the Tower, and wound up the story of his days in that dismal place; but a dispute about church livings forced him into notice, and precipitated his end. The lords remaining with the parliament claimed the right of nominating to the benefices that fell vacant; and still pretending to respect the archiepiscopal functions of the captive, they called upon Laud to collate the clergymen of their choice. The king, careless of the old man's safety, commanded him not to obey the lords, and Laud loyally bowed to this order. In the month of April, 1643, the lords issued a peremptory order; Laud tried to excuse himself again; then the commons received an acceptable message from the lords to proceed with the charges already laid against him, and expedite his trial. The commons appointed a committee, and selected Prynne to col-

[1] *Warwick.*

lect and prepare evidence—Prynne, who had been so barbarously treated by the prisoner. On the 23d of October, 1643, ten new articles of impeachment were added by Prynne to the fourteen already on record. A disposition was shown to precipitate proceedings, and to deprive the archbishop of the means of making his defence; but it was not until the 12th of March, 1644, that the trial was really begun. Serjeant Wild opened the accusation in a speech of great length, some ability, and no charity. He charged the sick and tottering priest with all manner of tyrannies and crimes, both political and religious; he charged him with "high treason, treason in all and every part, treason in the highest pitch and altitude," laying upon him the blame of all the illegal proceedings in the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, and other courts. When the serjeant had done, the fallen archbishop desired permission to speak a few words, to wipe off that dirt that had been cast upon him. These few words were in fact, an eloquent and most skilful oration, which he delivered from a written paper he held in his hand. Seventeen whole days were spent in producing and commenting on the evidence, and then the archbishop requested that he might have liberty to make a general recapitulation of his defence before the lords, which was granted. On the 2d of September, 1644, Laud delivered his general recapitulation to the lords. The proceedings in that house were extended through more than a month. On the 11th of October Laud's counsel spoke on the point of law, maintaining that not one of the offences alleged against him, nor all those offences accumulated, amounted to that most capital crime of high treason. A few days after this, the commons, apparently doubting the lords, resolved to give up their impeachment as they had done in Strafford's case, and pass an ordinance of attainder. On the 2d of November, after the second reading of this ordinance, the commons brought the prisoner to the bar of their own house. There Mr. Samuel Brown, in the archbishop's presence, repeated the sum of the evidence given in before the lords; and when Brown sat down, the commons ordered the prisoner to make his answer *vivâ voce* and at once. Laud, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, prayed that he might have some convenient time allowed him, in respect of the tedious length and weight of the charge; and the house at last, and not without difficulty, allowed him eight days. On the 11th of November the prisoner was brought again to the bar of the commons, where he spoke for some hours in his own defence, and where Mr. Samuel Brown replied in his presence. Then Laud was sent back to the Tower, and (on the same day) the house passed the ordinance of attainder for high treason, with only one dissenting voice. On the 16th of November they transmitted this bill to the house of peers. It is quite evident, from the several attempts they made to gain time, that the lords, though afraid of breaking with the other house, were averse to the execution; but at last—on the 4th of January, 1645—they, in a very thin house, passed the bill of attainder. A pardon granted by the king was overruled and rejected; and on the morning of the 16th of January, Laud was conveyed from the Tower, where he had been confined more than three years, to the block upon Tower-hill. Upon the scaffold he delivered a long speech, which he had written out in the Tower, and in which he endeavoured to excuse himself from all the matters charged against him. He died with great courage and composure, and like one upheld by the conviction that he had always acted conscientiously and done all things for the best.[1]

The Scots, whose country had at length been made the scene of civil war by the daring Marquis of Montrose, recommended a new treaty of peace with the king; and as early as the month of November of the preceding year (1644), propositions running in the name of both kingdoms were drawn up by Johnston of Wariston. The parliament sent to Oxford for a safe-conduct for the commissioners they had appointed to carry these propositions to the king, namely, the Earl of Denbigh, the Lord Maynard, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Whitelock, and the Lord Wenman (English), and the Lord Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr. Bartlay (Scotch). Prince Rupert sent the safe-conduct under the hand and seal of the king, who did not notice them as members of parliament, but merely as private gentlemen. Charles or his officers most unwisely kept these noblemen and gentlemen for some hours outside the gates of Oxford, in the wet and cold; and when they were admitted into the town, they were escorted like prisoners by a troop of horse, and lodged in a very mean inn.[2] The Earl of Denbigh read the propositions for peace. "Have you power to treat?" said Charles. The commissioners replied, "No; but we are to receive your majesty's answer in writing." "Then," replied the king, "a letter-carrier might have done as much as you." "I suppose," said the Earl of Denbigh, "your majesty looks upon us as persons of another condition than letter-carriers." "I know your condition," replied the king; "but I say that your commission gives you power to do no more than a letter-carrier might have done."

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; May; Heylin; Clarendon; Lingard:* Laud's *Troubles;* Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom; Journals.*

[2] Rushworth says, "His majesty received them very obligingly on the next day, and gave to every one his hand to kiss, *but seemed more to slight the Scots commissioners than any of the rest.*"

In the evening the loyal Earl of Lindsay, who was sick in his bed, invited Hollis and Whitelock to visit him. These two important members of the House of Commons had not been a quarter of an hour in the earl's chamber when the king and Prince Rupert, with several persons of prime quality, entered; and the king not only saluted them very obligingly, but also began to discourse with them. The evident intention of the king was to win over Hollis and Whitelock. He applauded them for the desire of peace which they had manifested, he flattered their vanity by asking their advice; but they saw that he had no intention of following it, and his experiment upon them completely failed. Upon this, Charles made an end of the useless parade of compliment and cajolery.[1] On the 27th of November he sent them his reply sealed up. Hollis and Whitelock, and the other commissioners, desired to be excused from receiving that answer so sealed up, requesting at least to have a copy of it. His majesty rudely replied, "What is that to you, who are but to carry what I send? and if I will send the song of Robin Hood and Little John, you must carry it!" The commissioners contented themselves with saying, that the business about which they came was of somewhat more consequence than an old song. Charles then condescended to send them a copy of his answer: but here, again, another difficulty was started. They observed that the said answer was not directed to any body whatsoever, and that the parliament, so far from being acknowledged, was not even named in it. Charles insisted that the answer was delivered to them, the parliament's commissioners, which was sufficient; and some of his lords earnestly entreated the commissioners, for peace' sake, to receive the answer as it was sent to them. Thereupon the commissioners, considering that they must take it upon themselves to break off this treaty if they should refuse the king's paper, consented to receive the answer without any address upon it.[2]

On the 29th of November (1644) this singular document was produced at Westminster, and on the following day the same was read at a conference of both houses. Great exceptions were made, and there was much debate against the form and want of direction; but at last it was carried that those objections should be laid aside, that the treaty should be proceeded with, and that thanks should be returned to the commissioners who had been at Oxford. Charles had now agreed to send the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton to London, with a fuller answer and an extended commission; but the Earl of Essex would not grant a safe-conduct to these two noblemen, unless he was acknowledged as general of the army of the parliament of England; and the commons were resolute on the same point, insisting that his majesty should send as to "the parliament of England assembled at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland." On the 5th of December Prince Rupert sent a letter with the required recognition; and at the same moment the king, to excuse himself with his wife, addressed her a letter containing these words, "As to my calling those at London a parliament, if there had been two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did nowise acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise: and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." The king's envoys, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, arrived in London on the 14th of December, and were honourably conducted to Somerset House, where they were well entertained, and allowed on the morrow—a Sunday—to hear Divine service according to the Liturgy, which parliament and the synod of divines had suppressed. The two noblemen, adhering to their master's instructions, acted as secret emissaries in the city of London, and intrigued with the two factions of Presbyterians and Independents, offering the latter liberty of conscience, &c. And as Richmond and Southampton were found to have no higher faculty than that of proposing the nomination of commissioners, the parliament made haste to get rid of them, being well informed as to all their doings in the city.

After many tedious preliminaries, it was agreed that the king's commissioners should meet the commissioners of the lords and commons at Uxbridge, within the parliamentary lines. These commissioners met on the day appointed (the 29th of January) in the little town of Uxbridge. There, on the morrow, deliberations were opened, it being agreed beforehand that everything should be set down in writing. John Thurloe, afterwards secretary to Oliver Cromwell—Thurloe, the bosom friend of Milton—acted as secretary for the English parliament, being assisted by Mr. Earle; and Mr. Cheesly acted as secretary for the commissioners of the Scottish parliament. The first point debated was that which was sure to make the worst blood, and defeat the whole treaty—if, indeed, there had ever been a hope or an intention to conclude a treaty. The parliament's commissioners delivered the propositions and votes of both houses concerning the "settling of religion in a Presbyterial way;" and this matter was appointed for the debate of the three first days. Dr. Stewart, of the school of Laud, spoke very learnedly, though somewhat

[1] *Whitelock; Rushworth.* [2] Ibid.

warmly, against any alteration of the system of Episcopacy. Alexander Henderson, the champion of Presbyterianism, the framer of the Covenant, spoke with equal warmth against Episcopacy. At length the Marquis of Hertford, wearied out with this dispute on a point of mere speculative theology, proposed that they should leave this argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular proposals. The Earl of Pembroke agreed with the noble marquis, and the lay part of the commissioners, particularly on the king's side, would willingly have passed over this point altogether; but the clergymen were of a different opinion, and Dr. Stewart desired that they might dispute syllogistically, as became scholars. "And in that way," says Rushworth, "they proceeded. . . . But the arguments on both parts were too large to be admitted to a place in this story."

THE TREATY-HOUSE, UXBRIDGE, now the Crown Inn.[2]
J. W. Archer, from his original drawing.

The parliament commissioners presented four propositions concerning religion. On none of these points would either party yield a hair's breadth; and the royal commissioners objected *in limine* that the king's conscience would never allow him to consent to these changes in religion. But there were also other articles about which Charles was equally tenacious, and the parliament equally resolute; and, after twenty days of debate and wrangling, nothing was settled, nothing made clear to both parties, except that they must again have recourse to the sword; and at the expiration of those twenty days, the term originally fixed for the duration of the negotiations, the parliament recalled their commissioners.[1]

While the Episcopalians and Presbyterians were disputing syllogistically at Uxbridge, their respective parties had many fierce skirmishes in the field; for though the main army on either side lay inactive in winter-quarters, there was no restraining the animosity of partizans, who carried on an incessant but petty warfare in most parts of the kingdom. There was a perplexing series of sieges and assaults, night surprises and pitched battles, between small troops of Roundheads and Cavaliers, men that took their instructions from no one but themselves, and that fought whenever they found an opportunity. The town, the village, was often enthusiastic in the parliament's cause, while the neighbouring castle or manor-house was just as enthusiastic for the king. At times a sortie from the castle or manor-house would disturb the burghers and yeomen at dead of night, and leave them to lament the burning of their houses and barns, the carrying off of their cattle; and then there generally followed a siege of the castle or manor-house, which, from want of artillery and military skill, would often be prolonged through tedious months, and fail at last, and be raised at the approach of Prince Rupert and his flying squadrons of horse, or of some other body of the king's army. Many of these episodes were interesting and romantic in the extreme: in some of them the high-born dames of the land, whose husbands were away following the banner of their sovereign, made good the castle-walls against the parliamentary forces, and commanded from tower and barbican like brave soldiers. But we must confine ourselves to the greater operations which decided this war.

"When the spring began," says the somewhat partial May, "the war was renewed on both sides with great heat and courage. . . . Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor to his new-modelled army; a new army indeed, made up of some remainder of the old one, and other new raised forces in the countries; an army seeming no way glorious either in the dignity of its commanders or the antiquity of soldiers. For never hardly did any army go forth to war who had less of the confidence of their own friends, or were more

[1] *Rushworth; Whitelock; May; Clarendon; Warwick.*

[2] This mansion, which was then the residence of Mr. Carr, and had been formerly a seat in the Bennet family, is still remaining, and is situated at the western extremity of the town of Uxbridge. It has been recently converted into an inn, bearing the sign of the crown, and has undergone considerable alterations and repairs.

the objects of the contempt of their enemies, and yet who did more bravely deceive the expectations of them both, and show how far it was possible for human conjectures to err. For in their following actions and successes they proved such excellent soldiers, that it would too much pose antiquity, among all the camps of their famed heroes, to find a parallel to this army. . . . For the usual vices of camps were here restrained; the discipline was strict; no theft, no wantonness, no oaths, nor any profane words, could escape without the severest castigation; by which it was brought to pass that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe and commerce free."[1] At the opening of the campaign, however, the king, to all appearance, had many advantages over the parliament. His troops, though frequently mutinous, as well as disorderly and dissolute, were well trained and tried in the field; his fortresses were very numerous; from Oxford, in the centre of the kingdom, he controlled the greater part of the midland counties; the west was almost wholly for him; he still retained some places in the north; and he was undisputed master of the principality of Wales. Fairfax's first operation was to detach 7000 men to the relief of Taunton, where Blake, the heroic defender of Lyme, was hard pressed by the royalists. Colonel Weldon led the detachment, and at his approach the beleaguerers of Taunton fled without fighting. On the other side, Prince Rupert, advancing from Worcester to join the king at Oxford, defeated Colonel Massey, who tried to bar his passage with a part of the garrison of Gloucester, drawn out at Ledbury. Upon this serious reverse, the committee of both kingdoms recommended that Oliver Cromwell should be employed *pro tempore*, in spite of the Self-denying Ordinance, and despatched with part of the cavalry to guard the roads between Ledbury and Oxford.

Cromwell, who was at head-quarters, marched speedily from Windsor, and with great facility vanquished a part of the king's force at Islipbridge in Oxfordshire. A portion of the fugitives took shelter in Bletchington House. Cromwell besieged them, and forced them to surrender. Charles was so enraged against Colonel Windebank, who surrendered Bletchington House, that, in spite of prayers and remonstrances, he had him shot for cowardice. Fairfax then designed to besiege the king in Oxford, but Charles, resolving not to be cooped up in a town, marched out with 10,000 men. But on moving from Oxford, Charles was joined by Prince Rupert, as also by the forces under Prince Maurice. At first, Fairfax followed him with all the force he could get together; but soon, retracing his steps, he invested the city of Oxford, while Cromwell, leaving the army, rode off to the eastern counties, whither it was at first suspected Charles was directing his march. The king, however, moved to the north-west, to relieve Chester. The parliamentarians raised the siege at his approach, and retreated into Lancashire. It was apprehended that Charles intended to join his army with the triumphant forces of Montrose in Scotland; and the Scottish army in England, which was then advancing to the south-east, hastily fell back upon Westmoreland and Cumberland to guard the approaches to Carlisle and the western Borders. But Charles, after his success at Chester, turned round to the south-east, and soon carried the important city of Leicester by assault. This movement revived all the apprehensions about the associated counties in the east; and Fairfax, abandoning the siege of Oxford, marched into Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 7th of June. His friend Cromwell was then in the Isle of Ely, most actively organizing the militia there. At this critical moment, Fairfax and a general council of war, which he had called, requested the House of Commons to dispense again in Cromwell's case with the Self-denying Ordinance, and appoint him lieutenant-general, that second post in the army, which in all probability had purposely been left vacant from the beginning for Master Oliver. The house, which must have known by this time that no man so entirely possessed the confidence of the cavalry and of a great part of the army, sent him down a commission as lieutenant-general for three months; and Cromwell joined Fairfax just in time to be present at that great battle which was to decide the important question, "what the liberties and laws of England, and what the king's power and prerogative, should hereafter be."

The king, whose head-quarters were at Daventry, was amusing himself with field-sports, and his troops were foraging and plundering in all directions, when, on the 11th of June, old Sir Marmaduke Langdale brought him news of the unexpected approach of Fairfax. The royalist outposts were concentrated and strengthened; but, on the morning of the 12th, Fairfax beat them up at Borough-hill, and spread the alarm into the very lodgings of the king. The parliamentarians, however, who were then very weak in cavalry, did not think fit to venture any further attempt, and Fairfax "propounded" that the horse of Lincolnshire, Derby, and Nottingham should be drawn that way with all convenient speed. The unexpected march of the enemy up so close to him, "being in a manner a surprise," his majesty on the morrow (the 13th) thought fit to decamp, designing to march to the relief of Pontefract and Scarborough. He therefore fired his huts, despatched his carriages to-

[1] *Breviary.*

wards Harborough, and followed after them. On the same morning of the 13th, at about six o'clock, Fairfax called a council of war, and, in the midst of their debates, to the exceeding joy of the whole army, Lieutenant-general Cromwell reached head-quarters with a choice regiment of 600 horse raised by the associated counties of the east. Then all deliberation and hesitation were at an end, the drums beat, the trumpets sounded to horse, and the whole body of parliamentarians were drawn up under arms. Cromwell pointed the way they were to go, and presently horse and foot were in full pursuit of the king. Harrison, then a major, was sent forward to reconnoitre, and Colonel Ireton turned from the main road in order to get upon the flank of the royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell, with the main body, kept on the road to Harborough, at which town, and at eleven o'clock at night, Charles was warned of the close pursuit by Ireton's falling upon his outposts, and giving an alarm to the whole army. The king called a council of war. He put the question what was best to be done, seeing that the enemy was so near, and evidently bent upon battle. The council resolved to put it to a battle, taking themselves to be more strong in horse than Fairfax, and to be much better furnished with old experienced commanders.[1]

On Saturday, June the 14th, by three o'clock in the morning, Fairfax put himself in march from Gilling to Naseby. At five o'clock he halted close to Naseby, and shortly after several bodies of his majesty's horse showed themselves on the top of a hill in battle array. Presently columns of infantry marched into position, and Fairfax, being convinced that the royalists meant to bide the brunt, drew up and faced them on the brow of a gentle hill. His right wing, consisting of six regiments of horse, was commanded by Cromwell; the left wing, composed of five regiments of horse, a division of 200 horse of the association, and a party of dragoons, was, at Cromwell's request, committed to the management of the gallant Ireton, who was for that purpose made commissary-general of horse; Fairfax and Skippon took charge of the main body; and the reserves were headed by Colonels Rainsborough, Hammond and Pride. In the king's army, Prince Rupert, with his brother Prince Maurice, led the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, Charles in person taking the command of the main body; the Earl of Lindsay and Sir Jacob Astley, the Lord Baird and Sir George Lisle, headed the reserves. The two armies were pretty equal as to numbers, there not being the difference of 500 men between them. The field-word of the royalists was "God and Queen Mary!" that of the parliament, "God our strength!" The royalists began the battle, "marching up in good order a swift march, with abundance of alacrity, gallantry, and resolution." As in other battles, fortune at first seemed to flatter Charles, for the left wing of the parliament was worsted by the furious onslaught of Rupert. Ireton

NASEBY BATTLE-FIELD.[2]—From a drawing by Dukes.

was wounded in the thigh with a pike, in the face with a halbert, and his horse being killed under him, he was made prisoner, and kept by the royalists during the greater part of the battle. Rupert, however, with his usual rashness, spurred on too far; the scattered foot rallied in his rear round their guns; and the broken horse of the left wing formed, closed, and rode up to support the centre and the right. Cromwell's charge, though gallantly met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, was brilliant and decisive: after firing at close charge and standing to it at the sword's point, the left wing of the royalists was broken, and driven far beyond all the king's foot. There was terrible fighting after this: the unflinching Skippon was dangerously wounded, and Cromwell was several times in peril. But a tremendous charge, conducted by the parliamentarians

[1] *Rushworth.* According to Ludlow, the king depised "the new model," as it was called, because most of the old officers were either omitted by the parliament, or had quitted their commands in the army: and these considerations greatly encouraged him to risk the battle. Charles and his friends had not yet learned to appreciate the military genius of Cromwell.

[2] Naseby is a village near Welford, in Northamptonshire. The field of battle, consisting of nearly 400 acres, was inclosed in 1830 by the lord of the manor, who erected an obelisk with a suitable inscription in commemoration of the engagement.

from several points at once, completely broke up the last steady body of the king's infantry. According to Clarendon, Rupert's cavalry thought they had acted their parts, and could never be brought to rally again in order, or to charge the enemy.[1] They stood, with the rest, spiritless and inactive, till Cromwell and Fairfax were ready to charge them with horse and foot, and to ply them with their own artillery. Despair made Charles courageous, and, placing himself among them, he cried out, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but he could not prevail with them to stand the shock of horse, foot, and ordnance, and they presently fled in disorder, both fronts and reserves, hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse, who took many prisoners. Charles left behind him on the field 5000 prisoners, including an immense number of officers of all ranks, besides many of his household servants. There were also taken twelve brass pieces of ordnance, two mortar pieces, 8000 stand of arms, forty barrels of powder, all the bag and baggage, the rich pillage which the royalist soldiers had got just before at Leicester,[2] above 100 colours, the king's baggage, several coaches, and his majesty's private cabinet of papers and letters, which last were a means of sealing his doom. Five days before the battle of Naseby Charles had written to tell his wife that, without being over-sanguine, he could affirm that, since this rebellion, his affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; but this afternoon, as he fled from the fatal field, it must have been in almost utter hopelessness.[3]

With Cromwell's horse thundering close in his rear, he got into Leicester; but, not judging it safe to remain there, he rode off the same evening to Ashby de la Zouch; and thence passed on to Lichfield, and so by Bewdley, in Worcestershire, to Hereford. At Hereford, Prince Rupert, before any decision was taken as to what the king should do next, left his uncle, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, which he had reason to believe would in a short time appear before it. Meanwhile Fairfax marched with his victorious army to Leicester, which was soon surrendered to him, and, leaving a garrison there, he moved westward, that he might both pursue the king and raise the siege of Taunton. The day after the battle the lord-general sent Colonel John Fiennes and his regiment up to London with the prisoners and colours taken, and with a short letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, wherein Fairfax humbly desired that the honour of this great, never-to-be-forgotten mercy might be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving. Cromwell, on the day of the battle, wrote to the parliament, averring that this was none other but the hand of God, and that to Him alone belonged the glory. "The general," continued Cromwell, "served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. . . . . Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. . . . . *He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for.*"[4] But these letters were far inferior in interest to the epistles taken in the king's cabinet, now publicly read in London at a common hall, before a great assembly of citizens and many members of both Houses of Parliament, where leave was given to as many as pleased or knew the king's hand-writing to peruse and examine them all, in order to refute the report of those who said that the letters were counterfeit. And shortly after, a selection from them was printed and published by command of parliament. "From the reading of these letters," says May, "many discourses of the people arose. For in them appeared his transactions with the Irish rebels, and with the queen for assistance from France and the Duke of Lorraine. Many good men were sorry that the king's actions agreed no better with his words. . . . . They were vexed also that the king was so much ruled by the will of his wife as to do everything by her prescript, and that peace, war, religion, and parliament should be at her disposal. It appeared, besides, out of those letters, with what mind the king treated with the parliament at Uxbridge, and what could be hoped for by that treaty."[5] The reading of these letters is generally considered to have been as fatal to his cause as the field of Naseby where they were taken. The royalists themselves were startled by his contemptuous ingratitude; and men who had hitherto inclined to royalty began to lose all respect for his character.

From this time nothing prospered with the king. From Hereford he proceeded to Ragland Castle, near the Wye, the seat of the Marquis of Worcester, where, strange to say, he passed days and weeks in sports and ceremonies. Fair-

[1] The royalist historian, here as elsewhere, complains bitterly of the want of discipline in the king's army, and does something like justice to Cromwell and Fairfax, and the troops they commanded.

[2] Charles had sat down before Leicester on the 30th of May, and carried the place by assault on the same day. The parliament's garrison surrendered themselves prisoners: the town experienced all the horrors of a place taken by storm; nor did the king's presence at all check the brutal profligacy of his army. The plunder carried off, and lost again at Naseby, was very considerable.

[3] *Rushworth; May; Clarendon; Warwick; Ludlow.*

[4] *Rushworth.*

[5] *Brev. Hist. Parl.*

fax did not follow him into South Wales, but marched rapidly into the west, where Taunton was relieved merely by the rumour of his approach.[1] When Rupert had done his best in

Ragland Castle.—From a photograph.

garrisoning Bristol, he crossed the Severn to Chepstow, and there had an interview with his uncle. But Charles was now irresolute, and, instead of facing the danger in the west of England, where his partizans were still numerous and powerful, he withdrew to Cardiff, where he did nothing but press his negotiations with the Irish Catholics. Fairfax in the meantime continued his brilliant operations in the west, urged on by the spirit and guided by the military genius of Cromwell. Having dispersed an irregular force of club-men, and having defeated Goring at Langport, Fairfax appeared before the very strong and very important town of Bridgewater, which surrendered on the 23d of July. These reverses made even Prince Rupert advise a peace. The king acknowledged that his cause was all but desperate, and that his friends must expect either to die for a good cause or to live miserably under the violence of insulting enemies; yet he told his nephew that he must not in any way condescend "to hearken after treaties." "Low as I am," he continued, "I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge."[2]

In the truly regal halls of Ragland Castle, and in the stately ceremonies of the court, Charles had recovered his spirit and his hopes, which now rested not merely on the coming of troops from Ireland and troops from the Continent, but also on the wonderful successes of the Marquis of Montrose. That daring adventurer, whose new-born loyalty was kept in life and heat by a deadly hatred of the Covenanting Earl of Argyle, and perhaps also by some yearning after that nobleman's honours and estates, had penetrated into Scotland early in 1644, and had taken Dumfries; but finding that he could not keep his ground, and that his friend Antrim was not arriving from Ireland with his promised levies, he soon fled back into England. After the battle of Marston Moor he recrossed the Border in disguise, and hid himself in the Highlands until the appearance of about 1200 Irish, whom Antrim had sent over. These wild, undisciplined, ill-armed Irish were joined by about 2000 Highlanders as wild and as badly armed as themselves; and it was with this force that Montrose took the field to restore Charles to his plenitude of power. His old enemy Argyle, now lieutenant of the kingdom, and Lord Elcho, marched against him from different points, and each with far superior forces. But Montrose had a wonderful quickness of eye, a sort of instinct for this loose kind of warfare, and his half-naked Highlanders and Irish marched and counter-marched with perplexing rapidity. He surprised Elcho at Tippermuir, in Perthshire, defeated him thoroughly, and shortly after captured the town of Perth, where the Highlanders plundered the citizens, notwithstanding their profession of affection to the royal cause. But the Highlanders got rich too fast for Montrose, and the mass of them now left his standard to return with the booty they had made to their native mountains and fastnesses, and few were left him beyond the wild Irish, who could not retreat because the Earl of Argyle had burned the shipping which brought them over. That Covenanting nobleman now approached; and, abandoning Perth as untenable, Montrose turned northward, in the expectation of being reinforced by the whole clan of the Gordons. Two thousand seven hundred men had taken post at the Bridge of Dee to intercept his passage, but the northern guerilla crossed at a ford above, fell upon their flank, defeated them, and drove them before him to Aberdeen, which unfortunate town was entered pell-mell by Highlanders, Irish, and flying Covenanters, and made the scene of slaughter, pillage, and abomination. Four years before, when Aberdeen stood for the king, and when Montrose was fighting for the Covenant, he had committed or permitted equal atrocities. But Argyle still followed, and after two or three days, the Highlanders and Irish were obliged to abandon Aberdeen as they had

[1] *May.* [2] Clarendon, *Hist.*

abandoned Perth. Montrose led them northward to the Spey; and, as Argyle still pursued, he buried his artillery in a morass, and hurriedly ascended the stream by its right bank, till he reached the mountains of Badenoch. From those rugged heights he descended again into Athole, despatched Macdonald of the Isles to recall the Highlanders, and penetrated into the county of Forfar, where he was disappointed again in his expectation of being joined by the Gordons and other clans, and almost enveloped by the troops of Argyle. He, however, deluded the Covenanters with skilful stratagems, and once more got back to the mountains of Badenoch. By this time the few Lowlanders and soldiers of fortune that had followed him were completely worn out by these incessant forced marches and countermarches; and, taking an unceremonious farewell of him, they ran away in search of an easier life. Argyle and his Covenanters, not less fatigued, retired into winter-quarters. The earl himself withdrew to his castle of Inverary, at the head of Loch Fyne, "where he hived himself securely, supposing no enemy to be within 100 miles of him." But when he suspected nothing less, the trembling cowherds came down from the hills, and told Argyle the enemy was within two miles of him. And this was no false alarm, for Montrose, reinforced by clans of Highlanders, had braved the winter snows and the mountain storms, and, crossing moor and morass, burning and destroying as he went, had got to the shores of Loch Fyne, and almost under the shadow of the hill on which the old castle of Inverary stood. As the Earl of Argyle had put a price upon the marquis's head, and as Montrose was a man not likely to forget such a compliment, he for a moment, though no coward, as the royalists have absurdly represented him, trembled for his own head, and he only saved himself by leaping into a fishing-boat and pushing across the loch. Then Montrose, dividing his army into three irregular columns, ranged over the whole country of Argyle, and laid it utterly waste. No mercy was shown to the clansmen of the fugitive earl—slight mercy to any of the clans that had friendship or alliance with him. The villages and cottages were fired; all their cattle destroyed or driven away; and these things lasted from the 13th of December, 1644, to the end of January following. Then, departing out of Argyleshire, Montrose led his Irish and his Highlanders through Lorn, Glencoe, and Aber, to Loch Ness, in order to encounter the Earl of Seaforth, a nobleman very powerful in those parts; but, learning that Argyle had gathered forces out of the Lowlands, and joined to them such Highlanders as yet adhered to him, and had reached Inverlochy, an old castle upon the bank of Lochaber, he thought fit to fight him first; and so, passing by a private unusual way, straight over the Lochaber Hills, he again came upon him unawares. It was night, but on the morrow, being Candlemas Day, the 2d of February, 1645, the battle fairly began, and the prime of the Campbells charged very bravely; but when it came to dint of sword they could not stand, but retreated in disorder, and the Montrosians pursued them with great slaughter for several miles; "so that it was reckoned there were near 1500 of them slain."[1] After his victory, Montrose was joined by the Gordons, and by other clans of less note. On the 3d of April, about midnight, he set out from Dunkeld, then his head-quarters, and marched with such expedition that he was at Dundee by ten o'clock the next morning, summoning that ill-fortified town. The towns-people, knowing that a considerable force was near at hand to relieve them, made the best defence they could, but Montrose burst into the place. His wild troops, however, had scarcely begun to plunder, when he was warned that the Covenanters were at hand; and thereupon he ordered an instant retreat. He again made his escape to the mountains. For threescore miles together he had been either in fight or upon a forced march without provisions or any refreshment. His next appearance was at Aldearn, a village near Nairn, where there was a kind of drawn game; and a bloody game it was, for 2000 men, Highlanders and Irish—we can hardly call them royalists—and Covenanters and parliamentarians, were left dead upon the spot. This was on the 4th of May, a little more than a month before the battle of Naseby. Montrose claimed the victory, and it was reported as an important one to Charles, whose spirits were greatly revived thereby.

The king had scarcely received these tidings, when Montrose gained another victory. The Covenanters had been pursuing him with far superior numbers under Baillie and Urry, who committed the folly of dividing their forces and following him into the mountains, when Montrose met them at Alford, charged them with his wonted ability, and drove them from the field.

The southern march of the Scottish army in England under Leven was not so rapid as had been expected. This army must have felt that their presence might be required for the defence of their own country. Leven, however, after reducing and garrisoning the important city of Carlisle, detached part of his forces into Lancashire, to assist Sir William Brereton; "but the gross of his army hovered to and fro, sometimes advancing southward, and sometimes retreating, as being, 'tis likely, apprehensive of the king's breaking northwards to join with Montrose."

[1] *Rushworth.*

But, in the end of June, the Scots advanced to Nottingham; by the 2d of July they were at Melton-Mowbray, whence they pushed forward by Tamworth and Birmingham into Worcestershire and Herefordshire, effectually preventing the royalists from making any new levies in those parts. On the 22d of July they took by storm Canon-Froom. On the 30th of July the Scots sat down before the strong or well-defended walls of Hereford. This pressed close upon the king, who was collecting recruits in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan. Charles was thus driven into action, and he moved from Cardiff with 3000 horse in good condition, and with some hundreds of newly levied infantry. At first the king fancied he could raise the siege of Hereford, and he showed his well-appointed columns of horse in the neighbourhood; but he was presently obliged to renounce this project as hopeless, and to dismiss all his foot. He then resolved with his cavalry alone to open his way to the Scottish borders, where it is quite certain he had concerted a meeting and junction with Montrose. The brave Sir Marmaduke Langdale devised and guided the march, and the cavalry swept across the country from the Wye to the Trent, and from the Trent to the Don, without opposition. But by the order of the Earl of Leven, Sir David Leslie, with nearly the entire cavalry of the Scottish army in England, was now in full pursuit, and Poyntz and Rossiter, who commanded the English forces in the north, were advancing in another direction. Charles, who had got as far as Doncaster, halted, wavered, and then turned back, giving up his bold plan of getting to Scotland, and only hoping to be able to regain his strong quarters in the south at Oxford. As Sir David Leslie had a double object—that is to prevent the king's reaching Scotland, and to check the successes of Montrose there—and as the latter was now the more important operation, he did not turn to pursue Charles, but rode forward towards the Borders. Thus unmolested in his rear, the king fell back upon Newark. There he conceived that, by rapid marches, he might take the associated counties in the east, the country of Oliver Cromwell, which had done so much against him, by surprise, and scatter their unaided foot levies. Proceeding by Stamford, he rushed into Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, ravaging the whole open country, and taking the town of Huntingdon by assault on the 24th of August. He gave Cambridge several alarms, but then drew off and went to Woburn. From Woburn he went to Dunstable, and then crossing Buckinghamshire, he got to Oxford on the 28th of August. At Oxford, or a short time before he got there, Charles was greeted with intelligence from Scotland. Montrose, crossing the Forth a little above Stirling, had directed his march across the narrow isthmus which separates the Frith of Forth from the Frith of Clyde, and which equally opened to him the roads to Edinburgh and to Glasgow. Baillie and the Covenanters came up with him on the 19th of August at Kilsyth, a village adjacent to the Roman wall, and not far from Stirling; but they were defeated and slaughtered in heaps, no quarter being given. The Covenanters lost all their artillery, arms, and ammunition. The Earl of Argyle and the chief nobles of that party fled by sea to England, the city of Glasgow opened its gates to the blood-red conqueror, and the magistrates of Edinburgh immediately liberated all their royalist prisoners or friends of Montrose, and sent delegates with them, beseeching his favour or mercy to the city, and promising all obedience to the king. If Charles had persevered and succeeded in his march northward—if he had joined Montrose, as he possibly might have done, immediately after the victory of Kilsyth—his chance, at least in Scotland, would have been wonderfully improved. But still it was but a chance, and all that could have happened, even in that case, would have been the prolonging of the war for one or two campaigns more; for whatever was the backsliding of some of the nobles, or the timidity of some of the great towns, the spirit of the Scots was unbroken, the Covenanters were as resolute as ever to maintain their solemn bond, and the Lowlanders, almost to a man, were infuriated at the atrocities committed by the wild hordes from the Highlands and from Ireland. And then, in England all opposition was falling prostrate before the energies of Cromwell and Fairfax, and, if needful, a victorious and most highly disciplined army of 20,000 enthusiastic Englishmen would have crossed the Borders within a month. But Charles, as we have seen, scoured back to Oxford, and David Leslie alone, as we shall see, was sufficient to crush Montrose. In fact, immediately after his great victory, Montrose was brought to a pause, for most of the Highland tribes that followed him returned to their mountains to secure their plunder; and though he had overrun the country in a desultory war, the success of which was mainly owing to its suddenness and rapidity, he had acquired no fortified place, nor established any durable foundation in the Lowlands. He hanged a few *incendiaries* at Glasgow, and rashly advanced southward, expecting to meet at least a reinforcement of cavalry from England. In the meantime, David Leslie, with his horse, had got to Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, his design originally being to throw himself between Montrose and the Forth; and the Earl of Leven, abandoning the siege of Hereford, was falling back towards the Borders with the main body of the

Scottish army. The king left Oxford on the 31st of August, and went to Hereford, which city he entered in triumph. He then proposed to cross the Severn to the assistance of Prince Rupert, who was besieged in Bristol by Fairfax; but he loitered and lost time—went again to the splendid castle of Ragland, and there received news that his nephew had surrendered Bristol on the 11th of September. Charles in the anguish of his heart and the bitterness of his disappointment—for Rupert had assured him that he could keep Bristol for four months, and he had hardly kept it four days of siege—heaped reproaches upon his nephew, and even suspected him of treachery. He sent the prince an order to resign all his commissions and quit the country, and he ordered his arrest, in case Rupert should be troublesome. Still believing Montrose to be master of all Scotland, Charles once more resolved to march into the north. He reached the neighbourhood of Chester without any reverse,[1] but the parliamentarians had taken the suburbs of that city; Poyntz, with another division, was advancing by a different road; and on the 23d of September the royalists, on Row-

Phœnix Tower, walls of Chester.[2]
Drawn by J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot

ton Heath, found themselves between two fires, being charged on one side by the troops that had taken the suburbs, and on the other by Poyntz. The result, after several remarkable vicissitudes, was the complete defeat of Charles, who had 600 troopers slain, and lost more than 1000 prisoners. With less than half his horse (he had no foot with him) he retreated to Denbigh, where intelligence reached him that the game was up with Montrose.

David Leslie, when on the east coast of Scotland, was informed that Montrose was advancing to the south-west, his movements apparently being in concert with those of Charles, who was advancing, on his part, by the western side of England; and the Covenanter thereupon, with all the Scottish horse, quitted the shores of the Forth and marched westward in the direction of the Solway Frith. He came up with the royalists in Selkirk forest, and this time Montrose, who had so often surprised his adversaries, was himself taken by surprise and thoroughly beaten near the village of Philiphaugh. The light-heeled partizan escaped and got back to the Highlands, but his army was utterly annihilated, and many of his friends who had not fallen in battle were executed by the Covenanters.

The person now in greatest credit and favour with the unfortunate king was the whimsical, wrong-headed Lord Digby, who had contrived to quarrel with nearly every other man about the court or camp. He was always making schemes that came to nothing, or writing secret letters that never failed to be publicly known. Now, in attempting to fight his way into Scotland with a very inconsiderable force, he was beaten in Yorkshire, and compelled to flee into Ireland. He lost his portfolio, which was taken by the parliamentarians, who soon published it contents. The principal papers were letters from an English agent in Holland to the Lord Jermyn, who was living in the very closest intimacy with King Charles's wife at Paris; letters from Ireland concerning secret negotiations between the queen and the Papists; and letters from the Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby himself, touching a treaty for bringing over the Duke of Lorraine with a foreign army to the king's assistance, and about aids to be obtained from other foreign princes and from *his holiness the pope*. These letters—and particularly the parts of them which related to the queen and to the Irish Papists—greatly enraged the English people, and detached many of his adherents from the king.[3]

After Lord Digby's catastrophe in Yorkshire, an end was put to all campaigning or fighting in the open field, though there still remained much for the parliamentarians to do in the way of siege and blockade. Revolving many schemes, and abandoning them as impracticable or dangerous, the king remained for several days at Denbigh. He then made up his mind for a movement upon the Trent, and brushing across the country, he

[1] According to Rushworth, he every minute expected the landing at Chester of forces from Ireland.

[2] Tradition says that from this tower Charles I. viewed the battle of Rowton Heath.

[3] *Rushworth.*

got to Newark. Despising his majesty's orders, Prince Rupert came to Belvoir Castle, ten miles short of Newark. Charles, greatly incensed, commanded him to stay where he was. But Rupert proceeded instantly to Newark, and Sir Richard Willis, who was governor of that place, and Gerrard, one of the king's principal officers, heedless of the king's commands, went out with an escort of 100 horse to meet the prince. Without being announced, and followed by a numerous retinue, all in arms, Rupert presented himself before his uncle, telling him that he was come to give an account of his surrender of Bristol, and to clear himself from unjust imputations which had been cast upon him by his majesty and the Lord Digby. Charles, greatly embarrassed, scarcely answered a syllable. Violent and indecent altercations ensued, not only between the king and his nephew, but also between his majesty and Sir Richard Willis, the governor. Most of the officers present took part with Willis, holding up his majesty's chief adviser, Digby, as a traitor, and defying the fallen kingly power by an act of mutiny. Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, with Sir Richard Willis, and about 200 horse, insolently turned their backs upon Newark and the king, and rode to Belvoir Castle, whence they sent one of their company to ask from the parliament "leave and passports to go beyond the seas." The commons readily sent them the passes, but the two princes did not yet quit England. They were subsequently reconciled to their uncle, and shut up with him in Oxford.

But the king himself could not long remain at Newark, for the two parliamentarians, Poyntz and Rossiter, were drawing every day nearer, and believing they had so encompassed him that it would not be possible for him to get out of their hands. His evasion, however, was prepared with great skill. He travelled by night, he endured great fatigue, he had several narrow escapes; but in the end he got safely into Oxford. He, however, soon perceived that he could no longer find security even there. Cromwell was reducing in rapid succession all the royalist garrisons, and the king knew that he and Fairfax were concerting the blockade or siege of Oxford. Charles's council almost instantly proposed a negotiation.

Ever since the reading of the king's letters taken at Naseby, the parliament, or a majority of it, seems to have determined never to negotiate on the footing they had formerly done at Oxford and Uxbridge; and as it had been observed that his commissioners had always laboured to sow dissensions and carry on intrigues, a resolution had been adopted, that no more of these emissaries should be admitted. Accordingly, when Charles applied for safe-conducts for two noblemen, he met with a stern refusal. Still, however, it seemed neither decent nor safe wholly to reject terms of pacification, and the two houses resolved to submit to him certain propositions, in the form of parliamentary bills, for him to give his assent to.

During these deliberations, the breach between the Presbyterians and Independents became wider, and Charles fondly hoped to find a way through it to the recovery of his former power. The Scots, too, who had their army in the heart of England, and who occupied some of the most important of the garrisons, disagreed greatly with the master minds that had now taken the chief direction of affairs; they suggested numerous revises and alterations of the propositions to be offered to the king, and they seemed quite ready to throw their swords into the scale of their coreligionists, the English Presbyterians. All this caused long delays; but the problem would have been sooner solved if Cromwell and Fairfax had not deemed it expedient to finish their conquest of the west of England, and reduce the rest of the kingdom to the obedience of parliament, before commencing the siege of Oxford. The king, it appears, was, on the whole, more willing to deal with the Independents than with the Presbyterians; but the queen, who, from France, constantly suggested plans, thought that more was to be gained from the Presbyterians; and she and other friends, both abroad and at home, earnestly recommended him to conclude a good bargain with the Scots, to give up Episcopacy, and to establish that exclusive Presbyterianism which seemed so dear, not only to all his subjects north of the Tweed, but also to so large a portion of the English people. But he would never yield to this advice; and he applied again to parliament to be heard by his commissioners, or to have a personal conference with them himself at Westminster. This letter was presented at a most unfortunate juncture; for at that very moment the committee of both kingdoms were communicating to the two houses all the particulars of a secret treaty between the king and the Earl of Glamorgan, and between Glamorgan and the Irish Papists; and in the loud storm that then raged, the words of Charles could scarcely be heard, and his letter was thrown aside without an answer. It was found that the king had authorized Glamorgan to treat with the Catholics of Ireland, and to make them the largest promises, upon condition of their engaging to take up arms and pass over in force to the English coast. It appears, from Charles's own letters, that he never intended to keep these liberal promises; that he meant to cheat them, or make them "cozen themselves;" but it is quite certain

that the promises were made in a solemn manner, and that, even without being read with exaggerating religious intolerance, they contained matter to put in jeopardy all the Protestants in Ireland, and to incense all the Protestants in England. Yet Charles, "on the faith of a Christian," denied to the parliament all knowledge of Glamorgan's doings; and his partizans declared that the warrants bearing his name, which had been found in the baggage of the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, slain in a skirmish near Sligo, were mere forgeries. After sundry deceptive tricks, Glamorgan collected some 5000 men, whom he led to Waterford, in order to relieve Chester, where Lord Byron was reduced almost to extremities by the parliamentarians. By the time Glamorgan got to Waterford, he received news of the proceedings at Westminster, and of the king's public disavowal of his authority, warrant, &c. But the earl knew what this meant; the king had already instructed him "to make no other account of such declarations, than to put himself in a condition to help his master, and set him free;" and Glamorgan pressed forward his preparations for shipping the troops. A much more serious check was, the unwelcome news that Chester had fallen.[1] Upon this intelligence Glamorgan dispersed his army; and then the king, despairing of the Irish, thought seriously of the Scots, whose dissensions with their allies, the parliament, were now assuming to him a more promising aspect than ever.

Montreuil, a French ambassador or special envoy, had now been for some time in England negotiating secretly with the Scottish commissioners in London. He had brought with him the guarantee of his court to Charles, that if the king would place himself in the hands of the Scottish army, they would receive him as their natural sovereign, without violence to his conscience or his honour, protect him and his party to their utmost, and assist him with their arms in recovering his rights, he (the king) undertaking in the like manner to protect them, to respect their consciences, and so forth. The Scottish commissioners proposed that Charles should take the Covenant; and they insisted, as a *sine qua non*, upon the establishment of Presbyterianism. Montreuil implored the king to yield the point of Episcopacy; but Charles refused to do more than promise, that when he should be with the Scottish army he would submit to be instructed by their preachers. Montreuil then posted away to Newark, in front of which the main body of the Scots then lay. The Frenchman was disconcerted by the cold and firm tone of the officers and commissioners with the army, who would yield nothing, promise nothing, except that if the king would come to them, they would receive him with all honour, and protect his person. The king, who always considered the Scots and Presbyterians as the cause of all his misfortunes, now thought that he would rather trust the Independents, throw himself into the arms of a part of the English army, and rely upon their generous feelings and his own powers of persuasion. If he remained much longer in Oxford he must inevitably be captured, for Colonel Rainsborough was reducing Woodstock, and the armies of the parliament were approaching from all points. But Charles again turned his thoughts to the Scots, thinking that they could best do his business. He had not agreed "with regard to the Presbyterian government;" and the Scottish commissioners were, in all probability, informed that he had been, and was, down to the very moment of his flight from Oxford, tampering with the Independents and promising to join them in rooting Presbytery out of the kingdom. These Scottish commissioners would have sacrificed an otherwise popular sovereign upon this sole point; but Charles was anything but popular in Scotland, where the blood of the slaughtered cried aloud for vengeance upon him. The English parliament and army might be in a frame of mind favourable to magnanimity; ever since the battle of Naseby they had been marching from success to success, from triumph to triumph: but in Scotland it was far otherwise; there that interval of time had been filled almost entirely by the victories of Montrose and the reverses of the Covenanters. The civil war, too, as conducted in England, had been all through chivalrous and merciful, as compared with the unsparing carnage of Montrose's wild Highlanders and Irish. Charles, therefore, had little to hope from the humour of the Scottish commissioners; and the characteristic wariness of those men was not likely to permit them pledging themselves in a treaty, or in any direct bargain, merely upon his shifting and equivocating assurances. There is not the shadow of a proof that any such treaty or bargain was ever made. At the same time the Scots were most certainly anxious to have the king in their power, being on the very verge of an open rupture with the English parliament, which stood indebted to them in large sums of money.

Montreuil, the French ambassador, told the king in express terms that he could have little or nothing to hope from the Scottish army; that the commissioners of that army were neither to be moved from their purpose nor to be trusted by him; and yet Charles, *after this knowledge*, clung to the Scots with a desperate hope, though not, as we believe, till sundry other wild schemes had entirely failed. There was now no time to lose; and, if Charles would escape the horrors of a

[1] May, *Brev. Hist. Parl.*

siege certain to end in death or captivity, he must be gone at once. His son, the Prince of Wales, after being driven to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, had fled for safety to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, being attended by Clarendon, Culpeper, and other members of the council. Even the brave Sir Ralph Hopton, now that he was ruined, created Lord Hopton, had been obliged to capitulate and disband his forces; and Sir Jacob Astley, who had collected some 2000 horse to cut his way to Oxford, was intercepted at Stowe by the parliamentarians, and made prisoner with many of his officers, and more than half his men. "You have done your work, my masters," said Astley to his captors, "and may now go play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves." Wherever Cromwell showed himself, resistance soon ceased; and he was now approaching with Fairfax and the army of the west upon Oxford, which was already surrounded by 2000 foot and 300 horse. Woodstock was surrendered to Rainsborough. Whichever way Charles looked, from tower or bastion, he saw the flag of the parliament of England floating on the breeze; and now, wherever he turned himself within the loyal city of Oxford, he saw dejection or discontent. His very attendants treated him with sullen disrespect; and the chances are, that, if he had stayed there, they would, upon the arrival of Cromwell and Fairfax, have delivered him up to the parliament. Still, however, the unfortunate monarch feared and doubted the Scots. Notwithstanding the entire failure of his overtures to the Independents, he addressed himself to Ireton, who was then before Oxford: "being informed," says Ashburnham, "that he was a man of great power and credit with the soldiery, and very earnestly affected to peace, he thought it fit to make *some trial of him*, whether he would undertake to accept and protect his majesty's person upon the former conditions; and to that purpose sent Sir Edward Ford (his brother-in-law) to sound his inclinations, with this assurance, that, if he consented, I should follow the next day with power to conclude with him in those or any new matters he should propose in order to his majesty's reception. But, by his not suffering any man to return to Oxford, his majesty found plainly that he did not relish the discourse upon that subject, and so quit the thought likewise of any more advantage by him than by the others he had tried before. . . . And now, his majesty, conceiving himself to be discharged from all obligation which by any way could be fastened upon him by his parliament, or by any authority derived from them, settled his thoughts upon his journey to the Scots army." But, according to Ashburnham, Charles told his council at Oxford that he was going to smuggle himself into London, while he had fully made up his mind to go to the Scots. From other accounts, however, and from the curious, wavering way in which the king proceeded, it should appear that he was not decided whither he should go, even when he had taken to the road.

On the 27th of April Fairfax and Cromwell reached Newbury, within a day's march of Oxford: about midnight Charles got ready for his flight, submitting his beard to Ashburnham's scissors, and disguising himself as that groom of the chamber's groom. Hudson, the chaplain who had gone and come between the head-quarters of the Scots and Oxford, and who was, moreover, well acquainted with the by-roads of the country, acted as guide; and between two and three o'clock in the morning the party rode out of Oxford by Magdalen bridge, the king following Ashburnham as grooms follow their masters, with a cloak strapped round his waist. At the same moment, parties like the royal one, of three individuals each, went out of Oxford by the other gates, in order to distract attention and embarrass pursuit. Charles and his two companions got through the lines of the parliamentarians, and reached Henley-upon-Thames without discovery. From Henley, instead of turning directly north towards the Scots, they proceeded to Slough: from Slough again they went to Uxbridge, and from Uxbridge to Hillingdon, a mile and a half nearer London. "Here," according to Hudson, "the king was much perplexed what course to resolve upon—London or northward." After a halt he rode across the country to Harrow, from whose pleasant hill his good steed might have carried him into the heart of London within an hour. But he turned off thence northwards towards St. Alban's. From St. Alban's they made another circuit, and, by cross-roads, they got to Downham, in Norfolk.[1] Here Charles lay hid for four days, awaiting the return of Hudson, who had been sent forward to the lodging of Montreuil, at Southwell, near Newark, with a little note from the king to that ambassador, desiring him to make an absolute conclusion with the Scots, and to tell them (for so says Hudson) that, if they would offer "such honourable conditions for him as should satisfy him, then he would come to them; if not, he was resolved to dispose otherwise of himself." Hudson himself continues:—"I came to Southwell next morning, and acquainted the French agent with these particulars, who, on Thursday night (30th of April), told me they would condescend to all the demands which the king and Montreuil had

[1] "The king," says Clarendon, "wasted his time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of)."—*Hist.*

agreed to make to them before Montreuil came from Oxford (of which Montreuil told me the sum), *but would not give anything under their hands.* I desired, to avoid mistakes, that the particulars might be set down in writing, lest I should afterwards be charged with making a false relation, and so he (Montreuil) set the propositions down in writing:—1. That they should receive the king on his personal honour. 2. That they should press the king to do nothing contrary to his conscience. 3. That Mr. Ashburnham and I should be protected. 4. That, if the parliament refused, upon a message from the king, to restore the king to his rights and prerogatives, they should declare for the king, and take all the king's friends under their protection; and if the parliament did condescend to restore the king, then the Scots should be a means that not above four of them (the king's friends) should suffer banishment, and none at all death. This done, the French agent brought me word that the Scots seriously protested the performance of all these, and sent a little note to the king to accept of them, and such security as was given to him in the king's behalf."

This, be it remembered, is simply the statement of Hudson, a most enthusiastic royalist, who had thrown aside Bible and cassock for sword and breastplate, and who delivered this confession to the parliament of England at a moment when that body was prepared to receive any evil impressions against the Scots, and when the royalists were still hoping to profit by the jealousies and dissensions existing between the English commons and the Scottish commissioners. But, even taking Hudson's words for all these particulars, what does this story amount to? Simply to this —that Montreuil told him such and such things, and that the Scots told him nothing. The assurance was not given under the hands of the Scottish commissioners—even according to Hudson, they absolutely refused to give anything of the kind—but it was given, as he says, *by Montreuil*, who committed the particulars, or "set the propositions down, in writing." But even this paper of Montreuil's, so important, if true, has nowhere been preserved, while great care has been taken of documents relating to this negotiation of far less consequence. A doubt, therefore, may be fairly entertained whether Montreuil ever really wrote any such paper; and in no part of his correspondence with his own court does he ever pretend to have received any such formal agreement. But again, was Charles so inexperienced and single-minded a person as to pin his faith to or rely upon such a document as this which Hudson says he received from the French envoy? Clarendon, nearly always a prejudiced authority, has been quoted as proving that a formal engagement was made by Montreuil with the Scottish commissioners; but, if such an engagement had ever been made, Clarendon himself shows that Charles placed no confidence in that engagement; for he tells us that the king lurked about the country "purposely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of Montrose, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him." The fact appears to be, that Charles diverged from the northern route and went into the eastern counties on purpose to find some vessel on that coast wherein to escape to Scotland, and that he was deterred from the voyage by the risk and danger of trusting himself to that element on which the parliament of England rode triumphantly as masters. A frail vessel, one or two great shot, or a storm, might have terminated the career of this unhappy prince without the closing scenes at Whitehall. A man who had lived in the midst of perils, and had through many a year faced them all, and revelled in them, was appalled by somewhat similar dangers, and preferred surrendering himself to his oldest or greatest enemies; and, just as Napoleon went on board the *Bellerophon*, did Charles go to the Scottish camp—because he could go nowhere else—because every other possible way of proceeding seemed infinitely more dangerous.

Hudson, continuing his report, says, "I came to the king on Tuesday, and related all, and he resolved next morning to go to them; and so upon Tuesday morning we all came to Southwell to Montreuil's lodgings, where some of the Scots commissioners came to the king, and desired him to march to Kelham for security, whither we went after dinner." This happened on the 5th of May. "Many lords," says Ashburnham, "came instantly to wait on his majesty with professions of joy to find that he had so far honoured their army as to think it worthy his presence after so long an opposition." On this point, as on others, there are discrepancies between the account given by Ashburnham and the narrative of Clarendon. The latter goes on to say, "The great care in the (Scottish) army was, that there might be only respect and good manners showed towards the king, without anything of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor willingly suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his majesty." And once, it appears, when the king ventured to give the word to the guard, old Leslie, or Leven, interrupted him, saying, "I am the older soldier, Sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me."

In the meantime the king's motions were kept so secret that none could guess whither he was gone; but it was generally reported that he was

gone for London, and Fairfax, who had now drawn up his army before Oxford, sent notice to that effect to the two houses, who, on Monday, May the 4th, only the day before Charles reached the Scottish camp, caused an order to be published by beat of drum and sound of trumpet throughout London and Westminster, to this effect:—"That it be, and is hereby declared by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that what person soever shall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the king's person, and shall not reveal it immediately to the speakers of both houses, shall be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy." Two days after this—that is, on the 6th of May—the two houses received intelligence of the king's being in the Scots army by means of letters from Colonel Poyntz, and from their commissioners before Newark. The commons hereupon voted:—"1. That the commissioners and general of the Scots army be desired that his majesty's person be disposed of as both houses shall desire and direct. 2. That his majesty be thence disposed of and sent to Warwick Castle. 3. That Mr. Ashburnham and the rest of those that came with the king into the Scots quarters should be sent for as delinquents by the serjeant-at-arms attending the said house, or his deputy; and that the commissioners for the parliament of England residing before Newark should acquaint the Scots general with these votes, and also make a narrative of the manner of the king's coming into the Scots army, and present it to the house." While the houses were thus voting, old Leslie and the Scottish commissioners were employed in writing a very devout letter of explanation to the English parliament. "The king," they said, "came into our army yesterday in so private a way that, after we had made search for him, upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face, yet we could not find him out in sundry houses." They declared that they never expected he would have come to them, or into any place under their power. Next they said—"We conceived it not fit to inquire into the causes that persuaded him to come hither, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved to the best advantage, for promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the League and Covenant and treaty, by the advice of the parliaments of both kingdoms, or their commissioners authorized for that effect. Trusting to our integrity, we do persuade ourselves that none will so far misconstrue us as that we intended to make use of this seeming advantage for promoting any other ends than are expressed in the Covenant, and have been hitherto pursued by us with no less conscience than care. And yet, for further satisfaction, we do ingenuously declare that there hath been no treaty nor capitulation betwixt his majesty and us, nor any in our names, and that we leave the ways and means of peace unto the power and wisdom of the parliaments of both kingdoms." They appealed to Heaven as a witness of their good faith and of their honest and single desire to advance the public good and common happiness of both kingdoms. They said they had written to the committee of estates of Scotland upon the great business of the king's going among them: and that they at last hoped, after a seed-time of many afflictions, to reap the sweet fruits of truth and peace.[1]

On the same day on which this letter was written, Charles ordered the Lord Bellasis, the new governor of Newark, to surrender that important place; and, also on the same day, Newark, with the castle, forts, and sconces thereunto belonging, was surrendered to the committee of both kingdoms, for the use of the parliament of England. Charles had offered to surrender the place to the Scots, which would have made a fresh garboil, but Leven told him that, to remove all jealousies, it must be yielded to the parliament of England. Clarendon says that Charles's readiness on this occasion proceeded from his fear that Fairfax might be ordered to relinquish all other enterprises, "and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already." It is said, indeed, that the English commons at one moment entertained the notion of throwing forward Oliver Cromwell with the entire mass of their cavalry, in order to fall upon the Scots by surprise, and to take the king away from them by force; but in effect they only detached Poyntz, who, with a party of horse and dragoons, followed the Scots, and watched them on their march northward from the Trent.

[1] *Rushworth.* This letter is dated "Southwell, May the 6th, 1646," and signed "Leven, Dunfermling, Lothian, Belcarris, S. D., Hume, Sir T. H. Carre, R. of Freeland, W. Glendowyn, John Johnston."

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1646—1649.

CHARLES I.

Charles tampers with the Scots—His attempts to conciliate the parliament—Proposals made to him by the parliament—His refusal—The Scottish army in England paid and dismissed—They deliver up Charles to the parliament—Ascendency of Presbyterianism in England—Mutinous condition of the army—Its cause identified with Independency—Petition of the soldiers to parliament—Their appointment of adjutators—Cromwell's intrigues with the army—The army secures possession of the king's person—It advances upon London to overthrow the Presbyterian government—Proposals of the officers to parliament—Double-dealing of Charles with the contending parties—Republicanism coming into favour—Alarming designs of the soldiers on the king—He makes his escape from Hampton Court—His apprehension and imprisonment in the Isle of Wight—Mutiny among the soldiers suppressed by Cromwell—Four propositions made by parliament to the king—Charles rejects them—He resolves on a secret treaty with the Scots—His unsuccessful attempt to escape from the Isle of Wight—Alarm in London at the king's treating with the Scots—A popular tumult—Risings of the royalists, and their suppression—The Scots rise in support of royalty and Presbyterianism—Their army enters England and is defeated—The Earl of Holland attempts a rising for the king—He is defeated—Indifference of Prince Charles to the captivity of his father—The parliament attempts a new treaty with Charles—Cromwell breaks the negotiation by seizing the king's person—The army enters London—"Pride's Purge," by which the parliament is cleared of Presbyterianism—The residue called "the Rump"—Charles removed to confinement in Windsor Castle—Resolution of the parliament to bring Charles to trial—The Independents erect a high court for the purpose—Demeanour of Charles before the court—The charges—The king's answers—He disclaims the authority of the court—Particulars of the trial during seven days—His sentence—His last interview in prison with his family—His behaviour on the scaffold—His execution.

NEWCASTLE was now the seat of the war, for "wars are not only carried on by swords and guns, but tongues and pens are co-instrumental; which, as they had been too much employed formerly, were not idle now."[1] The king sounded some of the officers of the Scottish army, and offered David Leslie, the general of the horse, the title of Earl of Orkney, if he would consent to espouse his cause and unite with Montrose; but this project, considering the temper of that Covenanting soldiery, must always have been a hopeless one, and it came to nothing. The committee of estates at Edinburgh, the champions of the Covenant, despatched Lanark, Loudon, and Argyle, to Newcastle, to look after both the king and the army; and these noblemen, after telling Charles in the plainest manner that he must take the Covenant, or expect no important service from them—that he must not imagine that they would temporize with this great measure, or be put off with promises—required of him, in the first instance, to do all that in him lay to put an end to the civil war in Scotland by ceasing all connection or correspondence with Montrose. And at their instance he sent a positive order to the hero of Kilsyth to disband his forces and retire to France.

About the same time, the king sent a very soft message to the two houses, stating, that, "being informed that their armies were marching so fast up to Oxford as made that no fit place for treating, he did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this war any longer, or make any division between his two kingdoms. And," continued this practised dissembler, who now spoke as if he had made up his mind to give up the question of Episcopacy, "since the settling of religion ought to be the chiefest care, his majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament, all the ways and means possible for speedily finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly that they take the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster." As for the militia of England, his majesty was well pleased to have it settled as was offered in the treaty at Uxbridge. Concerning the wars in Ireland, and every other point whatsoever, he promised to comply with his parliament. About three weeks later, on the 10th of June, he sent another message to the two houses, expressing his earnest desire for the ending of this unnatural war, and requesting that he might be permitted to come to London with safety, freedom, and honour. And on the same day he signed a warrant to the governors of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and Wallingford, and to all other commanders of towns, or castles, or forts, to surrender upon honourable terms. Most of these few places, however, had surrendered already. Even Oxford had proposed to treat as

[1] *The Perfect Politician*, or a full View of the Life and Actions (Military and Civil) of Oliver Cromwell.

early as the 17th of May, which was one day before the king's first message to parliament. The commons, however, considered the terms demanded as much too high, and so ordered Fairfax to prosecute the siege; and the place did not surrender until the 24th of June, when very liberal terms were granted by the parliamentarians. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice received their passports and took shipping at Dover. Charles's second son, James, the young Duke of York, was brought up from Oxford to St. James's Palace. Ragland Castle was stoutly defended by the Marquis of Worcester. But at last, on the 19th of August, Ragland was surrendered. In the same month of August the town of Conway was taken by storm; the strong castle of Conway surrendered in a few days after, as did also Flint Castle, and all other places in Wales.

Meanwhile the Scots at Newcastle were labouring hard to make the king take their Covenant. Charles thought that he might take it with a mental reservation, but having some scruples, or wishing for the countenance of a leading churchman, he sent "a case of conscience" to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. After declaring that no persuasions and threatenings should make him change Episcopal into Presbyterian government, the king said to the bishop—"But I hold myself obliged by all honest means, to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm, and I think some kind of compliance with the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my case is, which at another time were unlawful. . . . . I conceive the question to be whether I may with a safe conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my oath is herein chiefly to be considered; I flattering myself that this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how unable I am by force to obtain that which this way there wants not probability to recover, if accepted (otherwise there is no harm done); for, my regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering Episcopal government, and God is my witness my chiefest end in regaining my power is to do the church service."[1]

It has been judged, from the fact of Charles's not pursuing the line of conduct so ingeniously hinted at, and also from the honest straightforward character of Juxon, that the bishop's answer, which has not been preserved, was frank and honest, like that which he had given when consulted about the execution of the Earl of Strafford. The king, however, listened or pretended to listen to the arguments of the Presbyterian divines and teachers, and appeared to have dropped all projects of hostility, and to agree with every desire that was expressed. But at the same time he managed to continue his secret correspondence with the Papists in Ireland, and others, devising the most desperate if not the most ridiculous plans for resuming hostilities by means of the Papists and of French armies to be brought over to England. We cannot possibly mention half the wild schemes that were entertained at Newcastle and at Paris, between the going of Charles to the Scots' quarters and his delivery over to the English; but one of the most striking of them was, that Montrose, whom the king had ordered to lay down his arms, should be recalled to head a fresh insurrection in the Highlands, and take the command of fresh hordes from Ireland.

On the 23d of July the final propositions of parliament were presented to Charles at Newcastle by the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Lord Montague of the peers, and six members of the House of Commons; the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland being present and consenting to them. "The lords and commons, commissioners of the parliament of England," says May, "stayed long with the king at Newcastle, humbly entreating him that he would vouchsafe to sign and establish those propositions, being not much higher than those which had been offered to his majesty at Uxbridge when the chance of war was yet doubtful. The same thing did the commissioners of the parliament in Scotland humbly entreat. . . . . But daily he seemed to take exception at some particulars, whereby time was delayed for some months, and the affairs of both kingdoms much retarded, which happened at an unseasonable time, when not only dissensions between the two nations about garrisons, money, and other things, were justly feared, but also in the parliament of England and city of London, *the divisions were then increasing between the two factions of the Presbyterians and the Independents*, from whence the common enemy began to swell with hopes not improbable. *And this, perchance, was the cause of the king's delay.*"[2]

Many men that did not love the king personally, but that loved monarchy, implored him to accept the propositions as the only means of saving the throne. Others used prayers, mingled with threats. The Earls of Argyle and Loudon besought him on their knees, but all in vain. Then Loudon, now Chancellor of Scotland, told him that his assent to the propositions was indispensable for the preservation of his crown and kingdoms—that the danger and loss of a refusal would be remediless, and bring on a sudden ruin and destruction of the monarchy. The noble Scot

[1] Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection.*

[2] *Brev. Hist. Parl.*

continued with increasing energy:—"The differences betwixt your majesty and parliament (known to no man better than yourself) are at this time so high that (after so many bloody battles) no composure can be made, nor a more certain ruin avoided, without a present pacification. The parliament are in possession of your navy, of all the towns, castles, and forts of England; they enjoy, besides, sequestrations and your revenue." But Charles would not sign, and he was as deaf to the gentler representations of others as to the rough eloquence of Loudon."[1]

On the same day that the parliament commissioners arrived at Newcastle, there came a new ambassador from France to implore the king to accept the propositions, and to present to him letters from the queen, who prayed to the same effect. Edinburgh and other Scottish cities sent tender petitions to his majesty imploring him to take the Covenant, and save himself and his royal progeny; but all was of no avail. After receiving several communications from their commissioners, parliament gave their thanks to those noblemen and gentlemen, and appointed a committee to give the same thanks to the Scottish commissioners who had acted with them at Newcastle. In the course of this debate in the house a Presbyterian member exclaimed, "What will become of us now that the king has refused our propositions?" "What would have become of *us* if he had accepted them?" rejoined one of the Independents.

On the 19th of May, without any settlement of the heavy pecuniary claims the Scots had upon them, the House of Commons had voted that England had no longer any need of the Scottish army. The Scots on their side reminded the English of how much they and the cause of liberty had owed to their well-timed assistance; and they called aloud for a settlement of accounts, the parliament having agreed to subsidize them previously to this their second coming into England. King or no king in their hands, the Scots would have claimed their money; but it is possible that, without that security, the payment would have been neither so prompt nor so liberal. The pride of the Scots was incessantly irritated, but their prudence was stronger than their pride. On the 12th of August their commissioners in London presented a spirited paper to the English House of Lords, demanding immediate payment, or an instalment with security for the remainder. The lords communicated this paper to the commons, who, taking the same into consideration, ordered that the sum of £100,000 should be provided forthwith for the Scottish army, and appointed a committee to audit and settle the whole money account. The Scots demanded £600,000; but after some debate, their commissioners agreed to take £400,000, of which one-half was to be paid before the army left England or gave up the places they garrisoned. This bargain was fully concluded four months before the Scots delivered up Charles, and during the interval they had never ceased to negotiate in his favour.

Anderson Place, Newcastle.[2]
The house where Charles I. was delivered to the Parliamentary Commissioners.

On the 11th of December, the Scottish parliament voted that the kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage on the king's side even if he were deposed in England, seeing that he would not take the Covenant, or give any satisfactory answer to the propositions tendered to him for peace. Furthermore, that parliament declared that the king should not be permitted to come into Scotland, or that, if he came, his royal functions should be suspended. Seeing that all the hopes he had built on the Scotch foundation were annihilated, Charles would have flown from the Pres-

[1] May, *Brev. Hist. Parl.; Rushworth.*

[2] This house, the view of which is taken from an old print in the King's Collection, British Museum, has now been removed. From being the residence of Charles during his abode at Newcastle, it formerly was called the King's Lodgings, but afterwards, on coming into the possession of Major Anderson, received the name of Anderson Place. Previous to its demolition in 1836, there existed here the remains of a large conduit, which passed through the town wall, and by which, according to local tradition, the king made an attempt to escape.

byterian army. But flight was no longer possible. On the 20th of December the king wrote to the parliament of England to ask again for a personal treaty. The two houses took no notice of this message. On Christmas Day, after long debates, the lords agreed with the commons that the king should be brought to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire.

The Scots had now fully made up their minds to deliver Charles to the parliament; yet, on the 14th of January (1647), they made one effort more to induce him to take their Covenant and accede to the propositions. Charles refused to do so, and again asked permission to go into Scotland with honour and freedom. This was decisive, and, two days after—on the 16th of January, 1647—the parliament of Scotland gave their full consent for delivering up the king.

In the meantime the English parliament had declared Episcopacy for ever abolished; and, by putting to sale the bishops' lands, money had been obtained to satisfy the claims of the Scots army. On the 21st of January the Scots signed at Northallerton a receipt for £200,000 in hard cash. On the 30th the commissioners of the English parliament—the Earl of Pembroke with two other lords and six commoners—received from the Scotch commissioners at Newcastle the person of the king, the Scots troops evacuating that town on the same day. Charles affected to be pleased with the change: he talked courteously, and even cheerfully, to the Earl of Pembroke and the other commissioners, telling them he was well pleased to part from the Scots.[1]

While the Scottish army was re-crossing the Borders, the king journeyed by easy stages towards Holmby House, a stately mansion in a pleasant country, but at no great distance from the fatal field of Naseby. He reached the mansion on the 16th of February, and found his lodging and table and little court well furnished with everything except chaplains. In vain he petitioned to have chaplains of the Anglican church. The dominant Presbyterians sent him chaplains of *their* church. He seemed to bear his misfortunes with a sort of cheerful dignity; he passed his time in reading, playing chess, walking, riding, and playing at bowls.

At this time it was rather the head of Oliver Cromwell than that of King Charles that seemed in imminent danger. The elections which had been recently made, to fill up vacancies in the House of Commons, had gone generally in favour of the Presbyterians, while not a few thoroughgoing royalists had found seats and friends in that house. Triumphing in their strength, the Presbyterians had proclaimed the establishment of their own form of worship to the exclusion of all others; and they had laboured, and were still labouring, to crush the many sects included under the general term of Independents. They had even resolved to disband the victorious army, and to create a new one on a Presbyterian model. The Independents in the House of Commons—the Vanes, the Martins, the St. Johns—yielded to the storm so long as it was necessary, holding themselves ever ready to profit by the blunders of their confiding adversaries. One of these blunders was the haste of the Presbyterians in getting their brethren, the Scots, out of England.

A.D. 1647. In the month of February it was resolved by parliament to dismiss nearly the whole of the existing army, to retain Sir Thomas Fairfax as commander-in-chief, to allow no other officer to have a rank higher than that of colonel, and to exact from all officers an oath to the Covenant and to the government of the church as by ordinance established. Some of these votes were aimed directly at Oliver Cromwell; but they would also have excluded Ludlow, Blake, Ireton, Skippon, Algernon Sydney, and others. It was at this crisis that Ireton married the eldest daughter of Cromwell. The Hollises, the Stapletons, and the other leaders of the Presbyterians, ordered that a large part of Fairfax's forces should forthwith be shipped for Ireland; and they did this without paying, or even talking of paying the heavy arrears that were due to the soldiers. The men vowed that

[1] Herbert, *Memoirs*.

"By these discoveries of the king's insincerity, and by what seemed his infatuated obstinacy in refusing terms of accommodation, both nations became more and more alienated from him; the one hardly restrained from casting him off; the other ready to leave him to his fate. This ill opinion of the king forms one apology for that action which has exposed the Scots nation to so much reproach—their delivery of his person to the English parliament. Perhaps if we place ourselves in their situation, it will not appear deserving of quite such indignant censure. It would have shown more generosity to have offered the king an alternative of retiring to Holland; and from what we now know, he probably would not have neglected the opportunity. But the consequence might have been his solemn deposition from the English throne; and however we may think such banishment more honourable than the acceptance of degrading conditions, the Scots, we should remember, saw nothing in the king's taking the Covenant, and sweeping away prelatic superstitions, but the bounden duty of a Christian sovereign, which only the most perverse self-will induced him to set at nought. They had a right also to consider the interests of his family, which the threatened establishment of a republic in England would defeat. To carry him back with their army into Scotland, besides being equally ruinous to the English monarchy, would have exposed their nation to the most ruinous dangers. To undertake his defence by arms against England, as the ardent royalists desired, and doubtless the determined republicans no less, would have been, as was proved afterwards, a mad and culpable renewal of the miseries of both kingdoms. He had voluntarily come to their camp; no faith was pledged to him; their very right to retain his person, though they had argued for it with the English parliament, seemed open to much doubt."—Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*.

they would not go without their old officers, that they would not be put under new and untried officers, that they would not go to die, far from their homes, of famine and disease. And forthwith the army, which was lying in and round Nottingham, broke up from their cantonments and marched upon London.

Then the Presbyterians in a panic voted an assessment for paying the troops. On the following day—the 17th of March—a petition was presented from the common council and Presbyterians of the city of London, praying that the army might be removed to a greater distance from the capital; complaining bitterly of a petition set on foot in the city by the Independents, and calling for the punishment of its authors and promoters. This petition of the Independents was in all respects a remarkable document—the first or the loudest call that had yet been made upon republican principles. The Presbyterian majority in the house, recovering somewhat from their panic, voted that this Independent petition should be condemned, and that the army should not come within twenty-five miles of London. A deputation was sent down to Saffron-Walden to treat with Fairfax and the officers. On the day after their arrival at head-quarters, Fairfax summoned a convention of officers; and these officers plainly told the parliament commissioners that they had been ill-used, and would not submit to it; that they must have payment of the arrears already due, and some indemnity for their past sacrifices and services. In reporting their doings, or their non-doings, to the commons, the commissioners mentioned a petition in progress in the army. In these stormy times late debates had become common. This night the house sat very late, and, "being grown thin with long sitting," the Presbyterians voted the petition of the army, which they had not seen, to be an improper petition; and further, that those of the army who continued in their distempered condition, and went on in advancing and promoting the petition, should be proceeded against as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. On the morrow the lords voted their adherence to the resolution. Fairfax remonstrated in a mild manner, but the army complained of the injustice of not being allowed to petition while the petitions against them were not suppressed, and the cavalry talked of drawing to a rendezvous to compose something for their vindication. On the 15th of April a deputation from the two houses again conferred with the army at Saffron-Walden. Colonel Lambert, in the name of the rest, desired to know what satisfaction the parliament had given to the queries they had put at their last meeting with the deputation. Sir John Clotworthy assured Lambert that, in Ireland, they should all be under the command of the popular Major-general Skippon; but then he added the unpopular name of the Presbyterian Massey. Colonel Hammond declared, that if they had good assurance that Skippon would go, he doubted not but a great part of the army would engage. To this the officers cried out "All, all!" but others shouted still louder, "Fairfax and Cromwell—give us Fairfax and Cromwell, and we all go." After a vain attempt to gain over volunteers, the deputation returned in dismay to London. The question was adjourned from the 23d to the 27th of April. On that day Hollis urged on his party to vote that the whole army, horse and foot, should be disbanded with all convenient speed, and six weeks' pay given upon their disbanding, and that four of the officers should be summoned by the serjeant-at-arms to attend at the bar of the house. On this very day some of the officers of that army presented an energetic petition to the commons. This paper, which was a vindication of their conduct rather than a petition, was signed by Thomas Hammond, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, fourteen colonels and lieutenant-colonels, six majors, and 130 captains, lieutenants, and other commissioned officers. "The misrepresentation of us and our harmless intentions to this honourable house," said these citizen-soldiers, "occasioning hard thoughts and expressions of your displeasure against us, we cannot but look upon as an act of most sad importance." After insisting on their right of petitioning, they said, "We hope, by being soldiers, we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interests in the commonwealth; that in purchasing the freedom of our brethren we have not lost our own." They energetically justified their demands for money. "For the desire of our arrears," said they, "*necessity*, especially of our soldiers, enforced us thereunto. That we have not been mercenary, or proposed gain as our end, the speedy ending of a languishing war will testify for us, whereby the people are much eased of their taxes and daily disbursements, and decayed trade restored to a full and flourishing condition in all quarters."[1] But before this time an entire disaffection to the Presbyterian majority had declared itself among the common soldiers; and, irritated by the late disbanding vote, and by the house not taking this petition of the officers into immediate consideration, rank and file, troopers, dragoons, and infantry, drew closer their recently-formed compact, and prepared a document of their own for the perusal of the house. They here described "a model of a military common council, who should assemble two commissioned officers and

[1] *Rushworth.*

two private soldiers out of every regiment, to consult for the good of the army, and to be called by the name of *adjutators*."[1] From this council or conclave the superior officers stood aloof; but Berry, a captain in Fairfax's regiment of horse, and an old and bosom-friend of Cromwell, became president of it, whence it has been generally concluded by historians that the whole affair, if not originally got up by Cromwell, was guided and directed by him.[2] On the 30th of April these adjutators, whose name was soon changed into that of *agitators*, sent three troopers—Sexby, Allen, and Shepherd—to present their first manifesto to the commons, and tell them they "sought to become masters, and were degenerating into tyrants." Cromwell, who a few weeks before was given to believe that the Presbyterians intended to seize him and commit him to the Tower—a plan which appears really to have been entertained at several distinct times—rose up and spoke at great length about the danger of driving the army to extremities, and about the pure and entire loyalty of that meritorious body; and, strange and unaccountable as it is, it is certain that the house forthwith commissioned him, with Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to repair to head-quarters, and quiet the distempers of the army by assuring them that the house had appointed an ordinance to be speedily brought in for their indemnity, payment of arrears, &c. Cromwell, and those who had been appointed with him, presented themselves to the army on the 7th of May. The officers required time to confer with their regiments, and a second meeting took place on the 15th. Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood encouraged the discontents, and Skippon at last decided in favour of the proposition presented by Lambert, that the redress of the grievances of the army should have precedence of all other questions. But disagreements broke out among the soldiery, some of whom would have closed with the offers of parliament; and, emboldened by these symptoms of division, the Presbyterian leaders, after hearing the report of Cromwell, who had returned from the camp to the house, passed a resolution, that immediate measures should be taken for auditing the accounts of the soldiers, and disbanding the regiments. This was on the 21st of May. On the next day Fairfax, who had been in London under a real or pretended sickness, returned to the army by the desire of the House of Commons, and on the morrow he removed the mass of that army from Saffron-Walden to Bury-St.-Edmund's. He found the soldiers resolute not to disband without previous redress and payment, and the punishment of those who, as they said, had contrived their destruction; and they called for a rendezvous, telling their officers that, if they would not grant it, they would hold it without them. Fairfax reported all this to the house. On the 28th of May, the Presbyterians appointed the Earl of Warwick, and five other members of the house, to be a committee to act with the general (Fairfax) in executing the disbanding vote. Fairfax told this deputation that he could venture to do nothing of the sort for the present.

The crisis was now hurried on. The lords voted that the king should be brought from Holmby to Oatlands near the capital, and that a fresh treaty should be opened with him. The army and the Independents, who were almost one, resolved to forestall the lords and the Presbyterians. On the 3d of June, a little after midnight, a strong party of horse, commanded by Joyce, a cornet in Whalley's regiment, presented themselves at Holmby House. Joyce dismounted, and demanded to be admitted, telling Colonels Graves and Brown, who commanded the small garrison there, that he came to speak with the king. They asked him from whom? "From myself," said Joyce; at which they laughed. "This is no laughing matter," said the cornet of horse. Colonel Graves commanded the soldiers in the house to stand to their arms; but, instead of obeying, the men threw open the gates, and bade their old comrades welcome. Joyce then proceeded to the chamber where the

HOLMBY HOUSE.—Baker's Northamptonshire

[1] *The Perfect Politician.*

[2] Two other officers, said to have had great influence with the adjutators, were Ayres and Desborough. They were both old friends of Cromwell—they both took service with him when he first raised a troop of horse at his own expense—and Desborough, six years before, had married a sister of Cromwell.

parliament commissioners lay, and told them that there was a secret design to steal away the king and raise another army; that there was no other means of keeping the kingdom from blood and another war but by the army making sure of the king's person. All the rest of that night and the whole of the following day Joyce remained quiet in Holmby House, without intruding himself into the king's chamber. But the mansion was well watched and guarded both within and without; and there was not a soldier there but was an Independent or a worshipper of Cromwell. At ten o'clock of the night after his arrival the cornet demanded and obtained an audience. He told the king that dangerous plots were afoot, that his majesty must be placed in better keeping, that now matters were come to this—the Presbyterians must sink the Independents or the Independents the Presbyterians. After some conversation, in which Charles exacted from Joyce promises that his life should be safe in his hands, that his conscience should not be forced, and that some of his attendants should be allowed to accompany him, it was agreed that the removal should be made quietly on the following morning. At six o'clock in the morning the king appeared booted for the journey. He, however, seemed to hesitate; and he asked Joyce what commission he had to secure his person?—whether he had nothing in writing from Sir Thomas Fairfax, his general? The cornet desired the king not to ask him such questions, which, he conceived, he had sufficiently answered before. "I pray you, Mr. Joyce," said the king, "deal ingenuously with me, and tell me what commission you have?" "Here is my commission," said Joyce. "Where?" said the king. "*Here!*" replied the cornet. His majesty again asked, "Where?" "Behind me," replied Joyce, pointing to the mounted soldiers. His majesty smiled and said, "It is as fair a commission, and as well written as I have ever seen in my life! A company of handsome proper gentlemen!" After a few more words the king mounted, the trumpet sounded, and the whole party rode rapidly away from Holmby House. That night Charles slept at Hinchinbrook, and on the morrow they carried him to Childerley, near Newmarket.[1]

On the same day that Joyce had moved from Holmby House Cromwell had left London, having, it is said, intimation of a secret resolution that had been taken by the parliament to arrest him. He got secretly out of town, and without stop or stay rode to Triploe Heath, his horse all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the shouts of the soldiery.[2] Forthwith the army entered into a solemn engagement not to disband or divide until they had overthrown the present Presbyterian government. Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Hammond, and other officers of rank, waited upon the king. That their demeanour was respectful is certain; but nearly everything else that passed at this meeting, or these meetings, is involved in doubt.

On the 10th of June, while parliament was voting that no part of the army should come within forty miles of the capital, the whole of that army marched upon London, sending out manifestoes, collecting addresses of confidence from several counties, and demanding the speedy purgation of parliament. On the 15th of June, from their head-quarters at St. Alban's, the army formally accused Denzil Hollis, Massey, Stapleton, and eight other members of the commons. The house repeated its commands to the army not to advance. The army advanced immediately upon Uxbridge, and thereupon the "eleven members" went and hid themselves. The house then voted that the army was, in very deed, the army of England, and to be treated with all respect and care; and they sent propositions to the general, which induced him to remove his head-quarters from Uxbridge to Wycombe. This slight movement gave wondrous courage to the eleven accused members, who came forth from their hiding places to their seats in the house, accusing their accusers, and demanding a trial; but very soon they lost heart, and obtained leave of absence and the speaker's passport to go out of the kingdom.

Meanwhile the king had been removed from Newmarket to Royston, from Royston to Hatfield, the Earl of Salisbury's house; from Hatfield to Woburn Abbey, and thence to Windsor Castle. By means of his confidential attendants he opened or continued a very secret negotiation with Cromwell, Ireton, and other chief officers.

The Presbyterians were now making a last effort to regain the ascendency. The army and the Independent residents in the city had demanded that the command of the London militia should be put into other hands. The Presbyterians not only refused, but chose this very moment for getting up a petition, calling for the suppression of all conventicles. At the same time they exhibited for signature in Guildhall another paper, which, after reciting the Covenant, engaged the subscribers of all degrees to do their utmost to keep away the army, and bring the king to Westminster. One hundred thousand signatures were set to this paper; and a few days after a disorderly rabble surrounded the Houses of Parliament, and caused such terror there that both speakers and many members fled to the army for protection. Fairfax, who had advanced

[1] *True and Impartial Narration concerning the Army's Preservation of the King; Rushworth; Journals; Herbert.*

[2] *Perfect Politician.*

with the army to Hounslow Heath, there met the fugitive Independent members. Besides the two speakers, there were fifteen lords and 100 commoners. The general forthwith published a declaration, "showing the grounds of his present advance to the city of London." The Presbyterian Londoners, being able to do nothing better, sent to entreat for a pacification, and to offer their quiet submission to the general.

On the 16th of August Fairfax came to Westminster, with the speakers of both houses, and the rest of the expelled lords and commoners. The speakers, in the name of the whole parliament, gave thanks to the general, and as a gratuity, a month's pay was given to his army. On the next day Fairfax and Cromwell marched into the city, and settled the question of the militia. "Thus was the Presbyterian faction depressed. Never, perhaps, did a great party fall with less honour."[1]

While these things were in progress the council of officers had prepared their "Proposals," wherein they provided for the re-settlement of the kingdom upon principles of the largest liberty, both civil and religious, and of a glorious toleration which Europe had not yet seen even in theory. The great fault of this theory was, that it too much overlooked the passions, prejudices, and intellectual condition of the people. Ireton is generally considered to have been the principal author of this remarkable paper; but he acted concurrently with his father-in-law, Cromwell, who entertained the highest and justest notions about religious liberty, freedom of trade, and the other points which reflect the most honour upon this scheme.[2] In many respects, notwithstanding the republican tendencies of Ireton, this constitution would have left Charles more power and dignity as a king than the Presbyterian parliament had ever thought of giving him. But Charles, encouraged by Lord Lauderdale and by other Presbyterians, as well in Scotland as in England, would give no direct answer to the proposals when they were submitted to him. At times he entertained Ireton and the other commissioners of the army "with very tart and bitter discourses;" at other times he attempted to cajole them. Colonel Rainsborough, in the middle of the conferences, stole away in disgust, and, posting to the army, declared to officers and men that the king was again playing his double or treble game.[3] And in fact Charles at this very moment was negotiating not only with Lauderdale and the Scottish commissioners, with Cromwell and Ireton, and with other officers

General Ireton.—From a print by Houbraken.

who entertained very different views, but also with the English Presbyterians and with the Irish Catholics—to each and all of whom he was making promises and paying compliments. Nor could he control his own temper sufficiently to cloak his designs. One day he exclaimed to Ireton—"I shall play my game as well as I can!" Ireton instantly replied—"If your majesty have a game to play, you must give us also liberty to

[1] May, *Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England.*

The Presbyterians have been historically worried by other parties for the opposite faults of having broken the unity of the church, by multiplying schisms, and having endeavoured to preserve that unity by excessive strictness and intolerance. These charges neutralize each other; and the example of Scotland, where the fullest toleration co-exists with a singular unanimity in the essentials of doctrine and church polity, seems practically to refute both. The times were evidently such as to produce a strong feeling among sober men in favour of either diocesan or, as Presbyterianism may be called, parochial Episcopacy. The inordinate multiplication of sects so manifestly weakened the cause of the Reformation, that their divisions were believed to be exasperated by Jesuits in disguise. The state of England in this respect seemed full of warning to the Scotch, and is well described by a Covenanting historian of the present day:—

"It is readily admitted that many of the Independents were men of high respectability, both for learning and piety, whose labours in congregations and parish churches (in these cases they did not spurn an endowment) proved a very great blessing to England. But such men formed but one of the many sects which then prevailed. The country, in a short time, literally swarmed with motley groups, many of which published the grossest heresies, and by their fanaticism and excesses, proved a disgrace to religion. As the natural result of such a spirit, it had become common among them to deride a stated ministry as a system of pious fraud and priestcraft. And accordingly our modern Independents, while they frequently refer to England under Cromwell, as the theatre on which their system of ecclesiastical polity was tested with triumphant success, find themselves under the necessity of distinguishing betwixt 'Independents properly so called, and a crowd of anomalous fanatics —Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, Seekers and Antinomians, Levellers and Ranters—*all* monstrous, *all* prodigious things.' No wonder that the Presbyterians of Scotland regarded the progress of such a sectarianism with aversion and alarm."—*History of the Church of Scot. during the Commonwealth*, by Rev. James Beattie.

[2] One of the clauses was—"All monopolies, old or new, and the restraints to the freedom of trade, to be taken off."

[3] Sir John Berkeley, *Memoirs.*

play ours."[1] And now, according to Ashburnham, the king's constant attendant, Cromwell first began to talk of "the happy condition the people of this kingdom would be in if the government under which they in Holland lived were settled here;" and both Ireton and Cromwell were found "at a great distance to what formerly they appeared to be in relation to his majesty's good." Cromwell and Ireton, however, continued their negotiations with the king until they incurred the suspicions both of parliament and the army. "The suspicions," says Berkeley, one of the king's attendants, "were so strong in the house that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army that then lay about Putney were no less ill-satisfied; for there came down shoals every day from London of the Presbyterian and Levelling parties, that fomented these jealousies; insomuch that Cromwell thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters. The agitators now began to change their discourses. . . . . These found it apparent that God had, on the one side, hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more; and that, on the other side, the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and, therefore, they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was to alter the government according to their first design; and to this end they resolved to seize the king's person, and to take him out of Cromwell's hands."

Detested by the Presbyterians and Scots, duped or held in play by the king, and menaced by the violence of the ultra-republican party in the army, Cromwell, by the instinct of preservation, was obliged to look to his sword and to act with decision. If we are to believe a story told by two contemporaries, the hot-headed Levellers already looked upon him as their greatest enemy; and our old acquaintance, free-born John, now Colonel John Lilburne, with Wildman, another agitator, had formed a plot to assassinate him as a renegade to the cause of liberty. The republican Ireton agreed with his father-in-law that if republicans, like the Levellers, were not checked, there would be anarchy in England. Fairfax was of the same opinion, and he issued his order to draw the army together to a general rendezvous at Ware, on the 16th of November. As soon as the tumultuous part of the army had notice of it they resolved among themselves to seize the king's person before the day of the rendezvous, and bring him to condign punishment as the cause of the murder of many thousands of free-born Englishmen. Rumours of these intentions reached the king, who was now confined, without being very strictly guarded, at Hampton Court. About a fortnight before the time appointed for the great rendezvous at Ware, Charles told Berkeley that he was afraid of his life, and that he would have him assist in his escape. It appears that at one moment Charles thought of taking refuge in the city of London. But from this he was strongly dissuaded by some of his faithful servants. Other plans were proposed and rejected, chiefly through the caution or timidity of Lanark and the Scots commissioners. At last Charles took the advice of Ashburnham, and resolved to flee to Sir John Oglander's house in the Isle of Wight, as he had some hopes that Colonel Hammond, who had recently assumed the government of that island, would be disposed to serve him in this extremity.

On the 11th of November, late at night, news reached London that the king was fled from Hampton Court.

No consistent account is given of the manner in which the king escaped, of the night journey he made, or of the conferences with Colonel Hammond. Ashburnham and Berkeley, the king's two companions, relate nearly every part of the story in a different way, each endeavouring to throw the blame of imprudence, or the suspicion of foul treachery, on the other, and both agreeing in this—and in this only—that Colonel Hammond promised to act in one way when the king was not as yet in his hands, and acted in another as soon as he was. This latter charge is not to be believed without better evidence than has hitherto been produced to support it. It appears rather that Charles went into the Isle of Wight as he had gone to the Scots camp, and that the necessity under which he lay rendered treachery or any deceptive promises on the part of Hammond altogether unnecessary, and that Hammond never pledged himself to do more than to defend his majesty's life against assassins. Instead of being conducted to Sir John Oglander's house, the king was conveyed to Carisbrooke Castle.

On the 5th day after their arrival in the Isle of Wight, Charles and his friends learned the result of the rendezvous of the army at Ware, to which they had looked forward with extreme anxiety, apprehending nothing short of destruction from the triumph of the mutinous soldiery. Nor had Cromwell been free from uneasy thoughts: the Levellers had accused him of taking the king out of their hands and smuggling him away; and they had openly threatened to take the life of the renegade. But wise and resolute measures had been adopted; and at the decisive moment it was found that the Levelling faction was numerically weak. When this troop met at Ware, only

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, governor of Nottingham Castle, &c.

two regiments—Harrison's horse and Lilburne's foot—showed any mutinous spirit. Cromwell, followed by a few of his favourite officers, galloped into the ranks of these mutineers, seized one of their ringleaders by the throat, and caused him to be shot on the instant; and in that instant all opposition vanished. Charles sent Berkeley from the Isle of Wight with letters to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton. Fairfax received the royal messenger very sternly, and all the officers did the same, the general saying that they were the parliament's army, and that all motions of treaty must be referred to parliament, to whom he would transmit his majesty's letters. The next morning Berkeley contrived to let Cromwell know that he had secret letters to him from the king; but Cromwell sent him word that he durst not see him, that he would serve his majesty so long as he could do it without his own ruin, but must desire him not to expect that he should perish for the king's sake. Berkeley thereupon proceeded to London, and put himself in communication with the Lords Lauderdale and Lanark, and other Scots. Yet Charles addressed a letter to the speaker of the House of Lords, to be communicated also to the House of Commons. He reiterated his scruples of conscience concerning the abolition of Episcopacy, but said that he hoped he should satisfy the parliament with his reasons if he might personally treat with them. The parliament "resolved upon a middle way," and on the 14th of December they passed four propositions, drawn up in the form of acts, which, when the king had signed, he was to be admitted to a personal treaty at London. These propositions were—1. That his majesty should concur in a bill for settling of the militia. 2. That he should call in all declarations, oaths, and proclamations against the parliament, and those who had adhered to them. 3. That all the lords who were made after the great seal was carried away should be rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Peers. 4. That power should be given to the two Houses of Parliament to adjourn as they should think fit. The commissioners of Scotland, who had been acted upon by Lauderdale and Lanark and Berkeley, and who had received several communications from Charles himself, protested against the sending of these four bills to the king before he should be treated with at London. On the 24th of December the bills were presented to Charles at Carisbrooke Castle, where the king, understanding the mind of the Scots and the factions in London, absolutely refused to give his assent; and the commissioners, with this stern denial, returned to London. But, by this time, Charles had made up his mind to enter into a secret treaty with the Scots, in which he engaged to renounce Episcopacy and accept the Covenant, the Scots, on their part, engaging to restore him by force of arms; and on the 28th of December he privately signed this treaty.

Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight.—From Mudie's Hampshire.

A.D. 1648. And now Charles thought of fleeing from the Isle of Wight, being probably alike apprehensive of the consequences of his refusing the four propositions of parliament, and of those which must follow any detection of his treaty with the Scots or of his other plans—for other plans of various and conflicting kinds were certainly entertained. But Hammond had now sent Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legge out of the island, so that they could no longer be active in the business of contriving the king's escape from Carisbrooke, and the guards had been doubled at the castle. In fact, Charles was now, for the first time, a close prisoner. A French vessel had arrived in Southampton Water, but it was dismissed. Ashburnham and Berkeley, however, kept a relay of saddle-horses on the coast, hoping that Charles might get out of the castle; and such was the activity and ingenuity of these men, and of the king himself, that an active correspondence was still carried on between the royal captive and his friends in France, Scotland, and London. On one dark night Charles attempted to escape from the castle by forcing his body through the iron bars of his prison window. His head passed between the bars, but, contrary to his expectations, his body stuck fast, and it was only by a long and painful struggle that he succeeded in extricating himself, and getting back into his chamber without observation. On another occasion a drum

beat suddenly at dead of night in the quiet little island town of Newport; and one Captain Burley tried to get up an insurrection and rescue the king —"a design so impossible for those that undertook it to effect, they consisting chiefly of women and children, without any arms, saving one musket, that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it." Poor Burley was made prisoner, and subsequently put to death as a traitor. Silken cords wherewith to descend, and aqua-fortis wherewith to corrode the bars of his prison, are said to have been adroitly conveyed to the royal prisoner.[1] But the parliament were now working with more corrosive acids. On the 3d of January, 1648, the commons took into consideration the king's refusal of their four propositions. "The dispute," says May, "was sharp, vehement, and high. . . . It was there affirmed, that the king, by this denial, had denied his protection to the people of England; that it was very unjust and absurd that the parliament, having so often tried the king's affections, should now betray to an implacable enemy both themselves and all those friends who, in a most just cause, had valiantly adventured their lives and fortunes; that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the safety of themselves and their friends, and settle the commonwealth (since otherwise it could not be) without the king."[2] Ireton spoke with great force, declaring that the king had denied that protection to the people which was the condition of their obedience to him; that they ought not to desert the brave men who had fought for them beyond all possibility of retreat or forgiveness, and who would never forsake the parliament, unless the parliament first forsook them. "After some further debate, Cromwell brought up the rear. It was time, he said, to answer the public expectation; that they were able and resolved to govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and teach the people they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obstinacy." The end of all this was a vote, in which the lords concurred with the commons—that no further addresses or applications should be made to the king, or any message received from him without the consent of both houses, under the penalties of high treason.[3]

On the 9th of January there was sent up from head-quarters at Windsor "a declaration from his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the general council of the army, of their resolution to adhere to the parliament, in their proceedings concerning the king."[4] Both houses passed a vote of thanks to the army for this declaration.

The Scottish commissioners, whose secret treaty with the king was more than suspected, now ran down to Scotland to prepare for war. So long as these noble Scots remained in London and in good agreement with the English parliament, they had had a share in the executive power which was vested in a committee of both kingdoms. Now, this executive power was lodged solely in an English committee, called the "Committee for the Safety of the Commonwealth." It was composed of seven peers—the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, and Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton, and Roberts; and thirteen members of the House of Commons—Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Fiennes, Sir Henry Vane, senior, Harry Vane, junior, Sir William Armine, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Mr. St. John, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Brown, who all sat together at Derby House, and who had power to suppress tumults and insurrections and to raise forces as they saw occasion. Part of the army, which had certainly overawed the House of Lords and driven them into compliances, was now quartered about Westminster, the Mews, and the city. "The parliament," says May, "though victorious, was never in more danger. All men began, in the spring, to prophesy that the summer would be a hot one, in respect of wars, seeing how the countries were divided in factions, the Scots full of threats, the city of London as full of unquietness. And more sad things were feared where least seen; rumours every day frightening the people of secret plots and treasonable meetings."[5]

The first insurrectionary movement of any

[1] According to Herbert, while Charles was in Carisbrooke Castle he spent much of his time in reading. "The Sacred Scripture was the book he most delighted in: he read often in Bishop Andrewes' *Sermons*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Dr. Hammond's works, Villalpandus upon *Ezekiel*, Sands' *Paraphrase of King David's Psalms*, Herbert's *Divine Poems*, and also *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English heroic verse by Mr. Fairfax—a poem his majesty much commended—as he did also *Ariosto*, by Sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much esteemed, &c., and Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies."—*Memoirs.*

[2] *Breviary.*

[3] *Whitelock; May.*

[4] Ibid.

[5] "The Scotch army of forty thousand, 'to deliver the king from sectaries,' is not a fable, but a fact. Scotland is distracted by dim disastrous factions, very uncertain what it will do with the king when he *is* delivered; but, in the meanwhile, Hamilton has got a majority in the Scotch parliament; and drums are beating in that country; 'the army of forty thousand certainly coming,' hangs over England like a flaming comet, England itself being all very combustible too. In few weeks hence, discontented Wales—the Presbyterian colonels declaring now for royalism—will be in a blaze; large sections of England—all England very ready to follow—will shortly after be in a blaze.

"The small governing party in England, during those early months of 1648, are in a position which might fill the bravest mind with misgivings. Elements of destruction everywhere under and around them; their lot either to conquer or ignominiously to die. A king not to be bargained with; kept at Carisbrooke, the centre of all factious hopes, of world-wide intrigues; that is one element. A great royalist party subdued with difficulty, and ready at all moments to rise again; that is another.

consequence took place in London, upon Sunday, the 9th of April, when a mob of apprentices and other young people stoned a captain of the train-bands in Moorfields, took away his colours, and marched in disorderly rout to Westminster, crying out as they went, "King Charles! King Charles!" They were quickly scattered by a troop of horse that sallied out of the King's Mews; but, running back into the city, they filled it with fears and disorders all that Sabbath night, broke open houses to procure arms, and enforced the lord-mayor to escape privately out of his house and flee into the Tower. On the morrow morning Fairfax stopped this mischief in the beginning, but not without bloodshed. Shortly after, a body of about 300 men came out of Surrey to Westminster, demanding that the king should presently be restored. As they cursed the parliament and insulted the soldiers on guard there, a collision ensued, in which several lives were lost. At the same time the men of Kent drew together in great numbers, and, on the other side of the Thames, Essex became the scene of a great rising for the king. In various other parts of the kingdom there were tumultuary gatherings or attempts made by the royalists to surprise castles and magazines of arms. The Presbyterians, uniting with the concealed royalists, seemed again to acquire the ascendency in the House of Commons; and to Cromwell and the Independents the triumph of the Presbyterians would have been nothing less than destruction. On the 24th of April,[1] a Presbyterian majority voted that the military posts and defences of the city of London should be again intrusted to the common council; and four days after, they carried their motion that the government of the kingdom should continue to be by king, lords, and commons, and that a new treaty should be opened with King Charles, notwithstanding the recent vote of non-addresses. And, being as intolerant as ever—hating the Independents much more on account of their religious opinions than on that of their republicanism—they revived an ordinance which punished heresy and blasphemy with death.

The men of Kent, after threatening the parliament for some time at a distance, marched boldly upon London. Fairfax encountered them in the end of May on Blackheath, with seven regiments, and drove them back to Rochester. But Lord Goring, with several officers of the late army of the king, made head again, and got into Gravesend, while other bodies of the Kentish men took possession of Canterbury and tried to take Dover. Ireton and Rich soon gave an account of the latter, and Goring was soon fain to cross the Thames and raise his standard in Essex. He was followed by Fairfax, who drove him into Colchester, and shut him up in that place. Simultaneously with these movements the royalists had risen in Wales and had taken Pembroke Castle. But victorious Cromwell got again to horse, rode rapidly into Wales, defeated Langhorn and the royalists there, and retook Pembroke Castle. The whole of the north of England was in commotion, and every day a Scottish army was expected across the Borders. Upon the return of their commissioners, the Scottish parliament, after demanding from the English the establishment of Presbytery, the extirpation of heresy, the disbanding of Fairfax's heretical army, the immediate restoration of the king, and other things equally unlikely to be granted, voted that they would preserve the union and ends of the Covenant, and oppose the Popish, prelatical, and malignant party, as well as the sectaries, if they should be put to engage in a new war; that they would endeavour to rescue his majesty, and put the kingdom of Scotland into a posture of defence. And soon after they began to raise an army, not for the defence of Scotland, but for the invasion of England. Duke Hamilton and his party, who managed these matters, took care to proclaim that Charles would take the Covenant, and give his assurance by oath and under his hand and seal to uphold the true Presbyterian kirk; but the old Covenanters, now headed

A great Presbyterian party, at the head of which is London city, 'the purse-bearer of the cause,' highly dissatisfied at the course things had taken, and looking desperately round for new combinations and a new struggle; reckon that for a third element. Add, lastly, a headlong mutineer, republican, or levelling party; and consider that there is a working House of Commons, which counts about seventy, divided in pretty equal halves, too—the rest waiting what will come of it. Come of *it*, and of the Scotch army advancing towards it!

"Cromwell, it appears, deeply sensible of all this, does in these weeks make strenuous repeated attempts towards at least a union among the friends of the cause themselves, whose aim is one, whose peril is one. But to little effect. Ludlow, with visible satisfaction, reports how ill the lieutenant-general sped when he brought the army grandees and parliament grandees 'to a dinner' at his own house 'in King Street,' and urged a cordial agreement; they would not draw together at all. Parliament would not agree with army; hardly parliament with itself; as little, still less would parliament and city agree. . . . In fact, the city wishes well to Hamilton and his forty thousand Scots; the city has, for some time, needed regiments quartered in it, to keep down open royalist-Presbyterian insurrection. It was precisely on the morrow after this visit of Cromwell's that there rose, from some small cause, huge apprentice-riot in the city; discomfiture of train-bands, seizure of arms, seizure of city gates, Ludgate, Newgate, loud wide cry of 'God and King Charles'—riot, not to be appeased but by 'desperate charge of cavalry,' after it had lasted forty hours."—Carlyle's *Speeches and Letters*.

[1] On the preceding day, "at a conference the lords acquainted the commons that the Duke of York, with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Lady Elizabeth, being together playing in a room the last night after supper by themselves, the Duke of York privately slipped from them down the back stairs without cloak or coat, in his shoes and stockings, and by the way of the privy garden, having got a key of the door, he escaped away through the park, and could not be found."—*Whitelock*. Charles, who, as we have mentioned, contrived to maintain communications with St. James's, had ordered his second son to flee.

by Argyle, the declared enemy of Hamilton, were as far as possible from being satisfied with these assurances, and soon the whole Kirk of Scotland cursed the war as impious. The vote which Hamilton had carried in parliament was for 30,000 foot and 6000 horse; but he could only raise 10,000 foot and 400 horse, nor even these till the month of July, by which time Cromwell and Ireton and Fairfax had restored order in most parts of England. When the Scots crossed the Borders, they were disgusted and horrified at the thought of being joined by the English royalists under Langdale, because those soldiers were Prelatists or Papists, or men that had fought against the Covenant. The forces of the parliament in the north, being too weak to risk a battle, retreated before Langdale and Hamilton, but not far; for Cromwell, who had entirely finished his work in Wales, came up, joined Lambert and Lilburne, surprised Langdale near Preston, in Lancashire, drove him back upon the main body of the Scots, and then, on the same day, completely routed Hamilton, whom the conqueror pursued to Warrington. Lieutenant-general Baillie, with a great part of the Scotch army, who had only quarter for their lives, was taken prisoner. Duke Hamilton himself was captured within a few days at Uttoxeter, and Langdale not long after was taken in a little village near Widmerpool. Argyle, the friend and correspondent of Cromwell, now organized a new government,[1] invited the conqueror, who had pursued part of the routed army beyond the Tweed, to Edinburgh Castle, and there most honourably entertained him. Thanks were given by the ministers to Cromwell, whom they styled the preserver of Scotland under God.

On the 16th of October, having finished his business in Scotland, Cromwell left Edinburgh. During his absence in the north the royalists had not been idle in the south. The Earl of Holland, who had served and deserted every party, veered round once more to the court, irritated by the contempt in which the parliament held him, and animated perhaps by a hope that the Presbyterians, united with the Scots, must now prove victorious. He corresponded with Duke Hamilton, and engaged to make a rising in London on the same day on which Hamilton should cross the Border. And upon the 5th of July, whilst Fairfax was busy at Colchester, he collected 500 horse in the city, and called upon the citizens to join him for King Charles. This call was little heeded, for the citizens had suffered severely for their late apprentice-boy riot, and the earl marched away to Kingston-upon-Thames, whence he issued invitations to join him, and manifestoes of his intention of ending the calamities of the nation. Sir Michael Levesey and other gentlemen, "who took occasion by the forelock," fell suddenly upon him, and put him to flight after a short but sharp engagement, in which the Lord Francis Villiers, who, with his brother, the Duke of Buckingham, had joined Holland, was piteously slain. Holland fled with a small part of his horse to the town of St. Neots, but, being pursued by Colonel Scrope, he surrendered at discretion on the 10th of July. On the 27th of August Goring and the royalists, who had bravely defended themselves in Colchester for more than two months, surrendered at discretion to Fairfax.

While the Earl of Holland was going over to the king, his brother, the Earl of Warwick, remained steady to the parliament, and performed the most important of services. About the beginning of June several of the chief ships in the national fleet revolted, and sailed away to Holland, where Prince Charles then was, and with him his brother the Duke of York. The parliament at this crisis re-appointed the Earl of Warwick to be lord high-admiral. From the moment that he raised his flag mutiny and desertion ceased. He stationed himself at the mouth of the Thames to watch the Essex coast, to prevent supplies and reinforcements being sent to Colchester, and to defend the approach to London. In the month of July the Prince of Wales appeared in the Downs with a good fleet, consisting of the English ships which had deserted to him, and of some which he had procured abroad. Men would naturally have imagined that the son's first attempt would have been for the liberation of his father from Carisbrooke Castle; but, though young Charles remained absolute master of the sea and coasts for several weeks, Warwick being too weak to face him, no such attempt was ever made. Clarendon says plainly, that the person of the king was not wanted, or at least that "it cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither."

The utter failure of Duke Hamilton's expedition, and of all the royalist risings, the surrender of Colchester, and the temper of the people along the coasts, rendered the presence of the royalist fleet useless; but still if it had sailed to the Isle of Wight it might have saved the king. The hapless prisoner expressly urged this course by a message. Yet Prince Charles still lay about the Downs. To our minds these things suggest darker thoughts than arise out of any other transaction of the times. On the other side Warwick waited patiently till Sir George Ayscough, successfully sailing by Prince Charles in the night,

[1] Soon after, "Argyle took at Leith a ship with 10,000 arms, from Denmark, designed for Duke Hamilton."—*Whitelock.*

brought round reinforcements from Portsmouth. Then the parliament's fleet was a match for the royalists, but the prince ventured no attack, fired not a gun, and, through a real or pretended want of provisions, stood round and steered away for the Dutch coast, without an effort for—apparently without a thought of—his hapless father.

While Cromwell, who had with him several of the republican leaders in parliament, was engaged as yet with the war in Wales, the Presbyterians carried several important votes, and entirely annulled and made void the resolution against making more addresses to the king. Emboldened by their success, they proposed that, without binding him to anything, they should bring the king to London, and there treat with him personally with honour, freedom, and safety; and this would have been carried but for Cromwell's decisive victories, the ruin of Hamilton, and the other circumstances which revived the hopes and courage of the Independents. At last, as a sort of compromise between the two parties, it was voted that fifteen commissioners—the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, and Say, of the upper house, and the Lord Wenman, Sir Harry Vane, junior, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Hollis, Pierpoint, Brown, Crew, Potts, Glynne, and Buckley, of the commons—should conduct a treaty personally with Charles, not in London, but at Newport, in the

Free Grammar-school, Newport, Isle of Wight.[1]
From an original sketch.

Isle of Wight. The treaty was not fairly entered upon until the 18th of September, when Prince Charles had returned to Holland, and when Cromwell was thinking of returning from Scotland. "The king" says May, "during this treaty, found not only great reverence and observance from the commissioners of parliament, but was attended with a prince-like retinue, and was allowed what servants he should choose, to make up the splendour of a court. . . . . But whilst this treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in debates, concessions, and denials, behold, another strange alteration happened, which threw the king from the height of honour into the lowest condition. So strangely did one contrary provoke another. While some laboured to advance the king into his throne again upon slender conditions, or none at all, others, weighing what the king had done, what the commonwealth, and, especially, what the parliament's friends might suffer, if he should come to reign again with unchanged affections, desired to take him quite away. From hence divers and frequent petitions were presented to the parliament, and some to the General Fairfax, that whosoever had offended against the commonwealth, no persons excepted, might come to judgment."[2] The first of these petitions, entitled "The humble petition of many thousands of well-affected men in the cities of London and Westminster, in the borough of Southwark and the neighbouring villages," was presented to parliament on the 11th of September; it was followed by many others from different counties of England, and from several regiments of the army, the scope of them all being the same—that the king should be called to judgment; that the parliament should not ungratefully throw away so many miraculous deliverances, nor betray themselves and their faithful friends by deceitful treaties with an implacable enemy.

The articles submitted to the king at the Isle of Wight were substantially the same as those which had been proposed to him at Hampton Court. He objected to the articles regarding religion, and refused to assent to the abolition of Episcopacy, though ready to agree to a suspension of it. The Presbyterian commissioners knelt, and wept, and prayed, but all was in vain. Other points Charles yielded readily enough, but he promised, as he had ever done, with a mental reservation to break his promises as soon as he should be able. The fact is proved by his own secret letters. He had previously agreed in the most solemn manner to cease all connection with the Papists in Ireland, and yet, encouraged by some circumstances which had occurred in that island, he now wrote to Ormond, urging him again to take the field with an Irish Catholic army. All this time he was buoying himself up with hopes that his friends would relieve him. "Though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand," said he, "let them relieve me when they can, else I will hold it out till I make some stone in

[1] In the school-room of this building Charles I. met the commissioners appointed by parliament to treat with him in 1648. This school was founded in 1619, and endowed with twenty-nine acres of land by the Earl of Southampton, then governor of the island.

[2] May, *Brev. Hist. Parl.*

this building my tombstone. And so will I do by the Church of England."[1]

The Presbyterians in parliament added twenty days to the forty originally prescribed for the duration of the treaty. This brought them down to the 27th of November; but, in the interval, their schemes had been shaken to pieces by the Independents. The army had assembled together in the town of St. Alban's, and had drawn up a startling remonstrance to the House of Commons. This remonstrance was presented by a deputation from their own body, and seconded by a letter from Fairfax. "It induced a long and high debate; some inveighed sharply against the insolency of it, others palliated and excused the matters in it, and some did not stick to justify it, but most were silent because it came from the army."[2]

In fact, Cromwell was now at hand; and he, the most powerful of all, was determined, above all, to break alike the delusive treaty in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the Presbyterians. Perceiving that Hammond withstood his appeals, and inclined to keep the king for the parliament, he and Ireton procured his recall to head-quarters, and got Colonel Ewer appointed in his stead. Ewer, a zealous republican, hastened to the Isle of Wight; and there, on the 30th of November, he sent Colonel Cobbet with a squadron of horse to seize his majesty and send him over to the surer prison of Hurst Castle. Cobbet executed his commission without flinching and without any difficulty.

On the same day on which the king was removed from the Isle of Wight, the question whether the remonstrance of the army should be taken into speedy consideration was negatived by the Presbyterian majority. And on the same eventful day a "declaration" from a full council of the army was presented to the house, signifying to it that they were drawing up with the whole army to London, there to follow providence as God should clear their way. The Presbyterian majority mustered courage to fall with some dignity. They met on the morrow; they debated on the treaty with the king, and they sent to order Fairfax to stop the march of the army. They took their seats again on the following day, the 2d of December, but while they were in high debate, Fairfax and his army arrived at London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, York House, and other places near the Houses of Parliament. The two houses adjourned till the 4th of December. It was on that day that Cromwell arrived in London. The commons continued their debate upon the treaty with the king, and sat all that night. They met again on the 5th, and then voted by a majority of 140 to 104 that the king's concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.

Hurst Castle, Hampshire.[3]—From a drawing by P. Sandby.

But the mighty stream of revolution could not now be checked—the sword was all powerful—20,000 enthusiastic men had vowed in their hearts that they would purge this parliament, and on the morning of the 6th, the regiment of horse of Colonel Rich and the foot regiment of Colonel Pride surrounded the houses. Colonel Pride, from whose active part in it the operation has been called "Pride's Purge," posted himself in the lobby, and arrested forty-one leading Presbyterian members as they arrived, and sent them to safe prison. The purge was continued on the following day. Not a few of the obnoxious members fled into the country or hid themselves in the city; so that, by the 8th of December all that were left in the House of Commons were some fifty Independents, who were afterwards styled the "Rump." Cromwell went into the purged house, and received their hearty thanks for his great services.

[1] Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*. Warwick was allowed to attend upon the king at Newport.

[2] *Whitelock*.

[3] Hurst Castle lies near the extremity of a natural causeway, scarcely 200 yards in breadth, which stretches two miles into the sea, opposite the Isle of Wight, which it approaches to within a mile. It was erected by Henry VIII., to defend the passage between the coast of Hampshire and the Needles.

In a day or two the Rump were informed that the Irish Papists were again in insurrection, and that Ormond was acting openly with them for the king. On the 13th of December they voted the treaty in the Isle of Wight to have been a monstrous error, a dishonour, and a great peril to the country. On the 16th a strong party of horse, under the command of Colonel Harrison, were detached to Hurst Castle with orders to remove the king to Windsor Castle. It was at the dead of the night when Charles was startled by the creaking of the descending drawbridge and the tramp of horsemen,[1] and he thought that his last hour was come. When the commander of the detachment was named to him, his trepidation increased, and he wept as well as prayed. Upon being taken out of Hurst Castle he apprehended that the terrible Harrison would murder him somewhere on the road.[2] On the 22d of December he slept at Bagshot, and on the 23d he was safely lodged in Windsor Castle.[3]

A.D. 1649. On the same day the Independents, calling themselves the House of Commons, appointed a committee of thirty-eight "to consider of drawing up a charge against the king, and all other delinquents that may be thought fit to bring to condign punishment." A few voices were raised for the saving of life; but on the 1st of January an ordinance, prepared by a committee of thirty-eight, was reported to the fragment of the house. The preamble stated that Charles Stuart, having been admitted King of England, "with a limited power," and to govern by and according to law, had endeavoured "to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power," and that for accomplishing his designs he had "traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented."[4] This ordinance was sent up to the lords on the next day. Those few lords that remained in the house rejected it without a dissentient voice, and then adjourned.[5] Forthwith, the commons, with closed doors, came to this resolution—"That the commons of England, in parliament assembled, do declare that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power. And do also declare that the commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation. And do also declare, that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of a law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of king or House of Peers be not had thereunto."[6]

While these things were passing at Westminster, Charles, confident in the sacred dignity of majesty, was deluding himself with unaccountable hopes at Windsor.[7] But in the House of Commons the storm rolled onward with increasing rapidity. On the 6th of January the ordinance for trial of the king was brought in, and the same day engrossed and passed. By this ordinance the Independents erected what they styled a High Court of Justice for trying the king, and proceeding to sentence against him; to consist of 135 commissioners, of whom any twenty were to form a quorum. Among the commissioners were Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Waller, Skippon, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewer, Tomlinson—in all, three generals and thirty-four colonels of the army; the Lords Monson, Grey of Groby, and Lisle; most of the members of the Rump; Wilson, Fowkes, Pennington, and Andrewes, aldermen of the city; Bradshaw, Thorpe, and Nicholas, serjeants-at-law; twenty-two knights and baronets; various citizens of London, and some few country gentlemen. But of all this number, there never met at one time more than eighty. On the 8th of January, fifty-three assembled in the Painted Chamber, headed by Fairfax, who never appeared after that day, and ordered that, on the morrow, a herald should proclaim, and invite the people to bring in what matter of fact they had against Charles Stuart.[8] On the 9th the residue of the commons voted that the great seal in use should be broken, and a new one forthwith made, and that this new seal should have on one side the inscription, "The Great Seal of England;" and on the other, "In the First Year of Freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648."[9] The commissioners for the trial chose Serjeant Bradshaw to be their president, Mr. Steel to be attorney-general, Mr. Coke to be solicitor-general, and Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Aske to act as counsel with them in drawing up and managing the charges against the prisoner. All preliminaries

[1] Herbert, *Memoirs*.

[2] Clarendon says, "In this journey, Harrison observing that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it; he told him plainly that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension—that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention—and assured him that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness, and would never endure a thought of secret violence; which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe, nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people under any form whatsoever of a public trial."—*Hist.*

[3] *Herbert; Rushworth; Whitelock.*

[4] *Rushworth.*

[5] It appears that there were only twelve, or at the most thirteen lords present.

[6] *Rushworth.*

[7] *Sydney Papers.*

[8] *Whitelock.*

[9] It would be 1649, New Style. Whitelock says, "This was for the most part the fancy of Mr. Henry Martin, a noted member of the House of Commons, more particularly the inscriptions." The hypocritical speeches attributed to Cromwell on this occasion rest on very indifferent authority.

being arranged, Charles, on the 19th of January, was brought up from Windsor to St. James's, and on the following day he was put upon his trial.

The place appointed for the trial was the site of the old Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, at the upper end of Westminster Hall. That vast and antique hall was divided by strong barriers placed across it. The Gothic portal was opened to the people, who assembled in immense crowds. Everywhere, within the hall and around it, were soldiers under arms—every avenue of approach was guarded. The king was brought in a sedan-chair to the bar, where a chair, covered with velvet, was prepared for him. He looked sternly upon the court and upon the people in the galleries on each side of him, and sat down without moving his hat. His judges returned his severe glances, and also kept on their hats. Upon

Trial of Charles I. in Westminster Hall.[1]

a calling of the names, sixty of the commissioners answered. Bradshaw, as president, in a short speech acquainted the prisoner with the cause of his being brought thither. Then Coke, as solicitor for the commonwealth, stood up to speak; but Charles held up his cane, touched him two or three times on the shoulder with it, and cried "Hold! hold!" In so doing the gold head dropped from his cane. Nevertheless Bradshaw ordered Coke to go on, who then said, "My lord, I am come to charge Charles Stuart, King of England, in the name of all the commons of England, with treason and high misdemeanours: I desire the said charge may be read." Coke then delivered the charge in writing to the clerk, who began to read it. Charles again cried "Hold!" but, at the order of the president, the clerk went on, and the prisoner sat down, "looking sometimes on the high court,

[1] This drawing is adapted from the frontispiece to *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I.* By John Nalson, LL.D. Fol. London, 1684. From this work the following particulars are derived:—The space as set apart for the trial was from the south end of Westminster Hall, to the stone steps leading to the Court of Chancery, and the floor of this space was raised three feet above the floor of the hall. Benches for the commissioners or judges were erected at the south end of the hall, from the floor to within five or six feet of the window. There were free passages, kept by soldiers, down and across the hall, and officers walked along these to preserve order. Where the king sat was covered with a Turkey carpet, and the table at his side, covered also with a like carpet, was furnished with an inkstand. Bradshaw, Lisle, and Say, as lawyers, sat in their robes—the other commissioners in their usual dresses.

In the engraving the king is represented seated, and standing at his right hand are the counsel conducting the trial. Bradshaw, Lisle, and Say are in the centre, elevated three steps above their fellow-commissioners, Bradshaw having a table in front of him. The clerks of the court are at a table in the front of the commissioners. Cromwell's place at the trial is shown by a figure standing on the left of the escutcheon of arms under the great window. The banners on the walls are those taken from Charles's troops at the battles of Naseby, &c.

sometimes up to the galleries; and having risen again, and turned about to behold the guards and spectators, sat down again, looking very sternly, and with a countenance not at all moved, till these words—namely, 'Charles Stuart to be a tyrant, a traitor,' &c., were read; at which he laughed, as he sat, in the face of the court." When the long charge was finished, taxing the king with the whole of the civil war, with the death of thousands of the free people of the nation, with divisions within the land, invasions from foreign parts, the waste of the public treasury, the decay of trade, the spoliation and desolation of great parts of the country, the continued commissions to the prince and other rebels, to the Marquis of Ormond, the Irish Papists, &c., Bradshaw, the lord-president, told him that the court expected his answer. Charles replied with great dignity and clearness. He demanded by what lawful authority he was brought thither. "I was not long ago," said he "in the Isle of Wight; how I came there is a longer story than is fit at this time for me to speak of; but there I entered into a treaty with both Houses of Parliament with as much public faith as is possible to be had of any person in the world. I treated there with a number of honourable lords and gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly. I cannot say but they did very nobly with me. We were upon a conclusion of the treaty. Now. I would know by what authority, I mean lawful—for there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highway—but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place. Remember I am your lawful king. Let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here; resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me." Bradshaw told him that he might have observed he was there by the authority of the people of England, whose elected king he was. "England," cried Charles, "was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom for near these thousand years. I stand more for the liberty of my people than any here that come to be my pretended judges." "Sir," said Bradshaw, "how well you have managed your trust is known. If you acknowledge not the authority of the court they must proceed." "Here is a gentleman," said Charles, pointing to Colonel Cobbet, "ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I do not come here as submitting to this court. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a parliament; and the king, too, must be in and part of a parliament." "If it does not satisfy you," exclaimed Bradshaw, "*we* are satisfied with our authority, which we have from God and the people. The court expects you to answer; their purpose is to adjourn to Monday next." He then commanded the guard to take him away, upon which Charles replied, "Well, Sir." And as he went away facing the court, he added, pointing to the sword, "I do not fear that." Some of the people cried "God save the king!" others shouted "Justice! justice!"[1] He was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house,

Sir Robert Cotton's House.[2]—From a view by J. T. Smith.

and thence to St. James's; and the high court adjourned, and kept a fast together at Whitehall.

On Monday, the 22d of January, in the afternoon, Charles was led back to Westminster Hall. As soon as he was at the bar, Coke rose and said, "I did, at the last court, exhibit a charge of high treason and other crimes against the prisoner in the name of the people of England. Instead of answering, he did dispute the authority of this high court. I move, on behalf of the kingdom of

[1] On this day, Whitelock says, "There were strict guards, many soldiers, and a great press of people at the trial of the king. . . . Some who sat on the scaffold about the court at the trial (particularly the Lady Fairfax), did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the high court, and the inveterate usage of the king by his subjects, insomuch that the court was interrupted, and the soldiers and officers of the court had much to do to quiet the ladies and others."

[2] Cotton House, Westminster, near the west end of Westminster Hall. The town-house of Sir Robert Cotton (died 1631), the founder of the famous Cotton Library; of his son, and of his grandson. Sir Christopher Wren describes the house in his time as in a "very ruinous condition." Charles I. lay at Cotton House during his trial in Westminster Hall. After the trial he slept at Whitehall, and the night before the execution at St. James's.—Cunningham's *Hand-Book of London.*

England, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer by way of confession or negation; and that if he refuse so to do, the charge be taken *pro confesso*, and the court proceed to justice." Then Bradshaw told the prisoner that the court were fully satisfied with their own authority, and did now expect that he should plead guilty or not guilty. Charles repeated that he still questioned the legality of this court; that a king could not be tried by any jurisdiction upon earth; but that it was not for himself alone that he resisted, but for the liberty of the people of England, which was dearer to him than to his judges. He was going on in this strain, talking of the lives, liberties, and estates of his people, when Bradshaw interrupted him by telling him that he, as a prisoner, and charged as a high delinquent, could not be suffered any longer to enter into argument and dispute concerning that court's authority. Charles replied that, though he knew not the forms of law, he knew law and reason: that he knew as much law as any gentleman in England, and was therefore pleading for the liberties of the people more than his judges were doing. He again went on to deny the legality of the court, and Bradshaw again interrupted him; and this was repeated many times. At last the president ordered the serjeant-at-arms to remove the prisoner from the bar. "Well, sir," exclaimed Charles, "remember that the king is not suffered to give in his reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects." "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "how great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge." Charles, exclaiming "Well, sir," was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's house. The court then adjourned to the Painted Chamber, on Tuesday, at twelve o'clock.

At the appointed time, sixty-three commissioners met in close conference in the Painted Chamber, and there resolved that Bradshaw should acquaint the king that if he continued contumacious he must expect no further time. This done, the court adjourned to Westminster Hall, and the king was brought in with the accustomed guard. Coke again craved judgment, censuring the prisoner for disputing the authority of the court, and the *supreme* authority and jurisdiction of the House of Commons. Bradshaw followed in the same strain, saying, in conclusion, "Sir, you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons." Charles, after a short pause, said, "When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England: I was interrupted. I desire to know whether I may speak freely or not?" Bradshaw replied, that when he had once pleaded he should be heard at large; and he invited him to make the best defence he could against the charge. "For the charge," cried Charles, "I value it not a rush; it is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for. I am your king, bound to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws; therefore, until I know that all this is not against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I can put in no particular answer. If you will give me time, I will show you my reasons why I cannot do it, and"—here the president interrupted him; but Charles, as soon as his voice ceased, continued his reasoning; and after several interruptions of this kind, Bradshaw said, "Clerk, do your duty;" and the clerk read:—"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused, in behalf of the commons of England, of divers crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you; the court now requires you to give your positive and final answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge." Charles once more urged that he could not acknowledge a new court, or alter the fundamental laws. Bradshaw replied, "Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned this court, and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserved the liberties of the people your actions have shown. Truly, sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions; you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout this kingdom. But, sir, you understand the pleasure of the court. Clerk, record the default. And, gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again." "Sir," rejoined Charles, "I will say yet one word to you. If it were my own particular, I would not say any more to interrupt you." "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "you have heard the pleasure of the court, and you are, notwithstanding you will not understand it, to find that you are before a court of justice." And then the king went forth with his guards to Sir Robert Cotton's house, where he lay.

As early as the 17th of January, the Rump had been advertised, by private letters from Scotland, that the parliament there, *nemine contradicente*, did dissent from the proceedings of the parliament of England:—1. In the toleration extended to sectaries. 2. In the trial of the king. 3. In alteration of the form of government. And upon this day, Tuesday the 23d, the Scottish commissioners, the Earl of Lothian and Sir John Cheseley, who were in London for the purpose of treating with Charles and the parliament, sent to the speaker of the Rump their solemn protest against all proceedings for bringing the king to trial.[1]

On the 24th and 25th of January, the fourth and fifth days of the trial, the court sat in the Painted Chamber hearing witnesses, having de-

[1] *Whitelock; Rushworth.*

termined that, though the king refused to plead, they would proceed to the examination of witnesses *ex abundanti*—in other words, only for the further satisfaction of themselves. On the sixth day, the commissioners were engaged in preparing the sentence, having then determined that the king's condemnation should extend to death. A question was agitated as to his deprivation and deposition previously to his execution, but it was postponed; and the sentence, with a blank for the manner of death, was drawn up by Ireton, Harrison, Harry Martin, Say, Lisle, and Love, and ordered to be engrossed.

On the morrow, the 27th of January, and the seventh day of this unlawful but memorable trial, the high court of justice sat for the last time in Westminster Hall; and the Lord-president Bradshaw, who had hitherto worn plain black, was robed in scarlet, and most of the commissioners were "in their best habit." After the calling of the court, the king came in, as was his wont, with his hat on; and as he passed up the hall a loud cry was heard of "Justice!—justice! Execution!—execution!" "This," says Whitelock, "was made by some soldiers, and others of the rabble." One of the soldiers upon guard, moved by a better feeling, said, "God bless you, sir!" Charles thanked him; but his officer struck the poor man with his cane. "Methinks," said Charles, "the punishment exceeds the offence." Bradshaw's scarlet robe, and the solemn aspect of the whole court, convinced the king that this would be his last appearance on that stage. The natural love of life seems to have shaken his firmness and constancy, and as soon as he was at the bar he earnestly desired to be heard. Bradshaw told him that he should be heard in his turn, but that he must hear the court first. Charles returned still more eagerly to his prayer for a first hearing, urging repeatedly that hasty judgment was not so soon recalled. Bradshaw repeated that he should be heard before judgment was given; and then remarked how he had refused to make answer to the charge brought against him in the name of the people of England. Here a female voice cried aloud, "No, not half the people." The voice was supposed to proceed from Lady Fairfax, the Presbyterian wife of the lord-general, who still kept aloof, doing nothing; but it was soon silenced; and the president continued his speech, which ended in assuring the king that, if he had anything to say in defence of himself concerning the matter charged, the court would hear him. Charles then said, "I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that I call more dear to me than my life, which is my conscience and honour; and if I had a respect to my life more than to the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence; for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I perceive will pass upon me. . . . . I conceive that a hasty sentence, once passed, may sooner be repented of than recalled; and truly the desire I have for the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at least desire, before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber *before the lords and commons*.[1] I am sure what I have to say is well worth the hearing." Bradshaw told him that all this was but a further declining of the jurisdiction of the court, and sternly refused his prayer for a hearing in the Painted Chamber, which is generally, though perhaps very incorrectly, supposed to have related to a proposal for abdicating in favour of his eldest son. But one of the commissioners on the bench, John Downes, a citizen of London, after saying repeatedly to those who sat near him, "Have we hearts of stone? Are we men?" rose and said in a trembling voice, "My lord, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence. I have reasons to offer against it. I desire the court may adjourn to hear me." And the court adjourned in some disorder. After half an hour's absence they all returned to their places, and that, too, with a unanimous resolution to send the king to the block. Bradshaw cried out, "Serjeant-at-arms, send for your prisoner;" and Charles, who had passed the time in solemn conference with Bishop Juxon, returned to his seat at the bar. "Sir," said Bradshaw, addressing him, "you were pleased to make a motion for the propounding of somewhat to the lords and commons for the peace of this kingdom. Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the court adjourned. Sir, the return I have to you from the court is this: that they have been too much delayed by you already." After some more discourse to the same effect, Bradshaw was silent; and then the king, saying that he did not deny the power they had, that he knew they had quite power enough, again implored to be heard by the lords and commons in the Painted Chamber. Bradshaw again refused in the name of the whole court, and proceeded to deliver a long and bitter speech in justification of their sentence. He told the fallen king that the law was his superior, and that he ought to have ruled according to the law; that, as the law was *his* superior, so there was something that was superior to the law, and that was the people of England, the parent or author of the law.

[1] The Painted Chamber was an apartment in the old royal palace at Westminster, used as a place of meeting for the lords and commons when they held a conference. See an engraving and more particular notice of it, vol. ii. p. 588.

"Sir," he continued, "that which we are now upon, by the command of the highest court, is to try and judge you for your great offences. The charge hath called you tyrant, traitor, murderer. (Here the king uttered a startling 'Hah!') Sir, it had been well if any of these terms might justly have been spared." Bradshaw concluded his long speech by protesting that in these proceedings all of them had God before their eyes, and by recommending the repentance of King David as an example proper for the king to imitate. Charles then said hurriedly, "I would desire only one word before you give sentence —only one word." Bradshaw told him that his time was now past. Again the king pressed that they would hear him a word—at most a very few words. Bradshaw again told him that he had not owned their jurisdiction as a court; that he *looked upon them as a sort of people met together;* that they all knew *what language they received from his party.* The king said that he knew nothing of that, and once more begged to be heard; and Bradshaw once more told him that they had given him too much liberty already, and that he ought to repent of his wickedness, and submit to his sentence; and then, raising his sonorous voice, he said, "What sentence the law affirms to a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a public enemy to the country, that sentence you are now to hear. Make silence! Clerk, read the sentence!" Then the clerk read the sentence, which was—"For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body." Charles raised his eyes to heaven, and said, "Will you hear me a word, sir?" "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "you are not to be heard after sentence." Charles, greatly agitated, said inquiringly, "No, sir?" "No, sir, by your favour," rejoined the inflexible president. "Guards, withdraw your prisoner." Still struggling to be heard, Charles said, confusedly, "I may speak after the sentence by your favour, sir? I may speak after sentence, *ever.* By your favour"——. "Hold!" cried Bradshaw. "The sentence, sir," stammered Charles; "I say, sir, I do"——. Again Bradshaw stopped him with his determined "Hold!" And then the king, muttering, "I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have," gave up his hopeless efforts, and turned away with his guard; and as he went through the hall there was another cry for justice and execution.

On the evening of the day on which he received his sentence, Charles entreated the commissioners, through the medium, it appears, of Hugh Peters, the republican preacher, to allow him the company of Bishop Juxon; and this was readily granted, as was also the society of the only children he had in England—the Princess Elizabeth, then in her thirteenth, and the Duke of Gloucester, in his ninth year. On Monday, the 29th of January, the house sat early. They passed an act for altering the style and form of all writs, grants, patents, &c., which henceforth, instead of bearing the style and title and head of the king, were to bear "*Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate parliamenti*," &c. The date was to be the year of our Lord, and no other. The high court of justice sat, and appointed the time and place of execution. The king's children came from Sion House to take their last farewell of their father. He took the princess up in his arms and kissed her, and gave her two seals with diamonds, and prayed for the blessing of God upon her, and the rest of his children—and there was a great weeping.[1] Charles had ever been an indulgent and tender parent. The last night of all was spent by the king in the palace of St. James's, where he slept soundly for more than four hours. Awaking about two hours before the dismal daybreak of the 30th of January, he dressed himself with unusual care, and put on an extra shirt because the season was so sharp. He said, "Death is not terrible to me; and, bless my God, I am prepared." He then called in Bishop Juxon,

Front of the Banqueting House, Whitehall.—After Hollar.

[1] *Whitelock.*

who remained with him an hour in private prayer. About ten o'clock, Colonel Hacker, who was commissioned to conduct him to the scaffold, tapped softly at the chamber-door, to say they were ready. They went together from St James's through the park towards Whitehall, in the front of which the scaffold had been erected. Charles walked erect and very fast, having on the right hand Bishop Juxon, and on the left Colonel Tomlinson, and being followed by a guard of halberdiers, and by some of his own gentlemen and servants, who walked bareheaded. There was no shouting, no gesticulating, no turmoil of any kind: the troops, men and officers, the spectators of all ranks, were silent as the grave, save now and then when a prayer or a blessing escaped from some of them. At the end of the park Charles entered Whitehall, and, passing through the long gallery, went into his own old cabinet chamber. There he was delayed, for the scaffold was not quite ready: he passed the time in prayer with the bishop. At last all was in readiness; and he was led out to the scaffold, which was hung round with black. Vast multitudes of people had come to be spectators: they were all silent, respectful, or awe-stricken; and so were the soldiers. Perceiving that the people could not approach near enough to hear him, he addressed a speech to the gentlemen upon the scaffold. He called God to witness that it was not he but the parliament who had begun the war; he deplored having assented to the death of Strafford, saying that he was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself; he declared that he pardoned his enemies, and died a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as he found it left by his father. Turning to Bishop Juxon he said, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." He took off his cloak, gave his *George*[1] to Juxon, with the single word, "Remember!" then laid his head across the block, and stretched out his hands as a signal. The masked executioner let fall the axe, which severed the neck at one blow; and another man wearing a mask took up the head and shouted, "This is the head of a traitor!" The bloody deed was accompanied by a "dismal, universal groan."[2]

[1] The George, or badge of the order of the Knights of the Garter, worn by Charles I. at his execution, and given by him to Bishop Juxon, is thus described by Ashmole:—"The George which his late majesty wore at the time of his martyrdom, was curiously set in an onyx, set about with twenty-one large table diamonds in the fashion of a garter; on the back side of the George was the picture of his queen, rarely well limned, set in a case of gold, the lid neatly enamelled with goldsmith's work, and surrounded with another garter, adorned with a like number of equal sized diamonds as was the fore side." In the engraving, *a* represents the upper side of the George, *b* the under side, and *c* the upper side raised, displaying a portrait of Henrietta Maria.

[2] *Whitelock; Herbert; Warwick; Nalson.*

THE GEORGE worn by Charles I. on the day he was beheaded.
From Hollar's etching.

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1649—1660.

THE COMMONWEALTH.—A.D. 1649—1660.

Proceedings of the Independents against the royalists after the king's execution—The "Executive Council of State" appointed—Attacks on the new government—Prince Charles proclaimed king in Scotland and Ireland—Cromwell makes a hostile landing in Ireland—His victories there—He returns to London—Montrose lands in Scotland—He is defeated, captured, and executed—Arrival of Charles II. in Scotland—Cromwell defeats the Scots at Dunbar—Charles II. marches into England—He is defeated by Cromwell at Worcester—He escapes to France—England, Scotland, and Ireland incorporated into a Commonwealth—War with Holland—Naval victories of Blake—The Rump parliament becomes unpopular—Mutual jealousies between it and the army—Cromwell suggests the necessity of a royal rule—He purposes to dissolve the parliament—His summary ejection of the members—Barbone's parliament—Its proceedings—Its speedy dissolution—Cromwell appointed lord-protector of the Commonwealth—Formation of his new government—Signal naval victory over the Dutch in the Downs—Cromwell's strict and impartial justice—He summons a new parliament—His address to the members—They become obstinate—Cromwell dissolves parliament—Plots of Levellers and royalists—Naval successes—A third parliament called—Proposal to make Cromwell king—Discontent and danger produced by it—Cromwell rejects the proposal—Honours bestowed on him by the parliament—His court, and mode of life—Death of Admiral Blake—Meeting of parliament—Members for its upper house—Impracticability of establishing an upper house—Cromwell dissolves the parliament—Plots against his life—His last illness—His death—His son Richard proclaimed protector—Richard's difficulties—Hostility of parliament towards him—He abdicates—Monk's plots for the restoration of royalty—His caution and duplicity—His professions of devotedness to the Commonwealth—His march into England—His proceedings and intrigues in London—His preparations for the recall of Charles II.—The new king proclaimed, and the Commonwealth terminated.

ON the day of the king's execution, the Independents prohibited, under pain of high treason, the proclamation of the Prince of Wales, or any other, to be king or chief magistrate. On the same mournful day Duke Hamilton escaped with the Lord Loughborough out of Windsor Castle. The house or Rump immediately debated how to bring some of the chief royalists to a speedy trial, and ordered that the vacillating and unprincipled Earl of Holland should be removed to London. Duke Hamilton was retaken the day after his flight. On the 1st of February it was voted that Hamilton and Holland, with Goring, Lord Capel, and Colonel Owen, should be "the next persons to

The Great Seal of the Commonwealth.[1]—From a fine cast in the British Museum.

be proceeded against for justice." Capel escaped out of the Tower, but was apprehended two days after.

On the 5th of February the commons debated till six o'clock at night whether the House of Lords should be continued a court of judicature or a court consultatory only. On the 6th the debate was renewed; and it ended that night in

[1] This seal is 5¾ inches in diameter; the obverse gives an interesting representation of the House of Commons at the period.

the vote, "that the House of Peers in parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." Other votes were rapidly passed for demolishing the statues of kings, and for converting England into a republic.

For some time past the real executive had resided in the committee of government at Derby House; and this, with some very immaterial changes, was now converted into the "Executive Council of State." The president of this council was Bradshaw, the king's judge; and its secretary for foreign correspondence was Bradshaw's friend and relative, the immortal Milton, who employed his learning and genius in defending the judgment and execution of Charles. Although they had pronounced the doom of the upper house, the Independents admitted five earls and three lords into this council, which also included Cromwell, Fairfax, Skippon, Sir Harry Vane, General Ludlow, St. John, Harry Martin, Whitelock, and four other commoners.

Oliver Cromwell.—After Sir P. Lely.

The army remained under the command of the men who had created it, and made it the best army then in the world; and Fairfax, though he had abstained from committing himself upon the king's trial, continued to be commander - in - chief. But in the navy an important change was made immediately; the Earl of Warwick was removed, and Blake was appointed, with Dean and Popham, to command the fleet.

The trial of Duke Hamilton, the Lord Capel, Goring, and Sir John Owen, was probably hastened by the hostile demonstrations made in Scotland. Goring pleaded not guilty, and was dismissed for the present, "behaving himself with *great respect* to the court." On the 6th of March, that court pronounced judgment against the rest. Owen was respited and ultimately spared. Duke Hamilton, the Lords Holland and Capel, were beheaded in Palace-yard on the 9th of March.

The first attack that was made upon the new government proceeded from a part of that army which had raised them to their pre-eminence. "Free-born John," who thought that the revolution had not gone half far enough, put forth a vehement pamphlet, entitled *England's New Change*. Mutinies broke out at Salisbury and Banbury; but they were presently crushed by Fairfax and Cromwell: Lilburne was shut up in the Tower, and some few leaders of a set of madmen, who were sighing after something very like the republic of the illustrious Trinculo, were committed to meaner prisons. But the Rump took some of the worst pages out of the book of despotism, entirely losing sight, in several cases, of the principles of liberty they professed. They made it treason to deny the supremacy of parliament; words spoken were made capital; and simple sedition was converted into high treason. The press was put into its shackles, and extreme penalties were declared against such as printed or published anything against the new Commonwealth, the council of state, &c.

In the meantime the late king's eldest son had been proclaimed, as Charles II., both in Scotland and in Ireland. On the 15th of August, Cromwell, with his son-in-law Ireton, landed near Dublin, to suppress the formidable insurrection, and, if possible, to give peace to a country which had never been quiet. His army did not exceed 6000 foot and 3000 horse; but it was an army of Ironsides. When these men landed hardly anything was left to the Protestants except Dublin and Derry; but now town after town was re-captured with the utmost rapidity. Drogheda was stormed on the 11th of September, Cromwell himself fighting in the breach. Wexford was taken in the same manner; Cork, Kinsale, and numerous other places, opened their gates. Before the month of May of the following year the Irish Papists and royalists were completely subdued by Cromwell and his brave and able son-in-law. Leaving Ireton to organize the country, Cromwell took his departure for London, where his presence was eagerly looked for. He was received with respect by the people and with enthusiasm by the army. He was conducted to the house called the Cock-pit, near St. James's, which had been appointed and prepared for him. Here he was visited by the lord-mayor of Lon-

don and by many other persons of quality, who all expressed their own and the nation's great obligations to him. The speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks of the house.

In the spring of this year (1650) Montrose, the precursor of Prince Charles or King Charles II., crossed from the Continent over to the Orkneys, with a few hundred foreign soldiers. In a short time he disembarked on the shores of Caithness, with the design of penetrating into the Highlands, and calling his former followers to his standard. But Montrose was a royalist such as the Presbyterian royalists could not tolerate; the committee of estates were well prepared, and Strachan, their general, surprised and thoroughly defeated the Marquis just as he had advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron. Montrose fled from this his last fight, leaving his cloak and star, his sword, and the garter with which he had been lately invested, behind him. An old friend with whom he sought refuge basely betrayed him to the Covenanters, who bound him with ropes, carried him to Edinburgh, and there, in virtue of a former attainder, hanged him on a gallows thirty feet high. Such was the wretched end of Montrose, in the 38th year of his age, in the middle of the month of May.

Charles II. landed in the Frith of Cromarty about a month after Montrose was hanged, being constrained to swallow the Covenant as best he could ere he was allowed to set foot on shore, and was joined by the Presbyterian Covenanting army. But he was allowed small time to recruit that army or to do anything else. By the 29th of June Cromwell had left London and was on his march to the Borders, having, three days before, been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth. On the 22d of July, having concentrated his troops on the Borders, he crossed them and marched into Scotland. The whole country between Berwick and Edinburgh had been swept as with a broom; nothing was left that could yield any comfort or succour to the invaders. He advanced to Dunbar, where he received provisions from English ships. He then proceeded to Haddington, and from Haddington to Edinburgh. He saw no troops on his way, and none would come out from Edinburgh to meet him. Want of provisions, and a sickness which had broken out in his army, compelled him to retreat for Dunbar. The Scots then sallied from their capital, and some of them did not a little mischief to Cromwell's rear. He, however, reached Dunbar, and having shipped his heavy baggage and his sick men, he designed to return into England. But David Leslie and the army of the kirk had gotten between Dunbar and Berwick, and possessed themselves of all the hills and passes. He had only 12,000 men, while Leslie had 27,000. It was Sunday, the 31st of August, when Cromwell drew up on the fields and braes near Dunbar, to gaze at the still increasing numbers and the formidable positions of Leslie's host. Nothing was done that day, but, on the Monday morning, the Scots, urged on it is said by their impatient preachers, who proved by Scripture that their victory was certain, drew down part of their army and their train of artillery towards the foot of the hills; and then Cromwell, who had ever as much Scripture at command as any Presbyterian preacher of them all, exclaimed joyously, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." At an opportune moment a thick mist was dispersed by the rising sun. Cromwell shouted to his Ironsides, "Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!" And before the sun was much higher the army of the kirk was scattered, with the tremendous loss of 4000 slain and 10,000 prisoners. The conqueror ordered the 107th Psalm to be sung on the field, and then marched again to Edinburgh, which threw wide its gates at his approach. Glasgow followed the example; and the whole of the south of Scotland quietly submitted. The young king fled towards the Highlands, with the intention of quitting Scotland, or at least the Covenanters, for ever; but the chiefs of that party made him stay, and prepared to crown him at Scone.[1]

A.D. 1651. But while Cromwell was besieging Edinburgh Castle, disputing upon points of theology with the Presbyterian preachers, and suffering from a fit of the ague, Charles collected another army, and took up a

[1] The political principles of the Scotch Presbyterians at this time may be learned from Dr. Douglas's sermon at the coronation of Charles II., at Scone, on the 1st of January, 1651:—"It is clear from this Covenant that a king hath not absolute power to do what he pleaseth; he is tied to the conditions by virtue of a covenant. It is clear from this Covenant that a people are bound to obey a king in the Lord; that the king's power is not absolute, as flattering courtiers apprehend; it is subject to a threefold limitation:—1. In respect of subordination. There is a power above him, even God's power, whom he is bound to obey, and to whom he must give an account of his administration. Kings not only have their crowns from God, but must reign according to his will. He is called *the minister of God*, he is God's servant. 2. In regard of laws; a king is sworn at his coronation to rule according to the standing received laws of the kingdom. . . . . 3. In regard of government; the total government is not upon the king. He hath counsellors, a parliament, or estates in the land, who share in the burthen of government. No king should have the sole government; it was never the mind of those who received a king to rule them, to lay all government upon him to do what he pleaseth without control." On the delicate point of a king abusing his power, he says:—"A king abusing his power, to the overthrow of religion, laws, and liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this contract and covenant, may be controulled and opposed; and if he set himself to overthrow all by arms, then they who have power as the estates of the land, may and ought to resist by arms, because he doth, by that opposition, break the very bonds, and overthrow all the essentials of this contract and covenant." He then inculcates the duties of the subject with equal faithfulness.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION.

The Marquis of Montrose was in exile in the Low Countries when the news reached him that Charles I. had been beheaded. Whereupon he "swore before God, angels, and men," to avenge the death of the martyr. In fulfilment of this oath he landed at Caithness in the spring of 1650 to strike one more blow for the Stuart cause. As he had only a small army, which received little support from the clans, the campaign was short, ending at Invercharron in disastrous defeat. Upon which the Marquis fled into the wilds of Sutherland, but was shamefully betrayed by MacLeod of Assynt, after being nearly starved to death. Bound with ropes and treated with every mark of disrespect, the great General was led to Edinburgh. After brief trial he was conveyed to the Grassmarket dressed as a gay bridegroom, and there hanged from a gallows 40 feet high.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION

FROM THE FRESCO BY E M WARD R.A. IN THE [illegible] HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

strong position near Stirling. In vain Lambert attempted to bring him to action; the Scots remembered the lesson that had been taught them at Dunbar. Cromwell then crossed the Forth, and sat down before Perth, "thereby to stop the Highlanders from sending any supplies to the king." Hopeless of maintaining their ground in Scotland, Charles and his counsellors imagined that by a march into England they would greatly recruit their army among the royalists of the English border, and renew the war under more favourable circumstances than ever. But the resolution, as events showed, was adopted too late. With the Scottish army, amounting to about 9000 foot and 4000 horse, Charles commenced his desperate undertaking, and by rapid marches passed through Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, and crossed into England. In the meantime, Cromwell, on finding that his enemies had given him the slip, proceeded to act with his wonted decision and promptitude. He wrote to the parliament announcing the coming invasion, but bidding them be of good comfort, as he would be quickly on its track. He detached Lambert with 800 horse to follow in the rear of the Scots, and ordered General Harrison and Colonel Rich with 3000 horse to hover upon and harass them in flank. Then, leaving Monk with a strong force to complete the reduction of Scotland, he followed the flying enemy, whom he overtook when they had effected a lodgment in the town of Worcester. Few or none of the English had joined them; they were divided by dissensions among themselves; and in this evil plight, they were to encounter a greatly superior army, flushed with success, and led by the victorious Cromwell, who was now joined by the forces he had detached in pursuit. On the 3d of September, the anniversary of the fight of Dunbar, Cromwell obtained the victory at Worcester, which he was wont to term his "crowning mercy." The fight itself, although at such disadvantages, and all but decided from the commencement, was maintained by the Scots with their wonted hardihood. Having failed, in several desperate sallies, to secure the principal approaches to Worcester, they marched out by the Sudbury gate, and fell upon the English, who were drawn up at Percywood, within a mile of Worcester, where they were preparing to storm the town. The battle lasted more than three hours: but the Scots were outnumbered at every point, and driven back upon the town, where they still continued the conflict from street to street, until they were cut down or dispersed. In the earlier part of the engagement, the Duke of Hamilton and Sir John Douglas were mortally wounded. Nearly 3000 of the Scots were killed, and about twice that number taken prisoners. Cromwell's loss was small, and set down by himself as scarcely 200, but other accounts swelled it up to nearly 1000, which is perhaps nigher the truth, considering the length and obstinacy of the resistance. "Indeed, this hath been a glorious mercy," thus he announced it to the parliament, "and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as I have ever seen. . . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." He might well call it so, as it utterly extinguished the hopes of his enemies, and terminated the war.

Worcester.—From a view by W. Westall.

As for the conduct of Charles during this battle, in which his last army was destroyed, the accounts are so contradictory, that the truth cannot easily be ascertained. According to some, he was in bed and asleep during the greater part of the engagement; and when he awoke, his only thought was to escape to Scotland with the cavalry, and leave the foot to perish in his defence. By others, he is described as discharging all the duties of a skilful leader and brave soldier, and only retreating when resistance was useless. After he had left Worcester about half a mile behind him, he threw off his armour, and, accompanied by about sixty followers, all mounted and of noble rank, he rode on to Kinvearn Heath, near Kidderminster, when, as it was now dark, they were eager to find a place of

shelter and concealment. This the Earl of Derby, one of the fugitives, assured them could be found at Boscobel House,[1] between Tong Castle and Brewood, a mansion belonging to Papists, and abounding in hiding-places where he had himself

Boscobel House.—From a view by J. Walker.

been harboured in his flight from Wigan to Worcester. In their route, they passed through the town of Stourbridge, conversing in French, that they might be mistaken for foreigners; but after a ride of twenty-six miles north from Worcester, they thought it more prudent to halt for the night at a house called White-Ladies, once a convent of Cistercian nuns, within half a mile of Boscobel. Here, Lord Derby sent for William Penderill, the servant in charge of Boscobel House, who came, accompanied by his brother, Richard Penderill, and to their tried fidelity as guides the king was committed, while the company endeavoured to protect his flight from the parliamentary troopers, who were soon upon his track, in which resistance several of the king's escort were slain, and others taken prisoners. In the meantime, Charles, accompanied by Lord Wilmot and the Penderills, had removed himself from immediate danger.

The romantic escape of the king, his wanderings from place to place, the disguises he assumed and the shifts he adopted, with the thousand-and-one chances of detection and apprehension which he daily and hourly underwent, form altogether one of the most interesting episodes of English history, and are only to be paralleled by the adventures of the last representative of the Stuart dynasty, Charles-Edward, the Young Chevalier. His first places of concealment were in the woods near Boscobel, and afterwards in the mansion itself, until he was obliged to adopt a wider circuit. On one occasion, the night was so dark that he could not see his guide, and was obliged to direct his course by the rustling of the calf-skin breeches which the peasant fortunately wore. He spent a whole day in an oak, accommodated with a pillow and some scanty fare, while the rustics hovered about in its neighbourhood, ready to advertise him of danger. When victuals failed, he was obliged to become a sheep-stealer, and help himself to collops that were supplied from a neighbouring flock. But although many were acquainted with his places of concealment, while a reward of £1000 was offered for his apprehension, no one could be found to betray him. His aim was to escape to France; but in consequence of the proclamations denouncing all who aided him, no master of a vessel would take any person on board unless he certainly knew beforehand that he was not the king. At last, after eight weeks had been spent in this critical life of dangers and expedients, he was enabled to embark at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, at the end of October, and reach Dieppe in safety; after which, he was received by the French king at Paris with every expression of sympathy and regard.

Cromwell was met, at his approach to London, by the speaker, by the whole parliament, by the lord-mayor and aldermen, and by an immense concourse of people. The royal palace of Hampton Court was prepared for his reception; and shortly after, an estate worth £4000 a-year was voted to him. As he had left Ireton to complete the settlement of Ireland, so had he left General Monk, who enjoyed an unusual degree of his favour, to reduce the king's party in Scotland; and both these generals were successful. Both Scotland and Ireland were speedily incorporated, by mutual acts, with the English Commonwealth, and all signs of royalty were effaced in those countries.

Ever since the unavenged massacre at Amboyna, the English sailors and people had borne great ill-will to the Dutch. Moreover, the government of the United Provinces had treated the new English Commonwealth with marked disrespect. On their side the Commonwealth men had passed the memorable Navigation act, which established as national law, that no goods from any quarter beyond Europe should be imported into England except by vessels belonging to England or to English colonies; and that no production of Europe should be imported except by English ships, or ships belonging to the country which furnished the production. This

[1] So called from *bosco bello*, or "fair wood," because it stood in a beautiful grove, by which it was almost concealed.

deadly blow was aimed at the carrying trade of the Dutch, one of the most fruitful sources of their commercial prosperity. There were many other grounds of quarrel between the two commonwealths, and a collision was inevitable. Van Tromp, the best of the Dutch admirals, sailed up the Channel with forty sail. Blake was in

Admiral Blake.—From a print by T. Preston.

the Downs with only twenty sail, but he insisted that the Dutch should strike their top-masts to his flag, in acknowledgment of the old sovereignty of England over the narrow seas. Van Tromp refused, and kept his course. When he came abreast of him Blake fired a gun at the Dutch flag: Van Tromp replied by pouring a whole broadside into Blake. Then the action commenced in earnest. It lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon till nightfall, when the Dutch sheered off, with the loss of two ships. This was on the 19th of May, 1652. On the 19th of July the English parliament put forth an open and spirited declaration of war. The English seamen supported the honour of their new flag in many obstinate and sanguinary engagements. Blake was a second Drake. On the 29th of November, when he had been obliged to divide his fleet, and when he had only thirty-seven ships with him, Van Tromp faced him in the Downs with eighty men-of-war, and ten fire-ships. The battle lasted from ten in the morning till six at night, when darkness put an end to it. The Dutch had taken a frigate, had burned another, and had sunk three more; but one of their flag-ships had been blown up, and the ships of Van Tromp and De Ruyter greatly damaged. Van Tromp claimed the victory, and clapped a broom to his mast-head to intimate that he meant to sweep the English navy from the seas.[1]

A.D. 1653. On the 18th of February, Blake again brought Van Tromp to action in the Channel. They fought nearly the whole of that day—they renewed the fight on the morrow—they fought again the day after that. At the end of this three days' fight the English admiral had taken or destroyed eleven ships of war and thirty merchantmen. Upon the return of the humbled Van Tromp, the common people in the Dutch provinces fell all into uproar and tumult.

[1] "At sea the parliament felt its strength, and had made it felt; its flag floated proudly on the breeze—feared by its enemies and respected by its rivals. But its success and skill, in matters of foreign policy, extended only thus far: though in its maritime affairs it displayed great ability and energy, in its diplomatic relations and undertakings it was equally deficient in sagacity and good sense, in moderation and firmness. It was in presence of two powers, in eager rivalry with each other, but placed in very different positions, and animated by very different tendencies. Spain, still glorying in her recent greatness, which Europe had not yet ceased to dread, was rapidly declining; the empire of Germany belonged to her no longer; notwithstanding protracted and sanguinary efforts, she had lost the United Provinces; her dominion in Italy was limited; a conspiracy had in one day robbed her of Portugal; afar off, and in the New World only, her possessions continued immense; she was, to use the pithy expression of Sully, 'one of those states which have strong arms and legs, but a weak and debilitated heart.' Amid the splendour of its court, and the pomposity of its language, the Spanish government felt itself really weak, and sought to conceal its weakness by immobility. Philip IV. and Don Luis de Haro, both of them sensible and moderate men—the one from idleness, the other from prudence—and tired of conflicts which resulted only in defeat, aspired solely to the security of peace, and devoted their utmost care to avoiding all questions and circumstances which would have imposed upon them efforts of which they felt themselves incapable. Divided and enervated, the house of Austria retained perhaps less ambition than power, and, except in cases of absolute necessity, pompous inertness was the policy of the successors of Charles V.

"France, and the house of Bourbon, on the contrary, were advancing together with bold and rapid progress; a potent spirit of activity and ambition animated both the counsels of the crown and the various classes of citizens; a taste for great designs and striking enterprises everywhere prevailed, without any fear of the labours and responsibilities which they entail. Thus, notwithstanding civil dissensions and fruitless endeavours after political liberty, the state grew stronger and more extended; the national unity and the royal authority received simultaneous development. No less persevering than supple, a conqueror and a fugitive by turns, but always a favourite and premier-minister, whether in exile or at Paris, Mazarin continued the work of Henry IV. and of Richelieu, through alternations of success and failure, in war and at court. Government and country displayed simultaneously the characteristics of youth and age, were guided by powerful traditions in the midst of a movement entirely new, and yet were replete with vigour and athirst for greatness.

"Between these two powers England might either have chosen an ally at her will, or have firmly held the balance: notwithstanding their repugnance to the regicide Commonwealth, so violent were their jealousy and dread of each other, that all other feelings became subordinated to the desire that each felt to deprive the other of so important a stay. The republican parliament adopted neither of these courses; imperfectly appreciating the real strength and future prospects of the two powers, and swayed by old habits of routine, it remained wavering but not impartial between Spain and France—affecting neutrality without knowing how either to abandon it opportunely or to maintain it honourably."—Guizot, *History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth.*

But while the Commonwealth was thus triumphing on its proper element, the Rump parliament was falling into disrepute in the country. They had not, except to a very limited degree, filled up the vacancies in the House of Commons, feeling that any election, however managed, would leave them in a minority; and though, at the instance of Cromwell, they had, in November, 1651, decided that the present parliament should cease in November, 1654, they continued to act as if they contemplated no dissolution, as if they considered their power to be perpetual. It was only of the army, which had made them what they were, that they were jealous; and while Cromwell, whose control over the army was absolute, urged them to give up their power, they urged Cromwell to reduce the army. If there were personal ambition, and the intoxication of power, on both sides, there were certainly on both sides—as well on that of Cromwell as on that of the Vanes, the Martins, and the other Commonwealth men—high, unselfish, noble, and patriotic motives. Each, in fact, wished for power as the means of establishing or working out a system which each deemed the best for the peace, the happiness, and the glory of the nation; and, in justice to Oliver Cromwell, it must be avowed that his scheme of social policy was in itself one of the purest which had as yet entered into the mind of any statesman, and one that adapted itself more readily to the character and habits of the community than the more finely drawn theories of the republicans. This wonderful man had certainly a long and doubtful struggle, not merely with his former friends, but now republican opponents, but also with his own heart and conscience; and he was quiet, or at least he abstained from any very open act, until the parliament betrayed an intention of coalescing with the Presbyterians, who hated and abhorred both Cromwell and the parliament. In a private conversation with Whitelock, now keeper of the great seal, Oliver unbosomed himself. He said that both army and people began to have a strange distaste for the members of parliament. "And really," said he, "their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking; their engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; their daily breaking forth into new and violent factions; their delay of business, and design to perpetuate themselves; their injustice and partiality, and the scandalous lives of some of them, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths." Whitelock agreed with him that, unless things were put into some better order, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the country; but the cautious lawyer saw nothing but difficulty and danger in contending with the parliament, whose power had been admitted as supreme. After some more discourse, Cromwell put this significant question—"*What if a man should take upon him to be king?*" Whitelock replied, that he thought that remedy would be worse than the disease. But Cromwell, still clinging to the notion of kingship, told Whitelock that he had heard some lawyers observe that by the act of Henry VII.'s time there was more security for those who acted under a king, *be his title what it might*, than for those who acted under any other power. "And surely," he continued, "the power of a king is so great and high, and so universally understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the name of it might not only indemnify those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolences of those whom the present powers cannot control." Whitelock rejoined, that if their enemies should get the upper hand of them, that act of parliament of Henry VII. would be little regarded. "But what do you apprehend would be the danger of this title?" asked Cromwell. Whitelock stated many dangers and difficulties, and concluded his long discourse by recommending Oliver to open negotiations with Charles Stuart, the King of Scots, with the view of restoring him to the throne of England upon such conditions as would put proper limits to the monarchical power, and secure the spiritual and civil liberties of the country. But Cromwell remembered the private treaties he had had with Charles I., and of the character and principles of Charles II. he entertained the worst opinion. He broke off the conference, "seeming by his countenance and carriage to be displeased with what had been said, yet he never objected it against Whitelock in any public meeting afterwards: only his carriage towards him from that time was altered."[1] Other conferences

[1] Whitelock, *Memorials*.

"Cromwell could at his pleasure postpone a conversation with Whitelock, when it took a turn which was not agreeable to him, but he could not adjourn the impending conflict between the parliament and himself, which was made manifest and hastened onwards by such confidential communications; it was war, and one of those wars that do not admit of a pacific settlement. Notwithstanding the hypocrisy displayed in the personal relations and language of the antagonists, the conflict was thenceforward avowed and active. Irritated and paralyzed at once by the intrigues of its enemy, the parliament introduced into its management of public affairs the consciousness of its own danger, and the precautions requisite for its own defence. Never had it manifested so much anxiety to give satisfaction to the wishes of the country: law reform, the alleviation of the condition of the poor, the measures necessary for securing the preaching of the gospel, and the maintenance of its ministers in every part of the empire; indeed, all questions of a popular character, whether civil or religious, were the subjects of repeated discussion and deliberation; and those great political acts which were calculated to throw lustre on the ruling power, such as the union of England and Scotland, the settlement of the affairs of Ireland, and the necessities of the war with the United Provinces, were incessantly under debate. The government strove

took place between Cromwell, St. John, Lenthall the speaker, Desborough, Harrison, Fleetwood, and Whalley; and to all these men the lord-general declared that a "settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." It was debated how the present parliament might be dissolved and a new one chosen. An unshackled election was out of the question; the Presbyterians so returned would alone have more than doubled the number of the Independents or Republicans, who would have been voted to the Tower or the scaffold, or again obliged to call in Cromwell's pikes and muskets. Yet, hoping to thwart the lord-general and prolong their own power by a coalition with their enemies, the Rump adopted the resolution of bringing into the new parliament a number of Presbyterians under the name of "Neutrals." This brought matters to a head. Cromwell and the officers of the army declared that these Presbyterians would betray them to the royalists and destroy the religious liberty which they had won for the country. On the 19th of April there was a great meeting at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, as well of some parliament men as of officers of the army. Those discussions, which lasted till late in the night, were renewed on the morrow morning—the memorable 20th of April—but while they were in progress news was brought them from the house, that the commons were hurrying through their obnoxious bill, with all its clauses about Neutrals, &c. The members present at the meeting in Cromwell's lodgings instantly ran down to the house, and Cromwell, greatly excited, commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers to accompany him. He then marched away to the house, attended by Lambert, a few other officers, and a file of musketeers, whom he left in the lobby. Going, then, straight to his seat, he sat for some time in silence, listening to the debate; but when the speaker was about to put the motion, he beckoned Harrison to him, and said, "Now is the time! I must do it." Harrison, a religious enthusiast, advised him to consider what he was doing. He sat down, paused for a minute, then rose, and, removing his hat from his head, began a speech to the question before the house. Soon growing warm, he told them that they were deniers of justice, oppressors, self-seekers, openly profane men. Sir Harry Vane or Sir Peter Wentworth, or both, rose to remonstrate, and told him that this was not parliamentary language. "I know it," cried Cromwell; who then rushed from his seat to the stage or floor in the midst of the house, where he walked up and down, with his hat on his head, reproaching the members personally, not naming them, but showing by his gestures who it was he meant. Pointing at Vane, he said, "One person might have prevented all this, but he is a juggler, and hath not so much as common honesty. The Lord hath done with him, however, and chosen honester and worthier instruments for carrying on his work." Vane, Wentworth, and Henry Martin raised their voices. "I'll put an end to your prating," shouted Cromwell; "you are no parliament: I'll put an end to your sitting! Get ye gone. Give way to honester men." And stamping with his foot heavily upon the floor, the door opened, and his musketeers rushed in and surrounded him. Then pointing to the speaker in his chair, he said to Harrison, "Fetch him down." Harrison went to the speaker, and bade him come down; but the speaker sat still, and said nothing. "Take him down," cried Cromwell; and then Harrison pulled at his robe, and the speaker came down. Algernon Sydney, that staunch republican, and then a young member, happened that day to be seated next to the speaker. "Put *him* out," cried Cromwell to Harrison, who was as active in ending the parliament as Pride had been in purging it. Harrison instantly ordered Sydney to go out. But Sydney said he would not go out; and sat still till the general said again, "Put him out;" and Harrison and Worsley, who commanded Cromwell's own regiment of foot, laid their hands upon his shoulders, as if they would force him. Then Sydney rose, and went towards the door; and Cromwell went up to the table where the mace lay, and, pointing to it, cried, "Take away that bauble." As the members withdrew, Alderman Allen said that, if he would send out the soldiers, all might yet be repaired; but Cromwell replied by accusing the alderman of embezzlement and dishonesty in his office as treasurer to the army. And, pointing to them as he spoke, he called Challoner a drunkard, Sir Peter Wentworth an adulterer, and his old friend Henry Martin a whoremaster. As Vane passed he said aloud to Cromwell, "This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry

hard to obtain a little dignity or favour from every available source. But most of these attempts resulted in nothing: debates were indefinitely prolonged and resumed; conferences and reports of committees were multiplied to no effect; resolutions which seemed decisive were revoked or called in question. The parliament was evidently under the sway of a continuous perplexity, which urged it to redouble its efforts, at the same time that it doomed them to unproductiveness.

"Cromwell, on his side, was not exempt from anxiety and hesitation. He had frequent conversations, sometimes with the officers only, sometimes with the officers and members of parliament together, and sometimes even with Presbyterian or other ministers, whom he consulted as it were on a case of conscience, in order to bring them over to his views; but he sometimes met with opposition as frank and decided as his own words were indiscreet and passionate."—Guizot, *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 339.

Vane!" was the general's retort. And thus the house was soon cleared; "for," says Whitelock, who was present, "among all the parliament, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him, but all of them tamely departed the house." When they were all gone, the doors were locked, and Cromwell, with the keys in his pocket, walked quietly back to his lodgings at Whitehall. "When I went to the house," said he, "I did not think to have done this; but perceiving the Spirit of God strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." In the afternoon of the same day, being accompanied by Harrison and Lambert, he went to Derby House, and turned out the council of state that were there sitting under the presidency of Bradshaw.[1]

Proclamations were issued containing the grounds and reasons for dissolving the late parliament, and calling a new one. But it was not till nearly three months had elapsed that people saw what sort of "known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity," Cromwell chose to hold under him the legislative power of the nation. One hundred and thirty-nine persons for the counties and towns of England, six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland, were summoned by writ, running simply in his own name, to meet in the council-chamber at Whitehall, and take upon them the trust of providing for the future government. And on the 4th of July about 120 of these individuals of his own selecting met at the place appointed. It was, on the whole, an assemblage of men of good family or of military distinction, "many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge;"[2] but, mixed with these, were some persons of inferior rank, who were recommended by their religious enthusiasm, their dislike of the Presbyterians, and their influence over the common people and sectarians. Of these the most noted was one Barbone, a dealer in leather, whose name, converted into Barebone, was afterwards applied to the whole parliament, though the more common appellation for that assemblage was the "Little Parliament."[3] These members being seated round the council-table, Cromwell and the officers of the army standing about the middle of the table, the lord-general made a very long and very devout speech, showing the cause of their summons, and that they had "a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the Commonwealth," and quoting Scripture most copiously to admonish and encourage them to do their duties. When he had ended, he produced an instrument in writing, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of the Commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met, but stipulating that they should not sit longer than the 3rd of November, 1654, and that, three months before the dissolution, they were to make choice of other righteous persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and then to dissolve themselves, after providing, in like manner, for a succession and government. And delivering this instrument into their hands, his excellency commended them to the grace of God, and so departed. The Little Parliament adjourned until the next morning, having voted that the morrow should be kept with fasting and prayer. At an early hour they met in the old parliament house, and fasted, and prayed, and preached—"not finding any necessity to call for the help of a minister"—till about six o'clock in the evening. On the 6th of July, the second day of their sitting, the question was put, "that the house go on in seeking the Lord this

[1] Speaking of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Campbell says:—"In spite of this independent conduct, the leading men of the Commonwealth had great confidence in Hale, and they invited him to an undertaking which might have been of inestimable benefit to the community. Since the reign of Edward I. there had hardly been any change in the laws, or the modes of administering justice in England, and they had become quite unsuited to the altered circumstances of the country. Whitelock and other enlightened lawyers, who were members of the Long Parliament, were eager for legal reform, but they were thwarted by ignorant enthusiasts, who proposed what was impracticable or absurd; and even Oliver himself, when any objection was made to the abolition of existing processes, without the substitution of any others for the protection of property or innocence, complained of a combination of lawyers, whom he abused as the 'sons of Zeruiah.' A very reasonable suggestion was now offered—that such matters might be much better discussed in private, and that they should be referred to a mixed commission of lawyers and others, who were not members of the House of Commons. There were joined with him that fanatical Hugh Peters, and several psalm-singing military officers, who were for destroying our existing system, 'root and branch,' and substituting for it the Mosaic law, as expounded in Leviticus. However, Hale was supported by a majority of enlightened jurists, and with their assistance he drew up the heads of all the great legal improvements which have since been introduced, and of some for which public opinion is not even yet quite prepared—such as a general registration of deeds affecting real property. Ordinances for carrying on legal proceedings in the English language, and for abolishing tenure in chivalry, with all its burdensome incidents, were accordingly passed; but these reforms, being interrupted by the sudden dissolution of the Long Parliament, could not be advantageously resumed during the troubles which followed, and upon the Restoration were viewed with dislike, under the notion that they proceeded from Puritans and republicans." Lord Campbell adds in a note:—"We have not yet done justice to the moderate and wise men who appeared in England during the Commonwealth. Their prudence contrasts very strikingly with the recklessness which has marked the proceedings of revolutionary leaders in all other countries."

[2] *Whitelock.*

[3] Nearly all the ridiculous names given to the Independents of this time, as "Redeemed Compton," "Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White," "If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebones," are pure inventions made fifty years after by a clergyman of the Established church. Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, afterwards so celebrated as Earl of Shaftesbury, was a member of this parliament.

day," but it was negatived, and Monday, the 11th, was fixed for that holy exercise. Yet when they put themselves in business motion this Little Parliament was soon found too quick. They voted the abolition of the High Court of Chancery; they nominated a set of commissioners to preside in courts of justice; and they aimed a death-blow at tithes, without taking much care to provide an equivalent. They entertained also other projects which alarmed their nominator, who could never command a steady majority either in this or in any other of his parliaments; and on the 12th of December, little more than five months after their first meeting, they were prevailed upon, by the manœuvres of Cromwell, to dissolve themselves, and surrender their trust into his hands.[1]

Then the lord-general held a council of officers, and, certain other persons being joined with them to advise, it was resolved to have a Commonwealth in a *single person*—"which person should be the Lord-general Cromwell, under the title and dignity of Lord-protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to be advised and assisted by a council of godly, able, and discreet persons, to be not more than twenty-one." And, accordingly, as lord-protector, Oliver Cromwell was solemnly inaugurated on the 16th of December, being seated in a chair of state, which looked very like a throne, in the midst of the Court of Chancery. The prerogatives which were conferred upon him, or, rather, which were taken by himself, were almost regal. The supreme legislative authority was declared to be, and reside, in the lord-protector and parliament. All commissions, patents, writs, processes, &c., were to run in the name and style of the lord-protector, from whom, for the future, should be derived all magistracy and honours, and all pardons, except in cases of murder and treason. The militia, and all forces both by sea and land, during the sitting of parliament, were to be in his and their hands, but, in the intervals of parliament, in his and the council's only. The powers of making war and peace were to remain with him and his council. The new parliament was to consist of 400 English, thirty Scots, and thirty Irish members. The council of government was to consist of Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, Esq., John Lambert, Esq., Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet, Sir Charles Wolsey, Baronet, Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, Baronet, Edward Montague, John Desborough, Walter Strickland, Henry Lawrence, William Sydenham, Philip Jones, Richard Major, Francis Rous, and Philip Skipton, Esquires. The office of Lord-protector of the Commonwealth was declared to be for life.

In the interval which had elapsed since the forcible expulsion of the Rump, the maritime war had been conducted with great vigour and success—the English fleet having, according to a

[1] M. Guizot describes the several parties that now divided England as consisting of that which aimed at legal reform, thinking that this would meet all difficulties—that of political revolution, not in forms but in the essence of government, resting its faith in the sovereignty of the House of Commons, and with which the religious party of the Presbyterians was closely united—and that which threw aside the past history of England, and rejected all national institutions and traditions, in order to found a new government upon pure theory, in as far at least as it conceived a theory; this last party composed, like the preceding, of a political and a religious portion. Of the failure of all three he speaks thus:—

"In 1653, after twelve years of contest, all these parties had successively appeared and failed in their designs. They ought at least to have been convinced of this result, and it is certain that the public was so. The legal party, quickly thrust aside, had seen the ancient constitution and laws spurned and trampled under foot, and innovations penetrating on all sides. The party of political revolution witnessed parliamentary reforms perish in the novel use to which it was wished to apply them; after twelve years of domination it saw the House of Commons reduced, by the successive expulsion of the royalists and Presbyterians, to a very small number of members, despised and detested by the public, and utterly incapable of governing. The republican party seem to have succeeded best; the House of Commons counted scarcely more than fifty or sixty members, all republicans. They might believe and call themselves masters of the country; but the country resolutely refused to allow itself to be governed by them, and they were incapable of giving effect to their will in any quarter; they had no means of action either on the army or the people. No social bond or safety any longer subsisted; justice was not rendered, or, if it were, it was not justice; its administration was directed by party spirit, chance, or malice. And not only was there an absence of all safety in the relations of society, but there was none even on the highroads; they were covered with robbers and brigands. Thus physical as well as moral anarchy prevailed, and the House of Commons and the republican council of state were utterly inefficient to preserve order.

"The three great parties of the Revolution, then, had been successively called upon to conduct it, to govern the country according to their ability and theories: and they had been found incapable of doing so; they had all three completely failed, and were writhing powerless. 'It was then,' says Bossuet, 'that a man was found who left nothing to fortune that he could place beyond its reach by counsel and foresight,' an expression quite erroneous, and which all history belies. No man ever left more to fortune than Cromwell; none ever exposed more to hazard, or proceeded with more temerity, without design or object, but the determination to go as far as fate would permit him. Cromwell is characterized by a boundless ambition and an admirable skill in converting each day and each circumstance into a means of progression, the art of turning fortune to account, without presuming to direct it. He displayed qualities such as perhaps no man who has pursued a career at all analogous ever evinced; he was suited for all the phases, the most distinct and varied, of the Revolution. He was equally a man for the first as for the last of its periods; in the beginning the instigator of insurrection, the promoter of anarchy, and the fiercest revolutionist in England; subsequently, the man of reaction, the re-establisher of order and social organization; thus playing by himself alone all the parts which, in the usual course of revolutions, are divided amongst the greatest actors. . . . He had more than any other contributed to prostrate government, and he restored it because no other could assume and wield it. . . . Once master of the government, this man, whose ambition had shown itself so daring and insatiable, who had always advanced pushing fortune before him, and stayed by no barrier, exhibited a good sense, prudence, and perception of the practicable, sufficient to control his most violent desires."—Guizot, *Civilization in Europe.*

pun of those days, out-trumped Van Tromp. This Neptune of the Dutch again came in the Downs, with a fleet of 108 sail. On the 2d of June, 1653, Generals Monk and Dean engaged him; on the 3d, the gallant Blake came up and decided the action. The Dutch lost seventeen of their ships, which were sunk or taken; the English lost not a ship, but General Dean unfortunately fell in the first day of the action. By the 29th of July, Van Tromp again got to sea, and with 120 ships. On Sunday morning, the 31st of July, Monk and Blake encountered him with an inferior force. This was by far the most terrible and decisive of all these great sea-fights. It lasted five hours, at the closest quarters. Van Tromp was killed by a musket-shot. The Dutch lost thirty ships, the English only two. It put an end to the war, and allowed the protector time to attend to business at home.

The French government now made haste to congratulate the lord-protector, and engaged to dismiss the family of the late King Charles from France. Spain made a tender of friendship or alliance. Portugal, which had, in effect, been at open war with the Commonwealth, sent over an ambassador to negotiate for a peace with Cromwell. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to that Portuguese envoy, killed a mad English royalist in an affray near the Royal Exchange. Don Pantaleon fled for refuge to the house of his brother, who pleaded the ancient ambassadorial right of making it an asylum; but Cromwell made the ambassador deliver up the offender, and, without heeding prayers, promises, or threats, sent him to be tried by a jury, which, for more fairness, consisted of six Englishmen and six foreigners. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and on the 10th of July the head of Don Pantaleon was chopped off on Tower-hill. Notwithstanding this catastrophe, the Portuguese ambassador was fain to sign the treaty of peace with the lord-protector, and, having so done, he made haste to get away from a country where the laws and the ruler would make no distinction of persons.

At this time, the authority, if not the life of Cromwell, was threatened by some of the discontented republican officers of the army; and he justified himself by the necessity of the case in imprisoning a few of their number. Ireland remained tolerably tranquil under his lieutenants, and, subsequently, under the rule of his second son, Henry Cromwell, who displayed great ability as a statesman and organizer. But, in Scotland, the Highlanders for the most part defied the authority of the Commonwealth; the Lords Glencairn, Athole, Lorn, and Balcarras kept the standard of Charles II. flying, and, upon being joined by General Middleton from the Continent, they assumed a very menacing attitude. But when General Monk, re-appointed by Cromwell to the chief command in Scotland, returned to that country after his victories over the Dutch, he quelled the Highland insurrection with infinite ease, and compelled Middleton to run back to his exiled master. Yet it appears that, as early as this at least, Charles was tampering with Monk.

On the 3d of September, the members of the new parliament assembled, and heard a long sermon in Westminster Abbey. This day, though a Sunday, had been chosen because it was the anniversary of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and because Cromwell considered it as his lucky day. On the morrow, after another sermon, the members followed Cromwell to the Painted Chamber. There the protector took his seat in a chair of state—as like a throne as it well might be—the members, all uncovered, sat upon benches round about him; and, all being silent, "his highness" took off his hat, and made "a large and subtle speech." He spoke to them of the great danger resulting from the anarchic

The Painted Chamber, Westminster.[1]
From a view by J. T. Smith.

[1] This celebrated apartment formed part of the old palace of the Kings of England at Westminster. It measured 80 feet in length, 20 in breadth, and 50 in height. It was hung with tapestry till 1800, when, in consequence of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the increased accommodation required in the House of Commons, the tapestry and wainscotting were taken down, and the interesting discovery made, that the interior had been originally painted with single figures and historical subjects, arranged around the chamber in a succession of subjects in six bands, somewhat similar to the Bayeux Tapestry. Careful drawings of these pictures were made at the time by J. T. Smith for his book on Westminster; and still more careful drawings in 1819, by Charles Stothard, since engraved in vol. vi. of the *Vetusta Monumenta*. The Painted Chamber was destroyed by the fire which consumed the Houses of Parliament in 1834.—Cunningham's *Hand-Book of London*.

principles of the Levellers, and the fantastic opinions of the Fifth Monarchy Men, who, if left to themselves, would destroy liberty, property, law, and rational religion, in order to introduce their wild systems of government under the mask of the most sacred of all liberties—the liberty of conscience. [These Fifth Monarchy Men confidently expected that the millennium was at hand, that Christ was coming, and that they, as the blessed saints, were to hold under him the exclusive dominion of the whole world.] He went on to tell them that there had been too much subverting and undoing; that "overturn, overturn, overturn," was a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify all kinds of turbulent practices; that the enemies of civil and religious liberty were not idle, but were seeking every instant to profit by internal dissensions. He took credit to himself—and not without good reason—for the successful and glorious termination of the Dutch war, for the strict and unimpeded course of justice, for the excellent men he had nominated as judges, and for the checks he had given to the preachers of fanaticism and anarchy. When Cromwell had done speaking, the members went to their house; elected the old speaker, Lenthall; re-appointed several of the officers of the Long Parliament, and named the 13th of September as a day of humiliation. But, on the morrow, they called in question the recent constitution, or "instrument of government," by appointing a committee of privileges, and by moving that the house should deliberate whether the legislative power should or should not be in a single person and a parliament. Many violent speeches were made against the protector, and against nearly every part of this new constitution. At the end of eight days, Cromwell summoned all the members before him in the Painted Chamber, and there gave them to understand that neither his authority nor any fundamental portion of the new constitution was to be altered or called in question. "I called not myself to this place," said the protector; "I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness. If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." In the end, he proposed a test or recognition of his government, which must be signed by them all. The test was simply in these words—"I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord-protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament." About 130 members subscribed it immediately, and adjourned for one day, to give time for the rest to sign it. In the course of the day, Major-general Harrison, who had returned to his republicanism, was arrested by a party of horse. On the 14th of September, many more of the members subscribed the recognition. On the 18th, the house voted that all persons returned to serve in this present parliament should, before they were admitted to sit, subscribe the test or recognition. Yet, after this, they proceeded to call in question the fundamental principles of the new constitution, and to aim side blows at the protectoral authority and prerogative.

A.D. 1656. Nearly five months had now elapsed since this parliament began its sitting, "in all which time they did much in doing nothing." They had not presented a single bill to the protector; they had not honoured him with the slightest communication; they had not voted him a sixpence to meet the expenses of government. On the 22d of January Cromwell summoned them before him, to tell them that it was not for the profit of these nations that they should continue any longer, and that, therefore, he did dissolve this parliament.

The country was getting into a very disorderly state. A few days after the dissolution, Cromwell discovered the particulars of an extensive plot, wherein many of the king's party and some of the Levelling party were engaged, and were acting in strange concert, each hoping, in the end, to dupe the other. In several counties small armed parties began to gather into a body, and attempts were made to surprise and seize three or four towns and castles. It was suspected that these movements had been countenanced by the late parliament. Cromwell arrested Major Wildman, one of these parliamentarians, and sent him to Chepstow Castle. At the moment of his arrest this Wildman was found dictating—"The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esquire." In the month of March there were some insurrections in the west of England, but they were put down by a regiment of Cromwell's horse; Penruddock, Grove, and Lucas were executed, and the prisons in those parts were filled with royalists. The Earl of Rochester came over from Charles II., made a feeble attempt in Yorkshire, and then fled for his life. Similar attempts, some made by royalists, some by republicans, failed in other places. But these insurrections and plots, which at one time extended from the Scottish Highlands to the hills of Cornwall, made the protector adopt a rigid system of military government. He divided England and Wales into eleven districts, over each of which he placed a major-general with very extensive authority, civil as well as military.

In the plenitude of his power the protector demanded from Spain that no Englishman should ever be subject to the Inquisition, and that the West Indies and the South American continent should be thrown open to his flag, with a free trade to all English subjects. The Spanish ambassador told him that this was like asking for the King of Spain's two eyes.[1] He sent forth a gallant fleet under the command of Vice-admiral Penn, with a land army under General Venables; and this expedition, which had alarmed nearly all the courts of Europe, took and secured the very important island of Jamaica. At the same time a second fleet, under Blake, put down the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean, and exacted indemnities from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had allowed the sale of English prizes at Leghorn. Cromwell, who was accustomed to say that a ship-of-the-line was the best ambassador—that he could make the thunder of his cannon in the Mediterranean be heard with terror by the pope in Rome—next interfered in favour of the persecuted Waldenses, a Protestant people dwelling in the upper valleys of Piedmont. In this negotiation, as in many others, Cromwell was assisted by the pen of Milton. He could scarcely make his sea-cannon even heard at Turin by the Duke of Savoy, the sovereign of Piedmont and the persecutor of the Waldenses; but Cromwell was engaged in a treaty with the French, and he refused to sign it until Cardinal Mazarin had read a lesson of toleration to the court of Savoy, and had obtained from it a solemn engagement to grant to the Protestant mountaineers liberty of conscience and the restoration of all their ancient rights. Then Cromwell finished his treaty with his *brother* the King of France, and declared war against the King of Spain. In this naval war against the Spaniards, Blake was again the hero; and he and his captains presently began to fill the ports of England with rich prizes.

Encouraged by these successes, Cromwell ventured to call a third parliament, which he opened on the 17th of September, 1656, after rejecting nearly 100 of the members elected. In this "purified" assembly money was voted liberally, and other bills were passed according to the lord-protector's desire. A conspiracy, in which one Syndercombe, who had been quarter-master to Monk, undertook to assassinate the protector, and the discovery of a correspondence between some of the republicans and the court of Madrid, hurried on the debates and events which we have now to relate.

A.D. 1657. It had long been felt that any parliament of one chamber or house was a mere nullity, or something worse, and that, as affairs stood, there was nothing but the single life of Cromwell between comparative tranquillity and prosperity and civil war and anarchy; and many men in the present parliament had seriously deliberated upon the restoration of the House of Lords and of hereditary monarchy. At length a member openly proposed in the house that his highness the protector should be begged to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Shortly after this, Sir Christopher Pack suggested, without periphrasis, that, as the best way of settling the nation, the lord-protector should be desired to assume the title of king! The republican and military members rose in a great fury, and forced Pack from his seat down to the bar of the house. But Pack had many friends; they rose to assist him, and, in spite of much violence and tumult, a paper he held in his hand was read to the house. Its purport was to denounce the military government of the eleven major-generals, and to urge the protector to assume a higher title, and to put himself at the head of a government which should be managed with the advice of *two* Houses of Parliament. Forthwith it was voted by a majority of 100 to 44 that the motion should be discussed; and it was debated day after day from the 23d of February to the 26th of March. Pack's paper was finally adopted by the house, who changed its title into that of "The humble petition and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland." On the last day of the debate, a blank left for the title to be borne by Cromwell was filled up with the word "King," by the decision of 123 against 62. On the 4th of April the paper was presented to his highness at Whitehall by the speaker and the house, "who desired that his highness would be pleased to magnify himself with the title of king," and six or seven members were appointed to persuade his highness thereto. Cromwell, having listened to the persuasive members, urged his reasons against their arguments, declaring that he did not find it his duty to God and the country to accept the proposed new title. He desired time to reflect upon this part of "the great machine of England's government;" but, as to the second great clause of the commons' paper, which recalled into existence the House of Peers, he did not hesitate for a moment. He was convinced that a parliament of one house was like a bird with only one wing; he was willing, he was happy, that there should be two houses.[2]

These proceedings were interrupted by the discovery of a terrible plot of the Fifth Monarchy Men, who had resolved that there should be no king but King Jesus, and no parliament but a Sanhedrim, to consist entirely of saints—that is,

[1] Thurloe, *State Papers.*

[2] *Whitelock;* Burton's *Diary.*

of themselves. These madmen were seized and sent to the Tower.[1] Then, on the 12th of April, a committee of the house waited again upon the lord-protector to request him to be king. They got no answer. On the 16th the committee would have repeated their visit, but Cromwell put them off to another day, being busy in examining the plot. On the 20th, upon Whitelock's motion, the committee were again ordered to wait upon his highness. Here Whitelock himself says, "The protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to take upon him the title of king, and matters were prepared in order thereunto; but afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth men, and fearing a mutiny and defection of a great part of the army in case he should assume that title and office, his mind changed; and many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him in case he should do it; he therefore thought best to attend some better season and opportunity in this business, and refused it at this time with great seeming earnestness." And, indeed, Cromwell's assumption of hereditary royalty was most strenuously opposed, not merely by Lambert, who entertained the hope of succeeding him in the protectorship, but also by his own brother-in-law Desborough, his son-in-law Fleetwood, his old instrument Colonel Pride, and above 100 officers of name and influence. These men declared that the offer of a kingly title was but a trap to ensnare and destroy him. They sent up a startling petition or remonstrance to the house, vowing that they who had hazarded their lives against monarchy were still ready to do so in defence of the liberties of the nation.[2] Therefore, *if* Cromwell had set his heart upon the mere title of king (the power he had), he was disappointed, and obliged to recede. On the 19th of May, after he had submitted several papers to the house, it was voted that his title should continue to be that of lord-protector. But, in withholding the crown, the commons proceeded to give him the right of appointing his successor in the protectorate. This was done on the 22d of May; and on the same day they begged him to create the "other house," the members to be such as should be nominated by his highness and approved by the commons. In the same instrument the lord-protector was heartily thanked for restoring peace and tranquillity, although environed by enemies abroad and unquiet spirits at home.

When the clerk of the parliament had read this long instrument, Cromwell, after a solemn speech, said, "The lord-protector doth consent." On the 25th of June the parliament ordered the master of the ceremonies to give notice to foreign ambassadors of the inauguration of the protector; and on the next day that ceremony was performed with pomp and circumstance little inferior to those which attend a coronation. And after many stately ceremonies and a long prayer, "the heralds, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed his highness Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. Hereupon the trumpets sounded again, and the people (after the usual manner) gave several acclamations, with loud shouts, crying, 'God save the lord-protector!' At the end of all, the protector, with his train, returned to Whitehall, and the members to the parliament house, where they prorogued their sitting to the next January."[3]

The court and the manner of life of Cromwell continued quiet and modest as they ever had been; not wanting, however, a certain sober dignity, which was more imposing than the tinsel and parade of most royalties. Everything at Hampton Court, his favourite residence, had an air of sobriety and decency: there was no riot, no debauchery seen or heard of; yet it was not a dull place, the protector's humour being naturally of a cheerful turn. "He was a great lover of music, and entertained the most skilful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that were eximious in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. Sometimes he would, for a frolic, before he had half dined, give order for the drum to beat and call in his foot-guards, who were permitted to make booty of all they found on the table. Sometimes he would be jocund with some of the nobility, and would tell them what company they had lately kept; when and where they had drunk the king's health and the royal family's; bidding them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without any passion, and as festivous, droll discourse."[4] He delighted especially to surround himself with the master-minds of his age and country—with men who have left immortal names behind them. Milton, the Latin secretary, was his familiar; honest Andrew Marvel was his frequent guest; Waller was his friend and kinsman; nor was the more youthful genius of Dryden excluded. Hartlib, a native of Poland, the bosom friend of Milton, and the advocate of education, was honoured and pensioned; and so was Usher, the learned and amiable archbishop, notwithstanding his prelacy; and John Biddle, called the father of English Unitarians, received an allowance of 100 crowns a-year. Even the fantastic, plotting Catholic, Sir Kenelm Digby, was among the protector's guests, and received support or assistance on account, chiefly, of his literary merits. The general course of the protector's government was mild and just.

[1] Thurloe, *State Papers.* [2] *Ludlow: Memoirs.* [3] *Perfect Politician; Whitelock.* [4] *Perfect Politician.*

About six weeks after Cromwell's inauguration he was afflicted by receiving the news of the death of the brave Blake; who, with wonderful success, had asserted in all seas the supremacy of the British flag—who had done the most eminent service to parliament, to commonwealth, to the protector—who had been the "first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had long been in practice to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held, in former times, a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come safe home again—the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable—the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water."[1] "The last part he ever acted in a sea of blood," says a quaint but spirited and correct narrator, "was against the Spaniards at Santa Cruz: here, with twenty-five sail, he fought (as it were in a ring) with seven forts, a castle, and sixteen ships, many of them being of greater force than most of those ships Blake carried in against them: yet, in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the enemy and brought his fleet back again to the coast of Spain full fraught with honour."[2] But his constitution was now worn out by long services and by the sea-scurvy; and he "who would never strike to any other enemy, struck his top-mast to death" as he was entering Plymouth Sound.

The protector, drawing more closely to France, according to a private agreement, had prepared troops to join the French army under Turenne; and 6000 foot were sent over to Boulogne under the command of Sir John Reynolds and Colonel Morgan. These red-coats marched with Turenne into Spanish Flanders, and took Mardick. In the course of the following winter, while the English were in quarters, the Duke of York, the late king's second son, took the field suddenly with a strong body of Spaniards, and endeavoured to drive the English out of Mardick; but he was repulsed with great loss. Abandoned and cast out by the French, and hoping little from the Spaniards, Charles II., who was quite capable of meaner things, offered to espouse one of Cromwell's daughters; but the lord-protector told Orrery, who recommended the match, that Charles was so damnably debauched, he would undo them all.[3]

A.D. 1658. On the 20th of January the parliament met according to their adjournment, and received into the house their fellow-members who had been prevented from taking their seats in the preceding session; this being done upon the fourth article of the "Petition and Advice," by which it was provided that no member legally chosen should be excluded from performance of his duty, but by consent of parliament. In the interval of the parliament's sitting, the protector had provided his peers who were to make up the other house, and these quasi-lords had been summoned by the same form of writs which had formerly been used for calling the peers to parliament. They were in all sixty, and among them were several noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient family and good estates, the rest being for the most part colonels and officers of the army. Foremost on the list appear the names of the Lord Richard Cromwell, the protector's eldest son, the Lord Henry Cromwell, his other son, Lord-deputy of Ireland, Nathaniel Fiennes, Fleetwood, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Mulgrave, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Eure, Viscounts Say and Lisle, Lord John Claypole, Charles, Viscount Howard, Lord Wharton, Lord Falconbridge, General Monk, commander-in-chief of his highness's forces in Scotland, and Lord Edward Montague; and Whitelock, Hazlerig, Whalley, Barkstead, Pride, Goff, Sir Christopher Pack, the ex-lord-mayor of London, St. John, and other old friends of the protector, were among the remainder.[4] If Cromwell had been ever so much disposed to call upon the old peers, and if that aristocracy had been ever so well inclined to obey the summons, such a measure was rendered impracticable by the last constitutional instrument, the "Petition and Advice" expressly stipulating that the members of "the other house" should be subject to the same excluding clauses as the members of the House of Commons; and with this additional bar, that all the members of that other house, though nominated by his highness, must be approved by the commons. But nearly every possible circumstance set strongly against the revival of the

[1] *Clarendon.*

[2] *Perfect Politician.* The writer of this rich little volume adds, "He was a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in his undertakings, and most faithful in the performance: with him valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment. When news was brought him of a metamorphosis in the state at home he would then encourage the seamen to be most vigilant abroad. For (said he) 'tis not our duty to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us. In all his expeditions the wind seldom deceived him, but most an end stood his friend; especially in his last undertaking at the Canary Islands. To his last he lived a single life, never being espoused to any but his country's quarrels. As he lived bravely, he died gloriously, and was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel; yet enjoying at this time no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly deface." Whitelock tells us that Blake's funeral was performed with great solemnity, and that at the time of it new plots were discovered.

[3] *Burnet;* Orrery's *Letters.*

[4] Thurloe, *State Papers; Whitelock.*

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, the Lord-protector, was born at Huntingdon, 25th April, 1599; his father, Robert Cromwell, being a younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. He was educated at Huntingdon and Cambridge, became a landowner by inheritance in Lincolnshire, and took part in the Short and Long Parliaments as member for Cambridge. At that time he was a rough, plain-looking, sturdy, rather slovenly man, in a homely coat and a countrified hat. His voice was harsh, his words unstudied, and his oratory without grace, yet he was much hearkened to in the stormy debates which preceded the Civil War, and his influence gradually increased. When that war did at length break out Cromwell took an active part in enrolling and drilling volunteers for the parliamentary party, himself serving as Captain and Colonel in the earlier part of the campaign. His services at the battles of Edgehill, Winceby, Marston Moor, Newbury, and Naseby secured for him the rank of Lieutenant-general. Then followed the execution of Charles I., the suppression of rebellion—in Wales, in Ireland, and in Scotland,—and the total defeat of the royalists at Worcester. After this Cromwell assumed the supreme direction of affairs, and in 1653 he took the title of Lord-protector. Great as a general, he was even greater as a civil ruler, and the nation at once felt the magnitude of her loss when he died at Whitehall in 1658.

Drawn by J.L. Williams. Engraved by J.J. Crew.

FROM A FINE MINIATURE BY COOPER.
AND CONTEMPORARY PRINT BY WALKER.

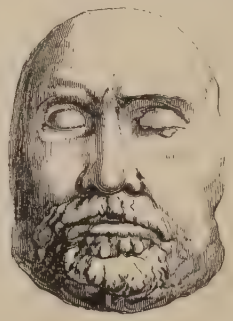
ancient upper house; the vast majority of the peers had been devoted to the late king, and even the feeble minority of their number that remained at London with the parliament had refused taking any part in the king's trial; with the exception of a few united to him by old ties of friendship, or by their marrying into his family, there was not a single old peer that would trust Cromwell, or that he could trust. Not yet accustomed to this kind of recent creations, they disdained to sit in a house with men who had made their fortune with their sword or by their genius in war or law. Even the Earl of Warwick, who had gone along with the Commonwealth men in most things, and whose grandson and presumed heir had married one of the protector's daughters, declared that he could not sit in the same assembly with Colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, and Colonel Pride, who had been a drayman. And Manchester, Say, and the other members of the old House of Lords who had been named, contemptuously kept aloof, not one of them, it should appear, taking his seat except Lord Eure. The rest of the members of the other house took their seats as the old lords used to do formerly, and the protector went thither to open the session according to the ancient and royal form. And the speaker, with the House of Commons, being sent for by the black rod, came to the lords' house, where the protector made a solemn speech to them, "but was short, by reason of his indisposition of health."[1] Indeed, at the opening of this stormy session, wherein he was to be assaulted on all sides by his old Presbyterian enemies and by his old friends the Independents, who had become his worst enemies, his iron constitution was giving way under the effect of labour, anxiety, and grief: his daughter, the Lady Claypole, the darling of his heart, was visibly declining, and in no human heart were the domestic affections ever stronger than in that of this wonderful man. When he had done, the Lord-commissioner Fiennes harangued "my lords and gentlemen of both the most honourable Houses of Parliament," quoting Scripture most copiously, yet not more copiously than was sanctioned by the then general custom. From hearing this long discourse, the commons returned to their own house with irritated and hostile feelings; and there it was quickly seen that the protector, by removing so many of his friends to "the other house," had left himself in a deplorable minority in this; and also that those members who had taken their seats by virtue of, and in acknowledgment of the "Petition and Advice," were determined to destroy that last instrument of government, and to aim their first blows at the new house, which was an integral and essential part of that constitution. The attack was led by Hazlerig, who, though nominated to "the other house," persisted in retaining his place in the commons; by Scot, a most resolute republican; and by others who detested any approach to the old aristocratic House of Lords. On the fourth day of the session a message "from the lords," delivered by two of the judges, who all attended as formerly in the upper house, desired the concurrence of the commons in an address to the protector for a day of humiliation and fast. The commons vehemently protested against the title assumed in the message, and would admit of no other than that of "the other house." On the morrow, the 25th of January, upon a letter from the protector to the speaker of the House of Commons, they met his highness in the Banqueting House, and there he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own laws and rules in the "Petition and Advice." Whitelock adds that he gave them a statement of the public accounts and much good advice. But all this was of no avail; the majority in the commons persevered in their attack, and presently broached the doctrine that the new house was, and must be a mere dependency of the commons—a thing invested with certain functions of legislature and with nothing more—that it could never be a co-ordinate power with the commons. Scot raked up the whole history of the peers since the commencement of the Civil war; and then coming to the grand crisis, he said, "The lords would not join in the trial of the king. We must lay things bare and naked. We were either to lay all that blood of ten years' war upon ourselves or upon some other object. We called the King of England to our bar and arraigned him. He was for his obstinacy and guilt condemned and executed; and so let all the enemies of God perish! The House of Commons had a good conscience in it. Upon this, the lords' house adjourned, and never met, and hereby came a farewell of all those peers."[2] Nor did Scot and his associates limit their attack to the other house or to mere declamation and oratory; they assaulted the protectorate itself, and a petition was circulated in the city by them and by some officers of the army for the purpose of abolishing Cromwell's all but kingly office. "All these passages," says Whitelock, "tended to their own destruction, which it was not difficult to foresee." Accordingly, on the 4th of February, the protector, without any intimation of his purpose, went down to the House of Lords early in the morning, summoned the commons before him, and ended a short, complaining speech with saying: —"I do dissolve this parliament, and let God judge between me and you." And thus ended

[1] *Whitelock.*

[2] *Burton.*

Cromwell's last parliament, which had sat only fourteen days.

The protector was never in so much danger as at this moment; the republicans and their friends "were ready both with arms and men to fall in with swords in their hands;" the army was murmuring for want of pay; the royalists were spirited and combined by means of the Marquis of Ormond, who, during the sitting of parliament, had passed several days in disguise and concealment in the city of London; the Levellers and Fifth Monarchy Men were pledging their desperate services to those who could dupe them; Cromwell's old friend Harrison, who had been released from the Tower after a short confinement, "was deep in the plot;" Colonel Silas Titus, a Presbyterian royalist, or Colonel Sexby, or whoever was the author of the famed tract entitled *Killing no Murder*, had invited all patriots to assassination, proclaiming that the greatest benefit any Englishman could render his country would be to murder Cromwell; and yet the protector, even sick and dispirited as he was, was capable of quelling this universal storm. He called a meeting of officers; he harangued the city and common council; beheaded Dr. Hewitt and Sir Henry Slingsby; threw other plotters into prison; hanged three that were taken with arms in their hands in Cheapside; and not only preserved his authority at home, but also prosecuted his wars abroad with vigour and success. Those English troops serving with Turenne gained a brilliant victory over the Spaniards commanded by Don Juan and the Duke of York, and helped to take Dunkirk, which, according to the treaty, was delivered to Cromwell, and well garrisoned with Englishmen. But the protector was sinking to the grave. "The first symptoms of this great man's last sickness appeared presently upon the death of his daughter Claypole, whose end is thought by many to have hastened his dissolution. About the beginning of October, his distemper discovered itself to be a bastard tertian ague, which, for a week's time, threatened no danger. But presently he began to grow worse, and so was brought from Hampton Court (where he first fell sick, and where he made a will as to his domestic affairs) to London."[1] At first he spoke confidently of his recovery, and of the good things he intended, by the grace of Heaven, to do for his country; but his malady gained rapidly upon him, and during the night of the 2d of September, less than a month after the death of his dear daughter, he was assured that his end was approaching, and was overheard by Major Butler uttering this prayer—"Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory. All the stir is about this.[2] Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive them their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest. . . . I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Jesus Christ, who strengtheneth me."[3] In the course of that night he declared, in the presence of four or five of the council, that "my Lord Richard" should be his successor.[4] On the following morning he was speechless, and he expired between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d of September, the day which he accounted his happiest day, the anniversary of his great victories of Worcester and Dunbar. He was in the sixtieth year of his age.



Cromwell, from a cast taken after death.[5]

Immediately after the death of Oliver Cromwell the council assembled, and, being satisfied that the protector in his lifetime, according to the "Petition and Advice," had declared his son Richard to be his successor, they gave orders for his being proclaimed in a solemn manner. The neighbouring princes and states sent ministers to condole with him on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his happy and peaceable succession to the government. The army serving in Flanders, and still gaining laurels there, proclaimed Richard at Dunkirk and in their camp, and sent over respectful addresses to him. The officers of the navy gladly acknowledged his authority, and pledged themselves to

[1] *Perfect Politician.*

[2] "Never," said his friend and secretary Thurloe, "was there any man so prayed for as he was during his sickness, solemn assemblies meeting every day to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life; so that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."—*Letter to Henry Cromwell*, written on the 4th of September.

[3] *Kennet.*

[4] Letter of Lord Falconbridge to Henry Cromwell in *Thurloe State Papers.*

[5] The matrix of the cast from the face of Cromwell is preserved at Oxford. Some of the hairs of the head and beard adhere to the plaster. The cast from which the drawing is made formerly belonged to William Godwin, author of a *History of the Commonwealth of England*, and is now in possession of J. W. Archer.

stand by him; and the same was done by *General Monk* and his officers in Scotland.[1] But Richard Cromwell was no soldier, and destitute of high commanding powers of any kind. He had lived a quiet retired life, as far as possible away from the turmoil of government and the bustle of the camp, and he was almost a stranger to that soldiery which his father had known personally almost to a man, and over which, by a rare combination of qualities—by a mixture of unflinching firmness in essentials and good nature in minor points, by devotion and by an easy familiarity which condescended to drollery—he had exercised an almost magical influence. The payment of the troops, too, was somewhat in arrears, and Richard found the coffers of the state almost empty. From these and other circumstances, which may be easily conceived, the military presently betrayed symptoms of discontent. His brother-in-law, Fleetwood, a good soldier, a favourite with the army, but a weak man in other respects, as well as ambitious and imprudent, became jealous of the new protector, who had nominated him to be, under himself, commander-in-chief of the land forces. Fleetwood secretly encouraged a strange petition, which was drawn up and presented, requiring the protector, in effect, to give up his control over the army.[2] Richard replied that he had given the command of the forces to Fleetwood, who seemed generally acceptable to them; but that to gratify them further, or wholly to give up the power of the sword, was contrary to the constitution, which lodged that power in the hands of the protector and parliament jointly. By the advice of Thurloe, St. John, Fiennes, and others, Richard resolved to assemble the representatives of the people, and the members of "the other house."

A.D. 1659. The new parliament met on the 27th of January. The other house was the same despised nullity as before. Scarcely half of the members of the commons would obey the summons of Richard to meet him in that "other house," at the opening of the session. Without loss of time, the commons attacked his right to be lord-protector, and nearly every part of the present constitution, clamouring against the inexpediency and peril of allowing "the other house" to exist. Some of Richard's family and nearest connections joined in this outcry, some out of personal ambition or pique, some out of sheer republicanism. The republicans were invigorated by the return of Sir Harry Vane, Ludlow, and Bradshaw, who facilitated the manœuvres of General Monk, and the return of royalty, by the hot war they waged against the protector. The disguised royalists, of course, joined the republicans. An act of recognition was, however, passed, and a revenue was settled for the new protector. Then a fierce attack was made upon "the other house," and upon the late administration of Oliver, whose best ministers were singled out for impeachment. But the army soon stayed these proceedings, by joining with the ultra-republican section. Under General Lambert, a council of officers was called and established, and they voted that the command of the army should be put into better hands, and that every officer should declare his approval of the conduct of the army and the proceedings against the late Charles Stuart, or resign his commission. The commons declared such meetings and councils illegal. On this the Lambertians drew up a representation to Richard, setting forth their want of pay, the insolence of their enemies, and their designs, together with *some in power*, to ruin the army and the good old cause, and to bring in the enemies thereof, to prevent which they desired his highness to provide effectual remedy. "This," says Whitelock, "was the beginning of Richard's fall, and set on foot by his own relations." The parliament took no course to provide money, but exasperated the army, and all the members of "the other house." And hereupon the army compelled Richard to dissolve the parliament on the 22d of April.

On the 6th of May, Lambert, Fleetwood, Desborough, and the general council of officers, keeping the promises they had made to the ultra-republicans, published a declaration, inviting the members of the Long Parliament or Rump, who had continued sitting till Oliver's forcible ejectment of the 20th of April, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust; and on the very next day old Speaker Lenthall, and all the survivors of the Rump, being escorted and guarded by Lambert's troops, went down to the house, and there took their seats as a lawful and indisputable parliament; and, being seated, they forthwith voted that there should be no protector, no king, no "other house." Richard Cromwell retired quietly to Hampton Court, and signed his demission, or resignation, in form. Fleetwood, whose wife was Richard's sister, made a proffer of allegiance to the restored Rump in the name of the army at London, and General Monk hastened to write from Scotland to express the entire concurrence of himself and army in the new revolution which had been effected. On the 22nd of June (and not sooner), letters were received from Henry Cromwell, a much more stirring or bolder man than his brother, notifying his submission, and the submission of his army in Ireland, to the present parliament.

[1] *Whitelock; Thurloe.*

[2] The petitioners required that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by a court-martial; and that the power of granting commissions should be intrusted to some person whose services had placed him above suspicion.

Pressed by want of money, the Rump proposed selling the three royal palaces of Whitehall, Somerset House, and Hampton Court; but they were sold themselves, or were interrupted and dismissed, before they could carry into effect this project in finance. They had scarcely warmed their seats ere they were alarmed by numerous plots and riots raised by the royalists. These troubles grew worse and worse, and in the beginning of August insurrections broke out at the same moment in several parts of the country, the most important being one in Cheshire and Lancashire, headed by Sir George Booth, who was daily expecting to be joined by Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York. But Lambert gave a total rout to Sir George Booth's force. Charles, who had got everything ready, deferred his voyage. Booth and the young Earl of Derby, with many others, were arrested and thrown into the Tower; and by the end of August this formidable insurrection was completely subdued.

But the Rump which sat in the house, and the army which had placed them there, presently quarrelled with each other. The Rump claimed an entire control over the forces by land or by sea; the army, charging the Rump with base ingratitude, claimed to be independent and supreme. An act was passed to dismiss Lambert, Desborough, Fleetwood, and seven or eight other principal officers. Hazlerig, who was the chief mover in these bold parliamentary transactions, was encouraged by letters from Monk, assuring him that he and the army in Scotland would stand by the parliament, and by the like promises from Ludlow, who had succeeded Henry Cromwell in the command of the forces in Ireland. But Monk and Ludlow were far away, and the English army was close at hand. On the 13th of October, Lambert collected his troops in Westminster Hall, Palace-yard, and the avenues leading to the house; and when the speaker came up in his coach they stopped him, and made him turn back; and they treated most part of the members in the same way, so that the house could not sit. The council of state sat, and there the hostile parties, the army men and the Rump men, came into fierce collision. The civilians accused the army of being destroyers of liberty; the officers retorted, saying that the Rump would not have left them any liberty to destroy; and Colonel Sydenham protested that the army had been obliged to apply this last remedy by a special commission from Divine Providence. Desborough, Cromwell's brother-in-law, said with more bluntness, "Because the parliament intended to dismiss us, we had a right to dismiss the parliament." On the next day, the officers of the army debated about a settlement, or new constitution; and declared Fleetwood, Richard's brother-in-law, to be their commander-in-chief. On the other side, Hazlerig and his friends consulted how they might restore themselves to power, "and they had some hopes of Monk to be their champion." The council of officers displeased Monk by appointing Lambert to the command in Scotland.[1]

It was at this critical moment that Monk, who had been courted and feared by both parties, began to play his own game. He had been a royalist before he became a parliamentarian; he had been a hot Long Parliament man or Rumpite, and then a still hotter Cromwellite; and he was ready to become king's man or devil's man, or anything else that best promised to promote his own interests.

On the 29th October, the officers of the army received a letter from him expressive of his dissatisfaction at their late proceedings, and the committee of safety received intelligence through other channels that Monk had secured Berwick for himself and was looking towards London. Lambert

General Monk.—From an engraving by Loggan.

was instantly appointed to command the forces in the north of England; and Colonels Whalley and Goffe, and Caryl and Barker, ministers of the gospel, were sent to Monk, "to persuade him to a right understanding of things and prevent effusion of blood." Monk in the meanwhile sent to assure the leaders of the Rump that his sole object was to relieve parliament from military oppression: and he called God to witness that he was above all things a friend to liberty and the Commonwealth. Writing to Hazlerig, whom he duped, he said, "As to a commonwealth, believe me, sir, for I speak it in the presence of God—it is the desire of my soul."[2] But if Monk duped

[1] *Whitelock; Ludlow; Parl. Hist.* [2] *Clarendon.*

the humiliated and desperate members of the Rump, he certainly never deceived the English officers. On the 8th of November, Desborough, Fleetwood, and the principal men of that body, went to the common council in London, and told them plainly "that the bottom of Monk's design was to bring in the king upon a new civil war." Monk, after again calling God to witness that the asserting of the Commonwealth was the only intent of his heart, crossed the Tweed in great force, being openly backed by the chief Presbyterians in Scotland. He was faced on the Tyne by Lambert; but the soldiers of Cromwell, now badly provided, had lost their old enthusiasm and discipline, and Lambert besides had orders from the committee of government to avoid a hostile collision; and he therefore lay at Newcastle doing nothing. It was agreed that three commissioners on the part of Monk should be allowed to come up to London to treat with three commissioners on the part of Fleetwood, the nominal commander-in-chief of all the forces. By this delay Monk was enabled to mature his plans, and to receive further assistance in men and money from Scotland. Monk's three commissioners pretended to be very confident that he would approve what was agreed upon by Fleetwood's commissioners, namely, that a parliament should be restored and the nation settled again in the ways of peace. The committee of safety proceeded in preparing a form of government, but there was no reconciling their conflicting theories and views and interests. Fresh letters came from Monk to Fleetwood full of compliments and expressions of his earnest desire for a speedy settlement; but stating that what had been agreed upon by his commissioners was not quite enough—that some things remained untreated of and unagreed upon—that he wished for a fresh treaty to put a final end to the business. Some of the committee declared that this was only a delay in Monk to gain time to be the better prepared for his design to bring in the king. "And, therefore," continues Whitelock, who had himself a principal share in these deliberations, "they advised to fall upon Monk presently, and bring the matter to an issue before his soldiers were more confirmed, and Fleetwood's party more discouraged; but this advice was not taken, but a new treaty assented to, by commissioners on each part, to be at Newcastle."

This was on the last day of November; on the 4th of December some of the forces about London began to clamour for pay, and to favour the proceedings of Monk for restoring the parliament. On the next day serious disturbances took place in the city; and intelligence was received that the governor and garrison of Portsmouth had declared for the parliament. Still the general council of officers sat devising schemes of government, republican and impracticable.[1] Having concocted another constitution, they proclaimed, on the 15th of December, that there should be a new parliament. On the 17th Admiral Lawson, who had brought his ships into the Thames, required that the Long Parliament or Rump should sit again. On the 22d most of the soldiery about London made the same demand. At this critical moment Whitelock, being convinced that Monk would bring in the king without terms for the parliament party or for the country, and that he would easily delude Hazlerig and the rest of the parliament men, suggested to Fleetwood, since the coming in of Charles II. seemed unavoidable, that it would be more prudent for Fleetwood and his friends to be the instrument for bringing him in than to leave it to Monk. The adroit lawyer proposed that Fleetwood should instantly send some person of trust to the king at Breda, and invite him to return upon conditions. By so doing Fleetwood might yet make terms with the king for the preservation of himself, of his family and friends, and, in a good measure, of the cause in which they had all been engaged: but if it were left to Monk, Fleetwood and his friends, and all that had been done for civil and religious liberty, would be exposed to the danger of destruction. Fleetwood was convinced, and desired Whitelock to go and prepare himself forthwith for the journey. But before Whitelock got across the threshold, Vane, Desborough, and Berry came into the room, and,

[1] "In the year 1659, it is manifest that no idea could be more chimerical than that of a republican settlement in England. The name, never familiar or venerable in English ears, was grown infinitely odious: it was associated with the tyranny of ten years, the selfish rapacity of the Rump, the hypocritical despotism of Cromwell, the arbitrary sequestrations of committee men, the iniquitous decimations of military prefects, the sale of British citizens for slavery in the West Indies, the blood of some shed on the scaffold without legal trial, the tedious imprisonment of many with denial of the *habeas corpus*, the exclusion of the ancient gentry, the persecution of the Anglican church, the bacchanalian rant of sectaries, the morose preciseness of Puritans, the extinction of the frank and cordial joyousness of the national character. Were the people again to endure the mockery of the good old cause, as the Commonwealth's men affected to style the interests of their little faction, and be subject to Lambert's notorious want of principle, or to Vane's contempt of ordinances (a godly mode of expressing the same thing), or to Hazlerig's fury, or to Harrison's fanaticism, or to the fancies of those lesser schemers, who, in this utter confusion and abject state of their party, were amusing themselves with plans of perfect commonwealths, and debating whether there should be a senate as well as a representation, whether a given number should go out by rotation, and all those details of political mechanism so important in the eyes of theorists? Every project of this description must have wanted what alone could give it either the pretext of legitimate existence, or the chance of permanency—popular consent; the republican party, if we exclude those who would have had a protector, and those fanatics who expected the appearance of Jesus Christ, was incalculably small; not perhaps amounting in the whole nation to more than a few hundred persons."—Hallam, *Const. Hist. Eng.*, i. 682.

after a private conversation with them, Fleetwood called Whitelock back, "and in much passion said to him, 'I cannot do it! I cannot do it! I cannot do it without my Lord Lambert's consent!'" "Then," said Whitelock, "you will ruin yourself and your friends." Fleetwood replied, that he could not help it, that his word was pledged; and so they parted.

On the next day, some of the members of the old council of state, and the old speaker Lenthall, seeing that the soldiers were all revolting from Fleetwood, gave orders for a rendezvous in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. They also received intelligence that Hazlerig was coming speedily up to London with the revolted garrison of Portsmouth.

On the morrow the troops formed in Lincoln's-Inn, opposite to the house of the speaker, gave him three cheers, saluted him with a volley, and took the word of command from him. Lenthall was now, in effect, commander-in-chief in London. He secured the Tower; he convinced the common council, the citizens, and soldiery, that the very best thing to do at this crisis was to restore the Rump. And, two days after this, or on the 26th of December, the Rump were restored by the very soldiers who had so recently prevented their sitting.

A.D. 1660. On the 2d of January the house voted that a bill should be prepared for renouncing anew the title of Charles Stuart, &c. On the 6th they received a letter from Monk promising all obedience and faithfulness to this parliament; and, in their infatuation, they voted Monk a letter of thanks, and desired him to come up to London as soon as he could. By the 26th of January Monk was at Northampton, protesting that he was but a servant of the parliament. On the 28th he was at St. Alban's, where he again expressed all duty and obedience. But, after keeping a day of fasting and prayer, he wrote from St. Alban's to require that all the soldiers of the English army that were in or about London should be removed. The Rump ordered the troops out of town accordingly; and on the same day Monk marched into London, in all state, with his horse and foot: and then the king's party talked very high, saying they were sure the king would soon follow.

Although Monk carefully concealed his intention of recalling Charles, he soon opened the eyes of Hazlerig and that party to the monstrous blunder they had committed. He insisted that the secluded members of the Long Parliament —the expelled Presbyterians—should sit again. None durst oppose him; the spirit of the people generally ran that way, and the Cavaliers agreed to it as the way to bring in the king. On the 21st of February the secluded members took their seats; and from that moment the members of the Rump began to think of providing for their personal safety. The Presbyterian majority voted in rapid succession, that Monk should be commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that all the proceedings of parliament since their seclusion should be null and void; that Presbyterianism should be the one and sole religion; and that the League and Covenant, without any amendment or toleration, should be posted up in all churches. On the 16th of March they passed an act for dissolving this parliament, with a proviso not to infringe the rights of the House of Peers. Writs were issued for a new parliament; and then Monk finished his bargain with Charles II., giving advice but imposing no conditions. Lambert, who had proved most satisfactorily that he was not a Cromwell, nor fitted to be his successor, was shut up in the Tower, after an insane attempt at insurrection. The new parliament met on the 25th of April. Ten peers took their seats in their own house, confirmed the appointments of Monk, and voted a day of fasting to seek God for his blessing upon the approaching settlement of the nation. Circular letters were then sent for the other peers, who came up to Westminster by degrees, till the house was nearly full. In the lower house the utmost readiness was shown in agreeing with the restored peers. Sir Harbottle Grimston was elected speaker, and was conducted to the chair by Monk and the runaway Denzil Hollis. On the 26th of April the two houses gave orders for a day of thanksgiving to God "for raising up General Monk and other instruments of rescuing this nation from thraldom and misery." They also voted thanks to Monk for his eminent and unparalleled services. On the 1st of May, Sir John Granville, who had been employed for some time in the negotiations between Charles II. and the general, arrived again from Breda. Monk, who continued to wear the mask when it was no longer necessary, would not open the despatches in his own house, but ordered Sir John to present them to him in the midst of the council of state. This was done; and, to carry on the farce, Granville was put under arrest.—But, lo! it was proved that the letters were *really* from the king himself, and that they contained very upright and very satisfactory intentions; and Granville was released from custody, and the letters were sent down to parliament, and there read in the name of the king. One of these royal epistles was addressed to the lords, another to the commons, one to Monk, and another to the lord-mayor. The letter to the commons contained the famous "Declaration of Breda," which, in general terms, offered indemnity for the past and liberty of conscience for the future. This document was the only pledge that this parliament

thought necessary to be required from a prince who had already proved, in many cases, that his royal word was little worth. Despising many warnings of danger to themselves and Covenant and church, the Presbyterians prepared an answer to the king's letter, expressing their surpassing joy; voted his majesty, who was penniless, the present supply of £50,000; and sent a committee into the city to borrow that money. Prynne, who had suffered so much from Star Chambers and High Courts of Commission, royal tyranny and prelatical intolerance, and that upright judge Sir Matthew Hale, ventured to recommend that some more definite settlement should be made before the king were brought back; but Monk silenced them by asserting that, as his majesty would come back without either money or troops, there was nothing to fear from him.

The commons continued running a race with the lords in this new loyalty; and, after other votes, they sent twelve of their members to wait upon the king. Nor were the lord-mayor and common council of London a whit less loyal.

On the 8th of May Charles was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster Hall gate, the lords and commons standing bareheaded while the proclamation was made by the heralds. And so ended the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XVIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1603—1660.

State of the religious contest in Britain at the present period—Its connection with the Scottish Reformation—Presbyterian form of the Scottish Reformation—Early origin of the Presbyterian element in Scotland—Early inclination of James VI. to Episcopacy—Remonstrances of the clergy against his aggressions on the church—Andrew Melvil cited before the privy council—His refusal of the judgment of a civil court in ecclesiastical affairs—Acts of 1584 subversive of the liberty of the church—The "Raid of Ruthven"—Temporary reconciliation of James with the church—His declarations and concessions in its favour—His dislike to Presbyterianism renewed with his prospects of accession to the throne of England—His favour for Papists—Deputation of ministers sent to remonstrate with him on the subject—Bold address of Andrew Melvil to him on the occasion—Measures of the clergy to protect the rights of the church—Attempts of James to restrain the liberty of the pulpit—Trial of David Black—Riot in Edinburgh on the 17th of December—James embraces this opportunity to impose Episcopacy on the church—His measures to that effect—Contrast between the Scottish and the English Reformation—Predominance in the latter of the royal authority—Monarchical character of the English church—Origin of English Puritanism simultaneous with the Reformation—Objections of early English Reformers to the rites and ceremonies retained from the Romish church—Puritanism during the reign of Elizabeth—Its growth and political influence—Proposals of the Puritans for the abrogation of certain church forms and ceremonies—The change of the church to Puritanism narrowly defeated—Elizabeth's resolution to compel uniformity—Scene at Lambeth illustrative of this compulsion—Puritanism strengthened by opposition—Its objections extended from the forms to the constitution of the church—Commencement of Puritan secession from the church—Its proposed Book of Discipline—Rise of Presbyterians, Brownists, Familists, and Anabaptists—Grindal and Whitgift, Archbishops of Canterbury—Their different administration—Account of Whitgift—His strict and severe measures to produce conformity—Accession of James to the throne of England—Hopes of Churchmen and Puritans at his arrival—The "millenary petition" of the Puritans—Its proposals—The Hampton Court controversy—Conduct of James on the occasion—His singular speeches—Proposal adopted for a new translation of the Bible—Accomplishment of the work—New Book of Canons to compel the Puritans to conform to the church—Account of the "Pilgrim Fathers"—Their emigration to New England—Their foundation of the United States of America—James's *Book of Sports*—His enactments for silencing the Puritan pulpits—Change of his own creed from Calvinism to Arminianism—Dark prospects of the Puritans at the accession of Charles I.—Popish tendencies of his prelates—Attempt of Charles to overthrow the Presbyterianism of Scotland—The Scottish reaction—English Puritanism roused by the example—Meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines—Episcopacy overthrown and Presbyterianism established in England—Difference between the Scottish and English Presbyterianism—Causes of that difference—State of parties in the Westminster Assembly—Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians—Chief proceedings of the assembly—Its Directory, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms—Debates on the Divine right of Presbytery, and toleration—Toleration established—Rise of Independency over Presbyterianism—Causes of this rise—Cromwell's "Board of Triers"—Its beneficial services to religion—English sectaries.

THE religious history of the present period is chiefly the narrative of a deadly struggle between the Puritanism of England on the one hand, and the Episcopal polity on the other; between the national church as formulated by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and supported by authoritative statutes and rich endowments—and a strong popular religious element, whose motto was liberty of conscience, and whose aim was the emancipation of the church, alike from kingly dictation and parliamentary rule. It was, for the time, the presiding spirit of that great political struggle in

which the last remaining bonds of feudalism were to be thrown off, and the nation at large advanced into a more perfect state of liberty, both civil and religious. To understand the controversy aright, however, it is necessary to revert to the Scottish Reformation, from which English Puritanism derived an important element of its strength, and to the Scottish Presbyterianism, which so opportunely turned the scale, when the conflict had commenced, and when the issue was still uncertain.

In contemplating the Scottish Reformation at its outset, we find it resolving itself into the great question of religious and political emancipation, without reference to the particular form of church polity in which it was to be embodied. The recovery of England back to Rome was the great aim of the Catholic powers upon the Continent, and as this could only be accomplished by force of arms, England, it was found, could be most effectually assailed through the sister kingdom, and with the aid of its warlike population. But all this implied a previous subjugation, to which the Scots, of all people, were least likely to submit; and they would neither consent to turn their country into a battle-field, nor themselves into passive recruits of France or Spain, let the Papal conclave decree as it might. In this way, the question at the outset with Scotland was, Protestant or Papist? and this was shown by the readiness with which John Knox suggested, and the Reformers sought, the aid of England, in clearing their country from French usurpation. Let the troops of France be but expelled, and the country freed from every alliance with those great powers which were banded for the destruction of their common Protestantism, and the particular form which the new national church was to assume would be speedily determined by the feelings of the people. What, in the meantime, was chiefly needed, was a cleared and levelled ground on which to erect it. We know with what alacrity the choice was made. It had in fact been already decided by the religious training of the nation through a long course of ages. The earliest Christian church in Scotland had been the church of the Culdees, that simple antimonarchical form where the permanent dominion of one priest over his brethren could obtain no place; and even when the Papal church was finally established, it still retained the original republican character, by its resistance to the rule of the Popedom, and its rejection of primates, whether native or English. This long cherished ecclesiastical parity, and dislike of individual domination, made the choice of Presbyterianism a natural and national result. The Church of Scotland was to be a theocracy independent of secular rule, in which the ministers were to be nothing more than the equals of each other, while Christ alone was to be the recognized Head and King. But how such a republican government in the church would reconcile itself to monarchy in the state, at a period when the monarchic principle was aiming at entire absolutism, was now the question at issue. We have already seen the commencement of the trial under the Scottish regency, when the Earl of Morton ruled with delegated authority. We have now to trace its continuation under the reign of James, and its terrible decision under that of his unfortunate son.

No sooner had the young king, James VI., assumed the reins of government, than the prospects of the Scottish church began to be clouded. Even already, he showed that immoderate partiality for favourites which disgraced his royal administration to the close; and at the outset, his bosom friends and counsellors were D'Aubigny, Earl and afterwards Duke of Lennox, and Captain Stuart, afterwards Earl of Arran—the former notoriously a Papist, and adherent of the Guise faction in France; the latter a worthless intriguer and profligate, to whom all religions were equally indifferent. Under such counsellors, James was not likely to acquire much love either for the stern self-denying system of Presbyterianism, or the ministers by whom it was represented. But from the state of public feeling he learned the necessity of wariness, and in this way he commenced, even in boyhood, those practices of prevarication and deception which he afterwards dignified with the name of kingcraft. And yet, even already he could not control his Episcopal leanings, as was manifested in the case of the archbishopric of Glasgow. This see having become vacant in 1581, a grant was made of its revenues by the privy council to the Earl of Lennox; but as the latter, being a layman, could not draw them in his own name, he resolved to effect it by means of a *tulchan*, or bishop of straw. He accordingly procured Robert Montgomery, a minister of Stirling, to assume that degrading office. This violation of a recent decree alarmed the church, and the General Assembly denounced the appointment as illegal, upon which the king, espousing the cause of his favourite, Lennox, required the assembly to desist from their proceedings against Montgomery, who was already menaced with excommunication. But although denounced with the penalties of rebellion if they refused, the ecclesiastical court persisted in the prosecution, until Robert Montgomery himself, quelled into submission, humbly confessed his fault before the house, promised to renounce the bishopric, and craved to be forgiven. His punishment accordingly was delayed; but, instigated by Lennox, he revived once more his

claim, and endeavoured to make it good at the head of an armed band, with which he forcibly invaded the presbytery of Glasgow, insulted its members, and dragged the moderator to prison. The church on this excommunicated the offender, but the privy council proclaimed the sentence null and void. Thus the civil and ecclesiastical powers were brought into such antagonism, that one of the parties must give way. But feeling that not only its rights were violated, but that its very existence was at stake, the church persevered in the perilous encounter, and a deputation of ministers, with Andrew Melvil at their head, repaired to the king at Perth, to present a remonstrance of the General Assembly against these tyrannical proceedings. As their mission was so odious to the royal favourites and courtiers, apprehensions had been entertained that the ministers might lose their lives in the attempt; and in Scotland, at such a season, an angry outbreak of this nature would neither have been an impossible nor unlikely occurrence. On presenting the remonstrance before the king in council, the fierce Earl of Arran exclaimed with a threatening tone, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," replied Andrew Melvil calmly, and taking the pen from the clerk, he subscribed the paper, and was immediately followed by his brethren. Lennox and Arran were daunted, and allowed the ministers to depart in peace. But the despotism of these favourites still continuing, produced that combination among the nobles known in the history of the times by the name of the "Raid of Ruthven," in which the king was closely warded, and the favourites banished from the royal presence. On recovering his liberty, James recalled Arran, and renewed his attempts against the church, the chief offender in which, according to royal reckoning, was Andrew Melvil, who, in the beginning of February, 1584, was summoned to answer before the privy council for certain treasonable sentiments which he was alleged to have uttered in his sermon upon the fast day. He appeared, and rehearsed the words he had uttered in the pulpit. But this not satisfying the council, he was summoned a second time; upon which he drew up a protest against their proceedings, and declined their authority, declaring, that as the charges against him were wholly ecclesiastical, being about words alleged to have been uttered in preaching, he ought therefore in the first instance to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts, who were the proper and constituted judges of any such clerical offence. On giving in this declinature, the king and Arran were furious, but Melvil told them that they were too bold to pass by, in a constituted Christian kirk, its pastors, prophets, and doctors, and take upon them to judge the doctrine and control the ambassadors and messengers of a greater than was here. "That you may see your own weakness and rashness," he added, "in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do, there are my instructions and warrant"—and with that, he loosed a little Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and laid it on the table before them. Arran opened the book, gazed upon it in hopeless ignorance, and handing it to the king, said, "Sir, he scorns your majesty and the council." "Nay, I scorn not," replied Melvil, "but am in good earnest." For his refusal to be tried, in the first instance, upon a question of doctrine before the king and council, and for what was accounted his unreverent behaviour, he was sentenced to imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh during the royal pleasure; but knowing that this place was to be changed for Blackness Castle, of which Arran was the keeper, he took the opportunity of a short interval that was allowed him, and escaped in safety to Berwick.

The flight of this bold champion of the independence of the church emboldened the king and his courtiers to more daring deeds of oppression; and a series of acts were passed by the parliament, which were known in the country as the "Black Acts of 1584." Although gently expressed, their purport was sufficiently despotic, and subversive of the liberties of the church; for they made the declinature of the king's or council's authority in any case to be treason, restricted public meetings in such terms as to suppress all freedom of discussion in presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, and invested the bishops with full authority over ecclesiastical matters in their respective dioceses. These enactments sufficiently announced the abrogation of the national Presbyterian church by royal authority, and the establishment of Episcopacy in its stead. In consequence of these oppressive measures, twenty of the boldest and most conscientious of the ministers were compelled to escape to England, while those who remained were either so shackled by restrictions that all freedom of action was suspended, or obliged to maintain an unequal conflict against the restored Episcopacy backed by the king, his favourite, and the privy council, and in the face of parliamentary prohibitions and penalties. In such circumstances, a reaction of the Scottish spirit was inevitable, and it occurred in the old Scottish fashion. In 1585 the banished lords of the "Raid of Ruthven," the fugitive ministers, and the self-exiled Scots of every degree who had removed themselves beyond the reach of political and religious tyranny, had gathered to a head in England, and finding themselves strong enough to make good their entrance into Scotland, they returned, not as fugitives and banished men, but as those who had both right

and power to redress the wrongs of their church and country. The result was, that Arran was driven into obscurity, and the king obliged to assume a more moderate tone; while Episcopacy, though it could not be abrogated, was reduced as before to its place within the verge of Presbyterian parity and submission — a reduction that was soon after signalized in the excommunication of Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by the synod of Fife. Although all this was much, yet it fell short of the mark, as the order of bishops was still tolerated, and might at any future period be restored to its wonted pre-eminence. Indeed, it was soon found that the patriotic lords, at their return, were more intent in settling their own private quarrels, and securing their personal interests, than in caring for the rights of the church, or advancing its welfare.

The great public political events that followed were of a nature to reconcile James to the national church, or at least compel him to a show of amity. The Popish continental league, which had for its object the restoration of Mary Stuart to her throne, and the conquest of Protestant England by the subjugation of Scotland, was matured for action; the Spanish Armada was ready to set sail; and James, who knew that the reposition of his mother would not only uncrown him in Scotland, but might debar him from the still more tempting succession of England, was glad to strengthen himself in the Protestant feelings of his subjects. On this account he was careful not only to avoid all encroachments upon the church, but to propitiate its ministers whom he had formerly persecuted. This mutual agreement was strikingly manifested in 1590, when he performed the only adventurous deed of his long reign, by sailing to Denmark and espousing the Princess Anne, in spite of the storms which witchcraft had raised against the enterprise. Before he set sail, he entrusted the guardianship of the kingdom in an especial manner to Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who enjoyed the chief confidence of his brethren; and, at his return, was so well pleased at the manner in which the trust had been discharged, that he declared it worth a "whole quarter of his little kingdom." Elated, also, in no ordinary degree by his chivalrous voyage and its success, he gave full vent to his feelings in a meeting of the General Assembly which was held in August, three months after his return. He praised God that he was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the gospel; to such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. "The Kirk of Geneva," said he, "keepeth Pasch and Yule; what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I bruik my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." There was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour but praising God, and praying for the king. It was a striking scene, as well as the manifestation of an unwonted mood on the part of the royal speaker. Nor was the feeling so evanescent as might have been expected, as, two years afterwards, James conceded more liberally to the demands of the Scottish church than he had hitherto done. While the harmony between the civil and ecclesiastical powers was as yet uninterrupted, the General Assembly, in 1592, drew up a full list of their requirements, which the king received and favourably answered; and though all was not granted which had been asked, the concessions were so ample that they constituted then, as afterwards, the Magna Charta of the Church of Scotland. They were passed in parliament assembled for the purpose, which ratified and approved "all liberties, privileges, immunities, and freedoms whatsoever given and granted by his highness, his regents in his name, or any of his predecessors, to the true and holy kirk presently established within this realm, and declared in the first act of his highness's parliament, the twenty day of October, the year of God 1579 years." By these enactments, it may be stated in general terms, that the right of general assemblies, synods, and presbyteries to hold their meetings was recognized, and that their discipline and jurisdiction was to continue and hold good whatever statutes, acts, and laws might have been made to the contrary. The royal supremacy was to be in no wise prejudicial to the rights of the church office-bearers concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment and deprivation of ministers, or the infliction of such censures as the Word of God warranted; and the commission formerly granted to bishops, and other judges appointed by the king in the trial of ecclesiastical causes, was henceforth to be null and of no effect. But notwithstanding these concessions, there were demands still left unsatisfied, and wrongs unredressed, which could furnish ample ground for future controversy and contention between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

As the prospects of the English succession were now continuing to expand and become every year more certain, James endeavoured to accommodate his proceedings to the occasion. He knew that the Presbyterianism of Scotland, so like the Puritanism of England, was in the highest degree distasteful to Elizabeth; and his own likings were in

favour of Episcopacy, which acknowledged the kingly rule in ecclesiastical affairs, and recognized the sovereign as the head of the church. These were motives sufficiently strong for his dislike of the ecclesiastical republicanism of his own country, and his desire to conciliate the Anglican church, in which he hoped at no distant day to rule as a pontiff. But a more difficult task which remained for him was to conciliate the Popish party, still powerful in Scotland and England through their connection with the continental powers, and whose concurrence would be of the utmost importance in facilitating his admission to the English throne. To this purpose, therefore, he directed all his kingcraft, and with such effect that the English Papists were more desirous of having him for their king than even the Protestants; but in securing this future contingency, he almost lost the present reality, for his Scottish subjects, alarmed at his tamperings with Popery, began to suspect that, if not a Papist in heart, he was at least compromising the safety of their church, and the cause of the Reformation itself, by his concessions to their irreconcilable enemies. At last, in 1596, when the dread of a Spanish invasion of Scotland was at the height, the banished Popish lords secretly returned to Scotland, and were about to be restored to place and power. Alarmed at this ominous movement, a deputation from the church was sent to the king, with James Melvil for their spokesman, as it was thought that his courteous speech and mild demeanour were best suited for a transaction of this kind with royalty. The interview took place at Falkland; but no sooner had the minister announced the purport of their arrival, and the proceedings of the clerical court by which they had been commissioned, than the king angrily charged that meeting with being seditious, declared that it had been alarmed without cause, and accused them of stirring up alarm in the country when none was needed. James Melvil was about to return a soft answer; but Andrew Melvil, his uncle, fearing, perhaps, that the purpose of the mission would be lost by too much forbearance, and kindled at the king's charge of sedition against the brethren, broke in abruptly upon the conference. Taking the king by the sleeve, and addressing him with the epithet of "God's silly vassal," he thundered in his ears to the following effect:—"Sir, we will humbly reverence your majesty always, namely, in public; but we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and you are brought into extreme danger both of your life and of your crown, and with you, the country and kirk of God is like to be wrecked for not telling the truth, and giving you a faithful counsel. We must discharge our duty, or else be enemies to Christ and you; therefore, sir, as divers times before, so now I must tell you that there are two kings and two kingdoms. There is Christ and his kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called and commanded to watch over his kirk, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power from him so to do, which no Christian king nor prince should control nor discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clouts, Christ reigned freely in this land in spite of all his enemies. His officers and ministers convened and assembled for ruling of his kirk, which was ever for your welfare, also when the same enemies were seeking your destruction; and have been, by their assemblies and meetings since, terrible to these enemies, and most steadable for you. Will you now, when there is more than necessity, challenge Christ's servants, your best and most faithful subjects, for their convening, and for the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did? The wisdom of your counsel, which is devilish and pernicious, is this—that you may be served with all sorts of men to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the ministers and Protestants in Scotland are too strong, and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and the king, being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him; so shall he be well settled. But, sir, let God's wisdom be the only true wisdom: this will prove mere and mad folly; for his curse cannot but light upon it, so that in seeking both you shall lose both; whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants shall be your true friends, and he shall compel the rest, counterfeitly and lyingly, to serve you, as he did to David." We can imagine with what feeling Elizabeth or her father would have listened to such sentiments, and enforced in such a fashion; but the arguments were nothing more than the legitimate consequences of an ecclesiastical polity which James himself had recognized; and as for the blunt mode in which his attention had been solicited, it was too much in accordance with the simple fashions of a Scottish court to excite either wonder or alarm. While Elizabeth, therefore, would have called for her guards, or Henry VIII. shouted for the executioner, James only listened quietly, as to an expected lesson, although this was but a part of the harangue, and "demitted them pleasantly," declaring his ignorance of the return of the Popish lords. All this courtesy, however, on the part of the king was but an empty show, for the Popish lords were al-

lowed to remain unmolested, and the proceedings still went on for their reinstatement.

Alarmed at these continuing symptoms, and dreading the growing favour of Popery in high places, the church proceeded to more decisive measures; and for this purpose they appointed certain ministers from the different presbyteries to repair to the capital, and form, with the presbytery of Edinburgh, a standing council of the church, for the purpose of watching public events, and providing for coming emergencies. It was both a wise and a necessary expedient for a rude age of sudden transitions, and unprincipled plots and conspiracies, in which the welfare of the church was unscrupulously sacrificed. A deputation of four ministers was also sent to the king, to lay before him the complaints of the church and crave redress; to whom he replied that there could be no agreement between him and the ministers till "the marches of their jurisdictions were rid." He also complained that the ministers themselves gave him occasion to speak of them, never ceasing in their sermons to provoke him, and to disgrace him before the people. To this they replied that "the free preaching of the Word, and rebuke of sin in whatsoever person without respect, and discipline joined therewith, were established, after many conferences, upon evident grounds of the Word, by his majesty's laws and acts of parliament, and many years' practice and use passed thereupon." It may be here remarked, that in an age when the only source of public intelligence was the pulpit, and when the consequent duty of a minister of religion was "to preach to the times," it was necessary to introduce subjects which now belong exclusively to the press; and that to extinguish this right was tantamount to the modern political offence of closing the public printing-offices and arresting their journalists—a violation of national rights that would be thought enough to justify a national rebellion. The spirit of general inquiry awoke by the Reformation was still groping its way in advance, and could only establish a new order of things by trial and experiment, and these ministers, with all their freedom of speech upon public events, were the only journalists of the day. It was not wonderful, therefore, that James, who had often winced under their animadversions upon his personal vices, as well as been annoyed by their watchfulness of his public proceedings, and hostility to his despotic purposes, should have regarded the liberty of the pulpit with that amount of royal hatred which, in modern times, has been transferred to the liberty of the press, and exercise of public judgment.

An opportunity was even now at hand for bringing this important question to the issue of a public trial. Mr. David Black, minister of St. Andrews, was accused of having employed certain reprehensible expressions in his sermons; and for this offence he was summoned to answer before the privy council. The charges against him were, that he had affirmed the return of the Popish lords to have been made with his majesty's knowledge, and upon his assurance, and that in this case the king had discovered the treachery of his heart. He had called all kings "the devil's bairns," and added that the devil was in the court, and in the guiders of it. In his prayer for the queen he had used these words—"We must pray for her for the fashion, but we have no cause; she will never do us good." He had called the Queen of England an atheist. He had discussed in the pulpit a suspension granted by the Lords of Session, and called them miscreants and bribers. In speaking of the nobility, he said they were degenerate, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church; and in mentioning the council he had called them howleglasses, cormorants, and men of no religion. Such were the expressions he was charged with using in his sermons, if we may believe the testimony of an historian who, at this period, was alleged to have been trimming between his clerical brethren and the court, and betraying the former to the latter.[1] But the most startling charge of all was the concluding one, which might suffice to make all the rest uncertain, or positively worthless. It was that the said David Black "had convocated divers noblemen, barons, and others, within St. Andrews, in the month of June, 1594, caused them take arms and divide themselves in troops of horse and foot, and had thereby usurped the power of the king and civil magistrate." It is singular that this phantom array was never heard of till now, and that it was suffered to vanish so lightly from the accusation, while the alleged words were laid hold of and kept as substantial evidences. Perceiving that the purpose of these charges was to suppress the liberty of preaching in all time to come, the commission of the clergy in Edinburgh advised Black to decline the judgment of the privy council, in the first instance, as a court incompetent to decide; and his declinature, which he gave in accordingly, was backed by the signatures of 300 ministers. It was no longer a private and individual charge, but a great public contest between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and a contest in which the former were certain to prevail, at least at the outset. Black was pronounced

[1] "None so diligent in outward appearance to procure subscriptions to the declinature, as Mr. John Spotswood, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews; and yet in the very meantime, as is constantly reported, he informed or sent to the king, by a courtier, information of all the proceedings of the counsel of the brethren, and other ministers forward in the same cause."—*Calderwood*, fol. p. 339.

guilty, and sentenced to confinement beyond the Tay until the king should decide upon his further punishment. But this was nothing compared with what followed. The powers of the commissioners of the assembly were declared to be illegal, and the commissioners themselves were ordered to leave Edinburgh; the ministers, by a decree of council, were required, before receiving payment of their stipends, to subscribe a bond in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the king and privy council as often as they were accused of preaching treasonable or seditious doctrine; and all magistrates of burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, were commanded and empowered to interrupt such language as often as they heard it from the pulpit, and imprison those who uttered it.

After this event, the famous riot of the 17th of December occurred, a riot originating in the Protestant dread of a Popish massacre in Edinburgh, at a time when the popular mind was kept in a constant state of alarm, and which the favour shown by James to the Popish nobles was little calculated to allay. But insignificant and momentary though it was in itself, and unaccompanied with injury either to life or property, it was an opportunity too favourable for the designs of the king to be allowed to pass unpunished. It was therefore magnified into a daring act of rebellion and treason on the part of the people, headed by their ministers, for which no penalty could be too severe; and James talked loftily of razing the city to the ground, and erecting a monument on the place where it stood. By such threats the people were detached from the clergy, and the latter left unprotected to royal vengeance and persecution. And here the kingcraft of James found full scope for its exercise. The ministers of Edinburgh were obliged to withdraw from the capital. The members of the General Assembly were so successfully allured or terrified, that a majority was won over to assent to the king's proposals, which had the subversion of the liberties of the church for their object. In this way he was enabled to have a committee chosen from among his own clerical adherents for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, through whom he could control the proceedings of the church courts. His next step was to overthrow the principle of Presbyterian parity, and thus prepare the church for Episcopal rule; and this he effected by proposing that the national representation should be completed by the re-admission of a "Third Estate" into parliament—men who held the clerical office, and should be the guardians and representatives of the interests of the church. Overawed by the king and persuaded by his advocates, the General Assembly, by a scanty majority of ten, assented to the change; and it was agreed that fifty-one ministers, corresponding to the number of bishops, abbots, and priors, who had formerly sat in the Scottish parliament, should now assume their places as representatives. Even then, however, independently of the craft and double-dealing with which the measure was insinuated and finally carried through the protests and opposition of the assembly, it would have been defeated, but for the care that had been taken to divest it of its more repulsive features. By this third estate, it was announced, the church would have an equal voice in the government, and be able to communicate directly both with king and council, instead of coming to their doors as a humble suppliant; while its members, instead of holding the hated name of "bishops," as it was now understood, were only to have the title of Commissioners of the Church in parliament. Several restrictions were added, by which these commissioners were to be dependent for their election upon the General Assembly, and subject, in their proceedings, to its authority; they were to continue their pastoral duties like the other ministers, and, like them, to be amenable to the authority of their own presbytery and synod. These, and other "caveats," were specified, to allay the apprehensions of the church at large, and were solemnly ratified by act of parliament, although they were nothing more, from the beginning, than fallacious promises. This we are assured from Spotswood himself, who tells us that it "was neither the king's intention, nor the minds of the wiser sort, to have these cautions stand in force; but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy made without any noise, the king gave way to these conceits."[1] Thus, the substance at least of Episcopacy being introduced into the Scottish church, the shadow was certain in its course to follow. Well might Davidson, one of the aged fathers of the Reformation, exclaim of this new parliamentary representation, "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairly as ye will, we see him weel eneuch: we see the horns of his mitre!"[2]

During the short period of James's stay in Scotland after these transactions, his efforts were directed to the full establishment of his ascendency over the church, for the purpose of finally subjecting it to Episcopal rule, and bringing it into conformity with that of England. With the concurrence of the commissioners he filled up the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness, and in like manner would have attempted to fill up the other Episcopal charges, if the di-

[1] *Spotswood*, p. 454.

[2] For this abstract of Scottish ecclesiastical history, we refer to the authority of its early historians, Calderwood, Row, Scot, and Spotswood.

lapidated church revenues could have been recalled for the purpose. Instead of announcing, at the close of each General Assembly, the time and place of meeting for the next, he appointed them when and where he pleased by proclamation at the market crosses; and by this abrupt and unceremonious mode of convening it, he endeavoured to make the duty of meeting oppressive to the members, as well as to desecrate the institution in the eyes of the people. Even when the assembly did meet under such humiliating circumstances, James was enabled to control its proceedings through the commission, which he had made so subservient to his purposes that it was called the "led horse" of the king. To this state was the Scottish church reduced when James, by the death of Elizabeth, succeeded to the throne of England. Whatever may have been the national exultation on the subject, the stanch friends of Scottish Presbyterianism could not help regarding it with anxious foreboding. When almost single-handed, he had effected so much by mere craft and cunning, what might he not attempt or effect with the whole weight of England to aid him? It was too far-seeing to surmise, at so early a period, that the national spirit would thereby be only effectually roused into jealous activity, and that a bold and successful reaction would be the result.

While the Scottish Reformation had thus been undergoing such a struggle, and establishing a polity that was distasteful to the civil power, the history of English Protestantism was widely different. At the head of the movement, in the first instance, was a despotic sovereign; and although it was his interest to break loose from the dominion of Rome, he was little disposed to carry the change much farther. It was a political rather than a religious reformation in the church, that formed the mark of his ambition; and when the Papal yoke was wholly thrown off, he was willing that there the movement should stop short, or, at least, proceed according to his own dictation. Such also was the leading principle of Elizabeth during her long and vigorous reign, and which her successes enabled her to carry into effect. Hence the monarchical government of the English church, with the king for its head and prelates for its ruling office-bearers; and hence, also, the pomps and formalities which were as essential for the kingly rule as that of the pope. All this was in marked contrast to the republicanism of the Scottish Reformation, which originated in the people, and had the powers of the state, not for its leaders, but its antagonists.

It was impossible, however, that a whole nation, and such a nation as England, would be contented to formulate its creed and ritual entirely according to royal dictation; and, coeval with the commencement of this great event, there were many whose wishes had outstripped the mark of royalty. These were, properly, the Puritans of England, when as yet the name was unknown; and from the innate tendency of the human mind, when fully emancipated, to hold onward in its new course—from the example of other Protestant countries—and from the connection formed between the foreign leading Reformers and those of England—the germ of English Puritanism was certain to strengthen and shoot upward, in spite of the opposition that awaited it. Thus questions were agitated and doubts entertained, even among the fathers of the new English church, regarding the propriety of retaining these ancient forms; and while one party advocated them on the plea that the people would "come easily into the more real changes that were made in the doctrines, when they saw the outward appearance so little altered," it was alleged, on the other hand, "that this still kept up the inclination in the people to the former practices."[1] Thus, Latimer laid aside, and Hooper refused to assume, the Episcopal vestments. Ridley directed the altar to be changed after the "form of an honest table decently covered."[2] In King Edward's time the surplice was neither universally used nor pressed upon the clergy. Later still, Archbishop Parker administered the Lord's Supper to persons standing, in the cathedral church at Canterbury, and there the practice continued until 1608. The persecution of Mary also, which drove so many Protestants to the Continent, tended greatly to the increase of Puritanism, as these exiles, on their return, brought along with them the doctrines they had learned, and the forms they had practised, in the churches of Switzerland, France, and Geneva. Even this persecution, also, which at home allured so many from their half-Protestantism back to the faith of Rome, only strengthened the growing Puritanism, and confirmed the faith of its adherents, from the distinct antagonism of their creed, and the firm decision which its adoption had required.

On the accession of Elizabeth, and the re-establishment of Protestantism in England, the change that so effectually blasted the hopes of the Catholics brought little favour to the Puritans. For while the oath of supremacy effectually excluded the former, the act of both Houses of Parliament, for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments, bore hard upon the latter. This was the more confirmed, from the revision that had been made of the Liturgy of King Edward, and the alterations that had been

[1] Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol iii. p. 365.
[2] Ibid.

introduced to make the service more acceptable to the Popish party, and also from the restoration of the Court of High Commission, with its ample authority to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever." The Puritans, indeed, made no scruple about the oath of supremacy, as it excluded the jurisdiction of the pope; but the outward habits and forms they rejected, as vestiges of the ancient superstition. In this, also, they were not singular, as not a few of the bishops sympathized in their dislike, and would have gone wholly along with them, but for their fear of the queen. While Puritan principles were thus strong among the rulers of the church, they had their friends and protectors in the queen's council, such as Leicester, Walsingham, Lord-keeper Bacon, Bedford, Warwick, Huntingdon, Sadler, and Knollys.[1] The wishes, however, as well as the strength and influence of the Puritan party at this period, were distinctly manifested at the convocation held in St. Paul's, A.D. 1562, when a paper, subscribed by thirty-three members of the lower house, proposed the following changes: viz., the disuse of lay baptism and the sign of the cross; the substitution of reading or singing the psalms for chanting; kneeling at the Lord's Supper to be left to the discretion of the ordinary; the laying aside of copes and surplices, and the same habit to be worn in the desk and in the pulpit; the censure on nonconformity to be made more gentle; all festivals, except Sundays and the principal feasts, to be abolished; and the minister to turn his face to the people in common prayer. After a long and keen disputation, forty-three of the clergy who were present voted in favour of the changes, while only thirty-five were against them. But for the first party there were not more than fifteen proxies, while there were twenty-four for the latter; and thus the continuance of the Book of Common Prayer, in an unaltered state, was carried by only a majority of *one*. It was a most important event in the history of Puritanism.[2] The queen's influence alone, and her well-known resolution to uphold the established order in the church and enforce uniformity, prevented those contemplated changes, and postponed them to an indefinite period. But was the time fitted for such a revolution? And has the event been still delayed only for the coming of a better season and happier opportunity?

Uniformity being thus decreed by a majority of one vote, was now to be enforced and established; and as violence was needed against such a weight of opposition, severe measures were not spared. Among those who were either disgraced, or secluded from the church for their nonconformity at this time, the illustrious names occur of Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI., and translator of the Bible; Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ Church, one of the most learned and pious ecclesiastics of his age and country; and John Fox, the celebrated martyrologist. The more gentle modes of procuring the compliance of the recusants had sometimes such a touch of the melodramatic character as would startle the fastidiousness of the present day. A pageant of this kind was afforded by the ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth in 1565. On this occasion, Mr. Robert Cole, a minister of the city, lately a nonconformist, but now reduced to compliance, was dressed out in full clerical panoply, and placed as the front figure in the meeting, while the chancellor of the Bishop of London thus harangued the auditory: —"My masters and the ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that ye strictly keep the unity of apparel, like to this man as you see him (pointing to Cole); that is, a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice; and inviolably observe the rubric of the Common Prayer, and the queen's majesty's injunctions, and the Book of Convocation. Ye that will presently subscribe, write *volo;* those that will not subscribe, write *nolo*. Be brief; make no words!" When some would have remonstrated, he silenced their objections with, "Peace, peace! Apparitor, call the churches. Masters, answer presently, under penalty of contempt, and set your names." The summoner then called first the nonconformists of Canterbury, then some of the Winchester diocese, and finally, the London ministers, at which abrupt proceedings many of the incumbents were "mightily surprised." All who refused were in the first instance sequestered, and afterwards several were deposed and deprived.[3]

During the first twelve years of the reign of Elizabeth, the objections of the Puritans were confined to the forms and ceremonies of the church; and if a compromise had been granted, or if even less repulsive modes of persuasion had been adopted, the result might have been a peaceful uniformity. But persecution only served to confirm and harden the spirit of opposition, so that after this period, the Puritans proceeded to oppose not the mere forms, but the very government and constitution of the church by which they were so oppressed and persecuted. It was natural that they should now look more anxiously towards the Protestant churches established upon the Continent, and contrast the sim-

[1] Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 226, 388.

[2] Burnet's *Hist. Ref.*, vol. iii. p. 444; Strype, *Annals*, p. 337; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 143; Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 391.

[3] Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 219; Strype's *Annals*.

plicity of their worship with that ritual against which they rebelled. Nor was the example of Scotland, with its simple form of worship and republican church government, allowed to pass unnoticed. And now commenced those symptoms of absolute separation from the national church to which they had hitherto adhered in the hope of the coming of a better day. The first of these ominous secessions was in 1567, when about 100 persons in London met in Plummer's Hall, to worship God in their own fashion, irrespective of the absolute rule both of queen and Archbishop of Canterbury. This commencement was speedily followed by other similar meetings in private houses, while the proclamations against such conventicles, and the punishments of fine and imprisonment, only multiplied their number, and more effectually endeared them to their frequenters. And the prevailing direction which this tendency was likely to take was soon manifested at Wandsworth, where a presbytery was set up, that was followed by other similar establishments throughout the country. A Book of Discipline was also drawn up on the continental Presbyterian model for the government of this secession, subscribed by no fewer than 500 ministers. By these new regulations it was proposed, that candidates for ordination should be approved by a *classis*, or association of ministers; that the clergy belonging to their community should proceed to omit such parts of the Liturgy as might be done without danger of deprivation; that they should subscribe to the articles relating to the sum of the Christian faith and the sacraments, but not to the remaining articles, nor to the Book of Common Prayer; and that other changes should be observed, so far as might be consistent with the law of the land, and the peace of the church. But this book was seized and burned by order of the primate before it had issued from the press.[1] But besides these Presbyterian nonconformists, another sect, called Brownists, arose, whose hostility to the national church was of a still more violent and decisive character. But whether Brownist or Presbyterian, the recusants were equally punished as rebels to the queen's majesty and enemies of the church, while their remonstrances were unheeded and their scruples despised. One of these men, a preacher, after having been eleven months in prison, complained to the ecclesiastical commissioner of the cruel treatment he and his brethren endured, and all for religion and conscience, protesting that he should only play the hypocrite and dissemble if he went to the church, and joined in the ordinances as they were there administered. The fierce, curt reply of the commissioner was, "Come to the church, and obey the queen's laws; and be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or a devil if thou wilt!"[2] But dissent was not exclusively confined to these two parties, for besides them, were the Familists, or Family of Love, and the Anabaptists, who towards the close of Elizabeth's reign began to muster a formidable array for the religious contests of the succeeding generation. This Family of Love, partly it may be from their equivocal title, were a sect to whom were imputed not only the grossest of heresies, but the most flagitious of practices, so that the secret abominations with which the early Christians were charged by the heathens, the Albigenses by the Papists of the middle ages, and the Yezides by the Mussulmans of the present century, were attributed to them by those who hated and persecuted them. But notwithstanding such foul and indiscriminate charges from the common store-house of persecution, these unfortunate Familists seem to have been nothing worse than mystics and theosophists, who aimed at an impossible perfection, and interpreted Scripture by the light of their own dreams and reveries. As for the Anabaptists, who had appeared in England during the early days of Lollardism, and had lately been reinforced from the wild sectaries of the same name in Germany, the evil reputation of their past deeds at Münster still clung to them, and they were punished under the assumption that every one bearing the title must be a rebel, heretic, and blasphemer. But they were vigorous plants that grew by being trode upon, and when the Civil war commenced, they were able to exact a terrible retribution.

These religious commotions that disturbed, and persecutions that disgraced the close of the reign of Elizabeth, had been materially influenced by the administration of her two last Archbishops of Canterbury. Grindal, the first of these, who had himself been an exile for religion during the rule of Mary, endeavoured to reclaim the Puritans by argument, but had failed; he even tried concessions, but these had also failed, as the Puritans complained that he had conceded too little; and thus, while his gentleness had only invigorated the dissentients, it had brought upon him the reproaches of the queen and the church, by whom he was disgraced, and all but deposed. He resigned his charge in 1582, in consequence of having become incurably blind, and was succeeded by a man of a wholly opposite character. This was Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and vice-president of the marches of Wales, who had been raised to these dignities for his keen and able writings against the Puritans. The queen, indeed, had repeatedly offered to make him lord-chancellor; but now she made him Primate of all

[1] *Neal*, Appendix, vol. i.

[2] Strype's *Annals*, iv.; Appendix, Nos. 91, 92

England, as a ruler of the church by whom her wishes for a complete conformity would be fully carried out. He was, indeed, such an Archbishop of Canterbury as England had never yet enjoyed the like—one who combined the grandeur and pompous display of Wolsey, with the military spirit of the prelate-princes of the Crusades. For, as we are told by his admiring biographer, he kept, "for the exercise of military discipline, a good armoury, and a fair stable of horses, insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and foot, and divers times had 100 foot and fifty horse of his own servants, mustered and trained, for which purpose he entertained captains. He had also skilful riders, who taught them to manage their horses, and instructed them in warlike exercises, all whom he rewarded in a liberal manner." The splendour of his retinue on his official progresses, fully matched these warlike appointments; for on his first journey to Kent, we are informed by the same authority, he rode to Dover attended by more than 100 of his own servants in livery, including forty gentlemen wearing chains of gold. The stateliness of his appearance on that occasion, and the pomp he displayed on the following Sunday, in the cathedral of Canterbury, were so great, that a Roman Catholic from Rome who was present, declared that he had never seen a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound, except in the pope's chapel.[1] Such an archbishop, in whom her own grandeur was reflected, and Rome itself rivalled, was most grateful to Elizabeth, who visited him yearly in her progresses, and was so gratified with her entertainment, that she called him her "black husband." We can easily imagine how this glitter affected the simple-minded Puritans, and how strongly it must have confirmed them in the belief that the church stood in need of reform. But his severe administration against them, which commenced only a few months after his promotion to the see of Canterbury, convinced them that these showy cavalcades were not to form the head and front of his offending. In his articles for the observance of discipline, he prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechizing in private, "whereto any not of the same family should resort." To compel uniformity, he withdrew the indulgences hitherto allowed by the bishops to the Puritan ministers, and ordered that none should preach or teach unless he wore the clerical habits, conformed to the whole service, and administered the sacrament four times a-year—requisitions that emptied the pulpits by hundreds. Even the remonstrances of Burghley and Walsingham were in vain to check these inquisitorial proceedings, and avert the miseries they occasioned; for Whitgift, strong in the favour of Elizabeth, was more powerful than her council. Such was his administration during the twenty years of his archiepiscopal rule, and such the rent and troubled condition of the English church when James became its recognized head. Both parties had been for some time awaiting the event in a suspense of hope and fear. The Puritans might reasonably expect that James, as a Calvinist, would coincide with the strictness of their religious views; that having publicly stigmatized the English service as an "evil said mass," and Pasche and Yule as unauthorized observances, he would abrogate, or at least modify the Prayer Book, and discard the obnoxious holidays; that, bred a Presbyterian, he would endeavour to bring their church into greater conformity with that of Scotland. But, on the other hand, the bishops might expect much from the well-known dislike of James to a church of presbyters, his labours for the establishment of a modified Episcopacy in Scotland, and his love of absolute rule, which sought a bench of bishops to support it. Even already, Whitgift had sent his agents to Scotland to assure James of the hearty devotedness of himself and his brethren, and the king had promised his royal favour in requital. It was now the turn of the Puritans to bestir themselves, and in April, 1603, while he was on his progress from Scotland, they presented to him their famous "millenary petition."

This important manifesto is worthy of notice, as indicating the views of the Puritans at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Even as yet, they seem to have contemplated not a revolution of the church, but its reformation, and a reformation that did not touch its doctrines, or even its Episcopal form of government, but only its ceremonies and observances. They had abandoned not only their Presbyterian model, but their condemnation of archbishops, bishops, deans, and canons, which they had formerly reprobated as unscriptural. Was it, that persecution had taught them moderation; or that their petition was only tentative, and the first of a series that would have followed step by step, until the change formerly in contemplation was completed? It is impossible to tell, but the petition itself, which was singularly moderate both in language and spirit, was as follows:—

1. In regard to the church service: "That the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to infants, baptism by women, and confirmation, may be taken away; that the cap and surplice may not be urged; that examination may go before the communion; that the ring in marriage may be dispensed with; that the service may be abridged, and church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's-day may not be pro-

[1] Sir G. Paule's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift.*

faned, nor the observation of other holidays strictly enjoined; that ministers may not be charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that none but canonical Scriptures be read in the church."

2. In regard to ministers: "That none may be admitted but able men; that they be obliged to preach on the Lord's-day; that such as are not capable of preaching may be removed, or obliged to maintain preachers; that non-residency be not permitted; that King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy be revived; and that ministers be not obliged to subscribe, but, according to law, to the articles of religion, and the king's supremacy only."

3. In regard to benefices: "That bishops leave their commendams; that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be given to preaching incumbents only; and that lay impropriations be charged with a sixth or a seventh part for the maintenance of a preacher."

4. In the matter of discipline: "That excommunication and censure be not in the name of lay-chancellors, &c.; that men be not excommunicated for twelve-penny matters, nor without consent of their pastors; that registrars and others, having jurisdiction, do not put their places out to farm; that sundry Popish canons be revised; that the length of suits in ecclesiastical courts may be restrained; that the oath *ex officio* be more sparingly used, and licenses for marriage without banns more sparingly granted."

The consequence of this millenary petition was the famous Hampton Court Conference, which James assembled in the beginning of the following year to determine the matters in dispute. In even the arrangements for this memorable conflict it was made evident that the Puritans were to be defeated, for while only four of their number were to be heard as the representatives of their party, they had the principal church dignitaries of England arrayed against them, with the king himself for their spokesman. It was such an opportunity of parading his learning and theological skill as he had never yet enjoyed, and it was to be displayed before kneeling and admiring prelates, and brow-beaten opponents, instead of sturdy Scottish presbyters ready to defend every iota of their church against either king or kaisar. Scottish clergymen, indeed, as well as noblemen, were present, having been called up to England by the king's letters to assist at the controversy; but it was only that they might witness the defeat of his adversaries—that they might see how, in his own words, he "peppered them soundly," and have a full inkling of his resolution to establish Episcopacy in their own country as well as in England. Throughout the whole debate his conduct, which was a compound, or rather medley, of tyrant, pedant, theologian, and buffoon, and the jumble of learning, wisdom, and folly with which he struck his opponents dumb, have been fully described in another portion of our history.[1] His hatred of the northern Presbyterianism, from which he had so lately escaped, and his readiness to identify it with English Puritanism, broke out at every stage of the contest. This was especially the case when Dr. Reynolds, the chief of the Puritan advocates, reckoned the most learned man in England, ventured to propose that the clergy should be allowed to have meetings for prophesying (preaching) in the rural deaneries every three weeks; that such things as could not there be resolved might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation; and, finally, that all the clergy of each diocese should meet in an Episcopal synod, with the bishop for its president, where they might determine upon such questions as could not be decided in the inferior assemblies. But although this was the nearest approach to Presbyterianism that had been made throughout the controversy, and although it was little else than the modified system of church polity which James had been labouring with such pains to establish in Scotland, it was anything but palatable to the royal disputant, who sharply declared, "I will none of that: I will have one doctrine and one discipline—one religion in substance and ceremony." "If you aim," he afterwards declared, "at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth with monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus: then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus; and, therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, '*le roy s'avisera.*'" Still fuming with the thought of Presbytery, he thus concluded his strange harangue:—"Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you, for let that government be once up I am sure I shall be kept in breath: then shall we all of us have work enough—both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone."[2]

But useless though this controversy was in the composing of differences and ending of strife, it produced one essential benefit to Britain and the Christian world at large, for which its defects might well be overlooked. During the course of discussion, Reynolds had proposed to his majesty

[1] Vol. ii. p. 299.

[2] Dr. Barlow's account in the *Phœnix*, p. 169; Patrick Galloway's account of the controversy in Calderwood's *History;* Sir John Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

that there should be made a new translation of the Bible, in consequence of the errors that had crept into the preceding versions; and although Bancroft, Bishop of London, had testily observed, that "if every man's humour should be followed there would be no end of translating," James eagerly closed with the proposal. None of the former kings had been so well qualified for such an undertaking, for, apart from his follies, he was really what Barlow had eulogistically termed him, "a living library and a walking study." It was happy, also, that in this overture of Reynolds, which was so favourably received, the soundness and authority of revelation were to be kept free from fallible and sectarian interference; for the proposal was, "That a translation be made of the whole Bible as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek; and this to be set out and printed *without any marginal notes.*" [It would have been as well if this restriction had spared us the "Epistle Dedicatory" of the translators.] Learned scholars were selected throughout the English universities for the task, and the result showed the judiciousness with which the choice was made. The names of forty translators are given out of the fifty-four to whom the work was intrusted; and even in that age of learning it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find more learned and accomplished linguists. The task was divided among them into six sections, and the work went on simultaneously at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford, while each portion, on being finished, was revised by a committee selected for the purpose. The groundwork of the new translation was the Bishops' Bible; but in those cases where they better agreed with the original, the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, and Whitchurch's (printer) or Cranmer's and the Geneva version, were to be used in preference. In apportioning the divisions of the duty, so that each workman should be suited according to his own particular fitness, Selden, in his *Table-Talk*, informs us "the translators in King James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes); and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault they spoke; if not they read on." The whole version was completed and printed in 1611, and such was its recognized superiority that all the previous translations gave place to it: even in Scotland it superseded the honoured Geneva Bible, the text-book of the northern Reformers and martyrs.[1] It is superfluous, after more than two centuries of experience, during which this version has been a sole authority, to advert to its excellence, whether as a faithful translation, or a "well of English undefiled." While our national Protestantism endures, not only in Britain, but wherever the Anglo-Saxon race extends, it will continue to be the oracle of religious consultation, and the test of theological controversy; and, as long as our language is spoken, it will maintain its authority as a national dictionary and standard.

After the Hampton Court meeting, the Puritans felt the fruitlessness of their hopes. James had declared his full satisfaction with the church as it was then established in England, his disinclination to any change in it, and his resolution to make it a universal church to which all should be obliged to conform. The convocation which was held two months afterwards confirmed the worst fears of the Puritans. A new collection, or Book of Canons, drawn up by the intolerant Bancroft, Bishop of London, was passed through the convocation and the two Houses of Parliament, and ratified by the king, which had conformity for its chief object; and for this purpose the ceremonials at which the Puritans especially stumbled—the use of the clerical vestments, kneeling at the communion, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. —were brought forward with unsparing distinctness. It was decreed, also, that all objectors to the Book of Common Prayer, to the Thirty-nine Articles, to the apostolical character of the church by law established, to the ordination of bishops, and all abettors of churches not belonging to that establishment, should be accursed and excommunicated. Before the close of 1604, through the death of Whitgift, Bancroft became Archbishop of Canterbury, and his beloved canons were not likely, under his administration, to remain a dead letter. In consequence of the severity with which they were executed, it has been alleged that not fewer than 1500 ministers were suspended. But while persecution had become the order of the day, so that no better alternative remained for the oppressed than flight and exile, a new home was in preparation to receive them, and a new world to cultivate and colonize. Out of these English troubles, and by the agency of these despised and afflicted Puritans, an empire as powerful as the parent country was to be founded in the untrodden wilds beyond the Atlantic—an empire which, perhaps, may flourish as the Britain of future ages, when the important destinies of the parent country have been fulfilled!

At the close of Elizabeth's reign, when the severities used against the Nonconformists had continued to increase, and when the ports of England were so closely watched that the victims could obtain the privilege of banishment only at the

[1] *Annals of the English Bible*, by Christopher Anderson, vol. ii. p. 368-386.

risk of death or imprisonment, a congregation of Brownists, with their pastor, John Robinson, had effected their escape from England to Leyden. But they soon found that Holland was not their congenial home. The climate was unsuited to them, the mechanical occupations which they had to follow were unwelcome to men who had been accustomed to agriculture, and with the language and manners of the Dutch they could not become familiar. Though their country had cast them out, still they were and would be Englishmen; and they resolved to make, if they could not find, an England of their own—a country where they could follow their own modes of life, and above all, where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Even their children and posterity were to be English, speaking the language of their fathers, and living under the dominion of the mother country; and from this patriotic feeling they rejected the kind offers of their Dutch landlords, who would have defrayed the expenses of the enterprise, and accompanied them to their distant place of settlement. Virginia was the place of their selection, because it was within the pale of English rule, but still sufficiently remote for the purposes of safety; and having obtained the permission of the Virginia Company in London, they made preparations for their departure by converting their scanty property into a common stock, and hiring two small vessels, the *Speedwell* of 60, and the *Mayflower* of 180 tons. "We are well weaned," they said, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. The people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." Such were those Pilgrim Fathers of the New World, who, with such defective means, but heavenly and heroic purpose, embarked upon an enterprise as bold as that of Cortez and Pizarro —and with what a nobler termination!

Every step of this adventure, which forms so important an epoch in English history, is worthy of attention, although we must dismiss the subject with a brief and passing notice. After they had resided above ten years in Leyden, the first embarkation commenced in 1620. Of Robinson's congregation, which numbered about 300 persons, only a minority could, in the first instance, set sail, owing to the smallness of the vessels; but these were to act as the pioneers of the enterprise, and were to be followed by Robinson and the rest as soon as a settlement had been effected in Virginia, that had now obtained the name of New England. In that minister's parting harangue, there was a liberality and greatness of sentiment seldom accorded by popular report to these early Puritans, and which all parties of Christians in the present day would do well to study. "The Lord has more truth yet to break forth," he said, "out of his Holy Word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, which are come to a period in religion, and will go, at present, no further than the instruments of their reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God. I beseech you remember it—'tis an article of your church covenant—that you shall be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God." The vessels sailed, in the first instance, from Holland to England; but, after a short stay there, the *Speedwell* being declared unserviceable, the *Mayflower* alone held onward in its course, freighted with 101 passengers, consisting of men, women, and children; and, after a voyage of sixty-three days, they landed at that part of the American coast, on which they founded the towns of Plymouth and Boston. Such was the foundation of the United States of America! A huge mass of dark gray granite was the ground on which they first set foot as they landed; and before the town-hall of Plymouth it is now planted, as a great national monument of the Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of the American Republic. Sick and exhausted with the fatigues of the voyage, they fell upon their knees as soon as they had reached the shore, and blessed the God of heaven who had brought them in safety through perils and tempests, after which they proceeded to draw up the political constitution under which they were to live together as a community. It was as brief and simple as the germ of a great national compact could well be, for it was in the following words:—"In the name of God, amen: we whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better order and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

At the close of Elizabeth's reign a congregation of Puritans, with their pastor, escaped to Holland in order to secure freedom to worship in their own fashion. Not being satisfied with their new home in Leyden, however, they determined to sail for Virginia, where they could have such liberty as they desired, and still retain the English tongue and the English forms of governments. *Accordingly, they converted their property into one common stock, hired two small vessels, the* Speedwell *and the* Mayflower, *and set sail from Delft in July, 1620, for England.* After a short stay in Plymouth the *Speedwell* was found to be useless, and the whole company of emigrants departed in the *Mayflower* across the Atlantic on 6th Sept., 1620. After a stormy voyage they landed at that part of the American coast where they afterwards founded the towns of Plymouth and Boston. Sick and exhausted with the fatigues of the voyage, the men, women, and children, to the number of a hundred, fell on their knees and gave thanks to God who had brought them in safety through storm and peril.

Engraved by T. Bauer

DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS FROM DELFT HAVEN. JULY, 1620

FROM THE FRESCO BY [illegible] IN THE NEW PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."[1]

The rest of the reign of James was spent in a constant but unsuccessful warfare against the Puritanism of England and the Presbyterianism of Scotland, and hopeless attempts to reduce both kingdoms, as well as all parties, to complete uniformity in their belief and modes of worship; but these attempts only multiplied the divisions of English sectarianism, and threw back the Scots into a more intense adherence upon their own national church. One of his most important movements in this direction was in 1618, when he published his "*Declaration to Encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's-day*," a work better known by the title of the *Book of Sports*. He saw that Puritanism, by exalting the Sabbath, had made the festivals of the church of little account, and that the weekly fasts, the season of Lent, and the Embering days were generally neglected. He therefore announced it to be his pleasure that the people, "after the end of Divine service, should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations, such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations, nor having of may-poles, whitsun-ales, or morrice-dances, or setting up of may-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be done in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoring of it, according to their old customs." As the Puritans were also distinguished by their love of preaching, while the pulpit was their chief engine of conversion, James, in 1622, issued certain injunctions to the clergy, by which the voice of Puritanism was to be abated, or absolutely silenced. By these it was ordained that no preacher under the rank of a bishop or a dean should fall in his sermons into any common-place of divinity not to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Homilies; and that no mere parish minister should presume to discourse to any popular auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace—the themes to which the Calvinism of the Puritans was most frequently directed. All preachers, also, of whatever degree, were prohibited from presuming, in any auditory, to declare, limit, or set bounds to the prerogative, power, or jurisdiction of sovereign princes, or to meddle at all with affairs of state. The punishment decreed for all such offenders was suspension for a year and a day, till his majesty should prescribe some further penalty with advice of the convocation.

While James was thus pursuing his favourite mode of warfare, his own religious belief was undergoing certain modifications which could not fail to be influential upon the church at large. He had been nursed in the Calvinistic creed; and he was so devoted to its doctrines, that he was ready to persecute all who contradicted or opposed them. Of this he gave a signal proof in 1611, when he wrote to the states of Holland, demanding the deposition of Vorstius from the professorship of theology at Leyden, because he was an Arminian.[2] But while the abstract doctrines of the Genevese Reformer were so much to his taste, their practical operation, as manifested both in the Presbyterianism of Scotland, and the Puritanism of England, was more odious to him than Popery itself. The sternness of Calvinism, the strict morality it enjoined, and above all, its hostility to splendour and formalism in the church and absolutism in the state, were revolting to the despotic tendencies of James, whom they had thwarted in Scotland, and now continued to oppose in England. On the other hand, the prelates and heads of the English church to whom the Puritan antagonism had endeared the opposite doctrines of Arminius, were distinguished by their devotedness to the Divine right of kings, and the principles of non-resistance and passive obedience. It was not strange, therefore, if the mind of James, influenced by the same causes, and attracted towards such supporters, should abate his hatred to Arminianism, and finally learn to embrace it. This he did; and his *Book of Sports*, and prohibitions of Calvinistic preaching, were striking indications of the change. But a spirit was abroad which neither king nor prelate could conjure down; a tide was gathering and advancing against which Episcopal bench and kingly throne were weak embankments; and the opposition of Charles I., which was unable to check, served only to hasten the catastrophe.

If the hopes of the Puritans had been excited by the accession of James to the English throne, no such expectations could be entertained of his successor. On the contrary, having a Papist for his queen, and Laud for his counsellor in church affairs, they regarded the new sovereign with fear and suspicion, which his proceedings soon tended to justify. The character of the Arminian bishops and clergy by whom Charles was surrounded, and in whom the English church was now impersonated, was a sure indication of the religious measures by which his reign was to be signalized. "They admitted the Church of Rome," a modern ecclesiastical historian thus describes them, "to be a true church, and the pope the first bishop of Christendom. They declared for the lawfulness of images in churches; for the real presence; and

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States;* Marsden's *History of the Early Puritans.*

[2] Vol. ii. p. 322.

that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a school nicety. They pleaded for confession to a priest, for sacerdotal absolution, and the proper merit of good works. They claimed an uninterrupted succession of the Episcopal character from the apostles through the Church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her ordinations, when they denied the validity of those of the foreign Protestants. Further, they began to imitate the Church of Rome in her gaudy ceremonies, in the rich furniture of their chapels, and the pomp of their worship. They complimented the Roman Catholic priests with their dignitary titles, and spent all their zeal in studying how to compromise matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old Protestant doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or instructing the people in Christian knowledge."[1] The Puritans, upon whom this semi-Popery was attempted to be imposed, were now strong enough to resist the violation, and it needed no prophetic inspiration, or even extraordinary sagacity, to foresee that a civil war would be inevitable.

Charles had not been many weeks upon the throne when he commenced those religious aggressions which were to end in his ruin. The commencement, also, was made with Scotland, whose long-suffering his father had already so severely tried. James in England had never lost sight of his favourite plan of establishing Episcopacy in his native country, and though he had not brought its church entirely to the English model, he had established bishops, through whom the clergy and the church courts were controlled, and the General Assembly itself reduced to little more than an empty form. But this was not enough in the eyes of Charles, and he sent down injunctions to Scotland, by which conformity to the obnoxious articles of Perth was to be enforced with double severity, and the General Assemblies to be no longer permitted to meet. Having thus done what was certain to alienate the affections of the people, his next blunder was to incense the proud nobility of Scotland, by lowering their rank and menacing their property. The first of these measures was to be effected by raising Spotswood, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the chancellorship, which would have given him precedence of all the nobles; the second, by resuming those church lands which the nobles had seized at the Reformation, but which were now to be recalled and converted into a fund for the maintenance of the bishops, and the establishment of a more costly form of worship. And that form of worship was to be the same as that of England, instead of the simple Presbyterian form which his father had been obliged to leave untouched. A Liturgy was therefore prepared for the country, and one more Arminian and Popish than that of England; for Laud, its chief author, who hoped to establish these innovations over the whole united kingdoms, had foolishly imagined that the experiment could be more safely and effectually commenced in Scotland, which he regarded as a mere tributary province. The introduction of this unfortunate service-book into Edinburgh, and the fate it encountered, have been narrated in another chapter.[2] Then came the establishment of the Four Tables, the drawing up and subscription of the Covenant, and the meeting of the famous General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638—movements by which Episcopacy was swept to the winds, Presbyterianism re-established in all its entireness, and full preparation made to vindicate the national choice by the appeal of battle which was certain to follow.

While Laud and his brethren, under the patronage of Charles, had thus been alienating Scotland, and ripening their theological controversy into campaigns and fields of blood, their proceedings in England had been still more unadvised and violent. We need not again advert to the star-chambering of the period—to the fines and mutilations which were inflicted upon the unfortunate Puritans, and the heroic spirit in which they were endured until endurance was no longer wise or safe. The Scottish resistance roused the spirit of England, and the assembling of the Long Parliament in 1640 made the voice of Puritanism be heard. It was Puritanism also no longer checked by its reverence for royalty, but embittered alike against king and bishop, and demanding such restrictions upon both as had never been previously contemplated. As yet, both Presbyterians and Puritans formed but a minority in the house, while the reform of Episcopacy from Arminianism, rather than its utter extinction, was the first object contemplated. But they warmed and kindled as they proceeded in their work, until the reformation became a revolution. At last, when the bill was passed into a law on the 14th of February, 1642, by which bishops were incapacitated from voting in parliament, Episcopacy was no longer the paramount form of the English church, and afterwards the clergy were free to use the Liturgy in their pulpits, or reject it as they pleased. The cathedral service was also banished and the buildings defaced, the altars and stone tables removed, and the crucifixes, painting, and statuary demolished. When the externals of worship were thus proscribed, and religion itself reduced to principles, the Calvinistic theology, which had now obtained full predominance, was so nearly allied to that of Scotland, that the adoption of Presbyterianism was

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 490.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 444.

an easy step, more especially when it formed the price of Scottish co-operation and assistance.

And now the Westminster Assembly was an inevitable sequence. As it was the parliament that needed the aid and co-operation of the Scots against the king, it was by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament alone that this important assembly was convened. It consisted of 121 divines, to whom twenty-one more were soon afterwards added—four ministers and three lay assessors from Scotland—ten English peers, and twenty members of the House of Commons. The condition of Episcopacy in its present state was mournfully indicated by the presence of about twenty clergymen of the Established church, a small minority, and utterly unfit to stem the tide that was advancing so resistlessly against their cause. But they were speedily saved from such a hopeless struggle; for in consequence of the king's proclamation forbidding the assembly, and declaring its acts illegal, these churchmen retired. The place of meeting was Westminster Abbey, and the sittings commenced on the 1st of July, 1643. The majority of the divines belonging to the Westminster Assembly, although they had received Episcopal ordination, were Presbyterians; and when it was called together for the purpose of settling such a government for the church "as might be most agreeable to God's Holy Word," an intimation was added, "that it should be brought into a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed churches abroad." Then followed the subscription of England to the Solemn League and Covenant, through its national representatives, in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, on the 15th of September, 1643. But still, the Presbyterianism thus established was not the Presbyterianism of Scotland. The distinguishing feature of the latter was its independence of the civil power, and its sacred right of self-government as managed by sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. As Andrew Melvil had distinctly announced to King James, Christ alone was head of the church, and in it his majesty was neither a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member. On this account, every question of the church was settled, and every law for its government enacted, by the church courts alone, while the General Assembly was the highest and last court of appeal. In England, a similar frame-work was to be set up, consisting of four church courts, termed the parochial, classical, provincial, and national. But what was to be the last tribunal of appeal? Here the parliament stepped in, and claimed for itself the full right to decide and terminate, let the church courts deliberate and decree as they might. Thus, it was nothing better than the shackled Presbyterianism of King James—a spiritual republic stripped of its independence, and subject to state control. But independently of this symptom of its insufficiency and feebleness to brave the storms that were gathering around it, there was another circumstance from which its speedy decay and downfall might have been easily predicted. It was not the spontaneous growth of the English soil, nor even the object of its affectionate adoption. The Scottish nation, in consequence of its primitive Culdee teachers, had possessed a Presbyterianism of its own from the earliest introduction of Christianity. In this its childhood and youth had been nursed, and from this it had mainly derived that heroic independence of spirit which formed for ages such a striking feature of the national character; and when the Reformation arrived, it was not otherwise to be expected, than that Scotland should at once embody it in the congenial Presbyterian form. Thus the subscription of the Covenant in the church of Greyfriars', Edinburgh, was a very different deed from the subscription of the same Covenant in St. Margaret's, Westminster. In the former, it was the rising of a whole people for the recovery of that which they valued more than life—a new Bannockburn for something nobler than mere political liberty; while in the latter case, it was a confession of weakness, and badge of national humiliation and submission. In these considerations alone we see cause enough for the weakness of English Presbyterianism, and the facility with which it was overthrown.

The state of parties into which the Westminster Assembly was divided is explanatory, not only of the reluctant assent which was given to the present decision, but also of the discordance of its future sittings. These parties were originally four in number, but after the secession of the Episcopalians they were reduced to three, viz., Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians. Of these the Presbyterians were by far the most numerous, and might be considered as the representatives of English Puritanism through all its preceding stages. In the words of Fuller, "they either favoured the Presbyterian discipline, or in process of time were brought over to embrace it." The nature of that discipline has been sufficiently explained already in our various notices of the Scottish church. Among their leaders in the assembly were those learned and eloquent divines, Calamy, Gataker, Hildersham, Sperstowe, Corbet, and Vines; while, in the House of Commons, their political influence was strong in Waller, Denzil Hollis, Clotworthy, and other leading members of the day. The Independents, who were but a small party compared with their rivals, whom they were so soon to overthrow, were supposed, at the time, to be nearly assimi-

lated in their form of church government to the Presbyterians; but it is too well known how such a resemblance, among different sects of religionists, instead of producing concord and brotherly affection, more commonly leads to jealousy, hatred, and strife. Abandoning the name of Brownists, they had now adopted the name of Independents, thus changing it from that of their founder to the principle by which their church was regulated. This was, that every separate congregation has the entire right of government within itself, under the management of its own elders. They admitted, indeed, a connection with the other congregations of their community in judging of the offence committed by any individual church; but all that their collective ecclesiastical power could effect, in the way of punishing the offending congregation, was to exclude it from their communion, and allow it, thus isolated, to follow its own devices. The third party, that of the Erastians—who derived their title from their founder, Dr. Erastus, a physician of Germany—held, in opposition both to Presbyterians and Independents, that no form of ecclesiastical government is laid down in the Divine Word—that the minister is simply a lecturer or teacher of religion, and nothing more—and that all offences, ecclesiastical as well as civil, are punishable by the magistrate alone. Thus, in their eyes, the church was but the creature of the state, and the minister, even in his spiritual capacity, the subject of the civil ruler. Their sentiments in the Westminster Assembly, where they were chiefly represented by these learned Oriental scholars, Coleman and Lightfoot, and the lay assessors, Selden, Whitelock, and St. John, although equally disapproved by the two other parties, were in high favour with the statesmen and the House of Commons, whose authority they enforced and aggrandized.[1]

The assembly continued its sittings, with occasional interruptions, till 1649, a space of six years, after which it was changed into a committee that met weekly, for the trial and examination of ministers; but we can only give a brief enumeration of the chief of its manifold proceedings. It adopted the English metrical version of the Psalms by Mr. Rous, as the authorized version for the Churches of England and Scotland; and though this translation was soon disused in the former country, it has continued in the latter to our own day. It drew up the Directory for Public Worship, to serve instead of the Book of Common Prayer, which was suppressed. This Directory, while it was sanctioned by the parliament, and the use of it in the churches enforced by heavy fines, was prohibited by a proclamation of the king. But the great work of the Westminster Assembly—and one for which all its errors and shortcomings, were they even as great and many as its enemies allege, might be forgiven—was the drawing up of the Confession of Faith, that clearest and ablest compend of Christian doctrine which has ever yet been presented, and which still continues to be the revered standard of the Kirk of Scotland. After the Confession of Faith was finished, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms were constructed on its model, for private and family religious instruction; and although the Larger, which was intended for adults, has been gradually lost sight of amidst the more attractive voluminous treatises of modern theology, the Shorter Catechism is still the text-book, not only of the religious education of the young in Scotland, but among many of the Dissenting communities of England. But notwithstanding its intrinsic worth, the Confession of Faith, which was completed in 1646, did not secure, even for its doctrinal parts, the concurrence of the whole assembly; and in the state of parties we can easily perceive that such an unanimity of religious opinion was impossible. But their discord was at the height upon the important question of the form of discipline and government for the English church. The Presbyterians and Independents were agreed that the *form* of a church was laid down in the New Testament, but this the Erastian party stoutly denied. Again, while the Erastians agreed with the Presbyterians that the form of church government proposed by the latter was the fittest to be established by the civil power, they denied its claim to Divine origin and authority, in which denial they were, of course, joined by the Independents. Presbyterianism was thus adopted only by a majority in the assembly; but while its claim to Divine right was supported by the common council and the city ministers of London, it was refused by the parliament, which also retained to itself the right to judge and punish in ecclesiastical offences. Another trying subject was the question of toleration. Several years earlier not less than eighty congregations, of different sectaries, had been enumerated by Bishop Hall in the House of Lords, and since that period they had been on the increase throughout the kingdom. And what course were they to adopt with these formidable recusants? By the subscription of the Covenant, they were bound to labour for the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schisms, and profaneness; and they had promised to discover all malignants and incendiaries who should hinder the reformation of religion, divide the king from his subjects, or excite any factions among the people, contrary to the League and Covenant, and bring them to public trial and

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans;* Baxter, *Life;* Hetherington's *Hist. West. Assem.*

condign punishment. But the right of persecuting every sect opposed to Presbyterianism, and subduing their recusancy by the sword, was opposed in the Westminster Assembly by the Independents and Erastians, and decisively rejected by the parliament. As yet, the great principle of toleration was but beginning to dawn upon the Christian world, and the sect that had been persecuted to-day were as ready to become the persecutors of to-morrow, when their own hour had arrived. From this general charge, indeed, the Independents were beginning to be an honourable exception; and in the notices of Baillie, who was one of the commissioners to the assembly from the Church of Scotland, we find how greatly the Presbyterians were annoyed by this new phase of Christian liberality. "While Cromwell is here," he writes on one occasion, "the House of Commons, without the least advertisements to any of us, or of the assembly, passes an order that the grand committee of both houses, assembly and us [the Scottish Presbyterians], shall consider of the means to unite us and the Independents; or, if that be found impossible, to see how they may be tolerated. This has much affected us. These men have retarded the assembly these twelve long months." And again: "But their greatest plot, wherewith we are wrestling, is an order of the House of Commons, contrived by Mr. Solicitor (Oliver St. John) and Mr. Marshall, which they got stolen through to the committee of lords, commons, and divines, which treated with us to consider of differences in point of church government which were among the members of the assembly, if they might be agreed; or if not, how far tender consciences might be borne with, which could not come up to the common rule to be established, that so the proceedings of the assembly might not be retarded. This order presently gave us the alarm; we saw it was for a toleration of the Independents, by act of parliament, before the Presbytery or any common rule were established." In another passage Baillie acknowledges the liberal forbearance of these Independents, but only to condemn it: "They plead," he writes, "for a toleration to other sects, as well as to themselves; and with much ado could we get them to propose what they desired to [for] themselves. At last they did give us a paper requiring expressly a full toleration of congregations, in their way everywhere separate from ours." Thus, though the Presbyterian church government was established, it was not without a long struggle, and with it was established what it had so zealously opposed—the toleration of every class of Nonconformists. Even where exceptions were made, it was rather in reference to the political perversity, than the religious errors of those who were excepted. The Roman Catholics, and especially their priests and the Jesuits, were still exposed to persecution, but it was as the friends of a foreign ecclesiastical despotism; and the Protestant bishops and Episcopal clergy were closely watched, and harshly treated, as the adherents of monarchical rule. Atheism was punished, and all persons were required to attend some place of worship. Every outrage against religion was also punished, such as profanity, vice, blasphemy, and the holding of opinions that tended to dissolve society; and trading, travelling, or frequenting of taverns on the Sabbath, were made punishable by fine or imprisonment.

In this way Presbyterianism had commenced the battle of civil and religious liberty, achieved the overthrow of Episcopacy, and established itself in the room of the gorgeous church which it had supplanted. But in a great national revolution it frequently happens, that those by whom it has been effected are succeeded by actors still more violent and impetuous, by whom the change is pushed to an extreme, and the country prepared for a reaction. And such was the fate of Presbyterianism in England, of which a very few years witnessed the triumph and the downfall. In the great strife between the two rival parties, the political moderation of the Presbyterians was out of season, and in the question which was narrowed to despotism or a republic, their views of a limited monarchy, which were afterwards to form the base of the British constitution, were regarded as pusillanimous and tame. More thorough-going men and fiercer extremes were in greater accordance with the spirit of the age and the character of the struggle, and these accordingly were found in the Independents, and the wild sects which Independency had produced. It was by the army and its matchless leader that Presbytery as well as monarchy was overthrown; and the change of the army from Presbyterian to Independent can be easily traced in the history of the day. At first, the soldiers were men of the Covenant, and they fought merely for a rational limitation of the kingly power, not its absolute extinction. Each regiment also had its Presbyterian chaplain, who marched to the field with his parishioners. But after the battle of Edgehill and the re-modelling of the army, when wild sectaries were poured into the ranks and more decisive measures adopted, these clergymen, finding themselves out of place, retired to their peaceful cures. "This fatal accident," the historian of Puritanism observes, "proved the ruin of the cause in which the parliament were engaged; for the army being destitute of chaplains, who might have restrained the irregularities of their zeal, the officers set up for preachers in their several regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous assistance of the

Divine Spirit, without any study or preparation; and when their imaginations were heated, they gave vent to the most crude and undigested absurdities. Nor did the evil rest there; for, from preaching at the head of their regiments, they took possession of the country pulpits where they were quartered, till at length they spread the infection over the whole nation, and brought the regular ministry into contempt."[1] The military successes of such an army soon turned the scale in the House of Commons, where the Independents acquired a large majority; and as a political power, Presbyterianism may be said to have terminated its existence in England with the execution of the king.

But although the triumph of Independency had been so signal, its reign was brief. Its history, however, is so fully impersonated in that of the Commonwealth, that the subject may be wound up with a few brief notices. Toleration was the order of the day during the protectorate; and this principle was the more easily observed, that no exclusively established church existed. In the present state of things, indeed, such an establishment would have been impossible, where the superior numbers and wealth of the Presbyterians were counterpoised by the military strength and political influence of the Independents. The parish churches therefore throughout England, although occupied in greatest measure by Presbyterian incumbents, were also, in many cases, held by Independent ministers, or even by sectaries of a less orderly description, while several were still retained by their old Episcopal possessors. Even gifted laymen, who were supposed either by themselves or others to possess in an especial degree the powers requisite for teachers of religion, found the pulpits open to their entrance. The evils of this state of things, however, were so obvious, that in March, 1653, Cromwell appointed a "Board of Triers," consisting of thirty-eight members, and composed of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, to limit the assumption and correct the abuses of the ministerial office, by testing the qualifications of those who held it. This board continued in office until the death of Cromwell, when it was annihilated at the Restoration; and although much ridicule was afterwards thrown upon the institution, yet the services of these triers were of substantial and lasting benefit. This we learn from the impartial testimony of Baxter, who disowned their commission, and was regarded by them as an enemy. "The truth is," he says, "that though their authority is null, and though some few over-busy and over-rigid Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism, yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers—the sort of men that intended no more in the ministry than to say a sermon as readers say their common prayers, and to patch up a few words together to talk the people asleep with on Sunday, and all the rest of the week to go with them to the ale-house, and harden them in their sin; and that sort of ministers that either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted with it. All those who used the ministry but as a common trade to live by were never likely to convert a soul: all these they usually rejected; and in their stead they admitted any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were. So that, though there were many of them somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out again."[2]

Hitherto we have confined our notice chiefly to the Presbyterians, and their rivals the Independents, the two leading forms in which the English Puritanism was manifested when the great struggle for civil and religious liberty had commenced. It was impossible, however, when the spirit of inquiry was abroad, that it would content itself with such limitations; and although the sectaries were numerous, they were also comparatively little known, until the re-modelling of the army called them from obscurity, and the universal toleration gave them full liberty of action. One of the wonders of the age was, that an army composed of such strange and discordant elements, could be so coherently and firmly united; that preaching generals and praying or expounding captains could be such wise effective leaders, and brave chivalrous warriors; and that such mystagogues as Vane, Cromwell, and others, whose religious views were apparently incomprehensible, and their rhapsodies unintelligible even by themselves, should yet have seen so clearly, and acted so wisely and calmly, when great political interests were at stake. But the history of the sectarianism of the period is too important as well as too multifarious for a passing notice, and may therefore be deferred to the period of the Restoration, in which it still continued in active exercise.

[1] *Neal*, ii. 356.

[2] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ:* London, 1696.

CHAPTER XIX.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. (A.D. 1603), TO THE RESTORATION (A.D. 1660).

Change produced in England by the Reformation—Rise of Puritanism—Twofold character of English society at this period through religious diversities—Effects of Puritanism upon the military spirit—Contrast between the Puritan and royalist soldiers at the close of the Civil war—Slow progress of English commerce—Trading companies of the period—Banking—Postage and post-offices—Agriculture—Rural life—Rapid increase of the London population—Causes of the increase—Attempts to check it—Growth of London—Population of its different districts—Great resort of St. Paul's Walk—Other places of public concourse—Places of private assignation and festivity—Coarseness and discomfort of metropolitan life—Hackney coaches—Complaints against them—Fashionable life in London—Its style illustrated by Lady Compton's letter—Attendants and retinues of noble families—Dress—Costume of gentlemen—Extravagant dresses of the royal favourites—Love-locks—Beards—Ornaments—Military foppery—Patches introduced by military pretenders—Coxcombry—Contrast to the prevalent fashions in the dress and manners of the Puritans—Effects of London fashions on the rural gentry—Receipt for converting a country squire into a town gentleman—The mercantile community—Their manners and mode of living—Their martial spirit at the commencement of the Civil war—Alsatians and bullies—Highwaymen of the period—London thieves and cut-purses—Onerous duties of the London magistrates—Domestic life of the period—Cookery—Increase of intemperance in drinking—A state banquet and masque of James I. and the King of Denmark—Sports of the period—Aversion of King James to military sports—Masques—Active sports—London amusements—Games of the lower orders—Cromwell's encouragement of manly sports—Commencement of coach-driving as an English amusement—Introduction of the regular drama into England—London play-houses—Their rude and naked condition—Their days and hours for meeting—A play-house audience of the period—Criticism of the theatre and mode of its expression—Education—Study of philosophy added to that of languages—Cultivation of the fine arts promoted by Charles I.—Military exercises a part of education—Education finished by travelling—Restrictions imposed on English tourists—Progress of the national literature—Dramatic poetry—Early dramatic writers—Marlow—Shakspeare—Chief events in his life—The Mermaid Club—Ben Jonson—Beaumont and Fletcher—Massinger—Webster—Heywood—The stage suppressed by the Puritans—Puritan poets—Cavalier poets—Literary and scientific men of the period—Eminent churchmen—Distinguished Scotchmen of the period—Sir William Drummond—Napier of Merchiston—David Calderwood—Robert Baillie—Alexander Henderson, &c.

AS we have already seen, the advent of the Reformation, which so greatly changed the political and moral aspect of Europe, had an especially powerful effect upon the condition of England. There it found a congenial soil, and soon took root and flourished. The character of the people—so reflective and stable—so intrepid in investigation and so eager for progress—was better adapted for the doctrines of Luther and the Reformers than even the countries in which they had originated; and hence England quickly became, as it has ever since continued to be, beyond all others, a Protestant country. In such a condition, something more than merely the religious faith of the people was certain to be changed and improved. The ardent spirit of inquiry, now fully aroused, instead of confining itself to theological investigations, advanced into the principles of government, law, literature, and social progress; and in each of these departments the effete or the time-honoured corruptions of past ages, were assailed by the same mighty outburst that had shaken the seven-hilled City to its foundation, and swept its dominion from our island. Monastic superstition, mediæval pedantry, feudal tyranny, and regal oppression, were all successively overtaken by the irresistible onset; and each in turn was compelled to yield, or submit to be crushed and exterminated. It needed, indeed, no peculiarly prophetic sagacity to foresee such a consequence, let the teachers, legislators, and rulers of the nation be what they might, or act as they pleased. The first step in this great march of emancipation was the rejection of Peter's-pence; the last, that of ship-money; and the latter act was nothing more than a natural consequence of the former. The king might easily have guessed that he scarcely could succeed where even a pontiff had failed.

The most important episode in this general progress is formed by the history of English Puritanism. At the commencement of the Reformation in England, the royal power that would have been inadequate to arrest the movement, more wisely resolved to head it, and both Henry VIII. and his illustrious daughter stood forth as the crowned and anointed champions of Protestantism. This support, however, was not to be vouchsafed for nought, and, accordingly, in formulating the new Protestant church in England, the reforming sovereigns took care of their own interests by moulding it into a monarchy of which

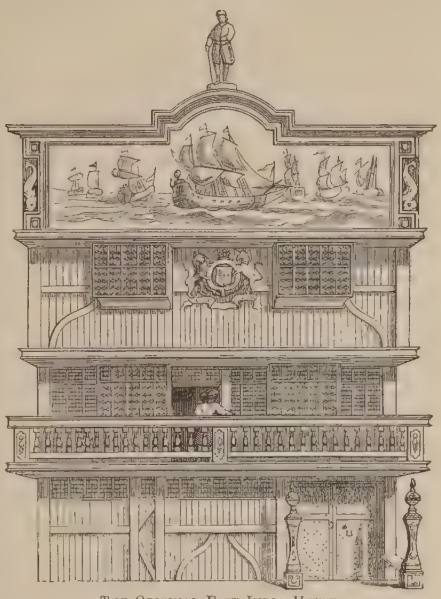
themselves, instead of the deposed pontiff, should be the head. In accomplishing this purpose, therefore, the old polity and form were as much as possible retained, and the king continued to govern through a hierarchy of his own creation, and dependent upon his favour. But this check the new spirit of inquiry was little disposed to tolerate; it was regarded both as a stopping-short at half measures and a sinful compromise; and those who sought a full, instead of a partial reformation, demanded the enfranchisement of the church from kings as well as popes, and the abolition of the ceremonial as well as the creed of Rome. The church was to be a theocracy, of which its Divine Head was to be the only ruler, and His revealed will the only statute-book and directory. Such was the demand of those who were derisively called Puritans, and whose appearance was altogether, or all but coeval with the origin of the Anglican church. In spite of contempt, and even of persecution, they continued to increase in numbers and consequence, so that during the present period English society was divided into two parties, differing not only in certain points of religious belief, but in ritual and form of worship, in literary and intellectual character, even in modes of daily life, style of conversation, domestic usages, dress, and demeanour. Thus England, during the reigns of James I. and his immediate successors, presented two different forms of national life, character, and customs, as if they had belonged to two entirely different and even hostile races. It was impossible that such antagonistic divisions of society could long go onward side by side; a separation, and finally a hostile collision, were inevitable, and these upon questions not only of religious but also of civil liberty. When the war commenced, it was then that the opposite character of the two parties was brought out into strong relief, and the question placed at issue as to which of them was worthiest and fittest to predominate. The trial and its result have already been fully detailed.

When England was thus converted into one great battle-field of civil warfare, during which the characters of men were brought out and their powers exerted to the uttermost, it is interesting to mark the hostile elements which were thus arrayed against each other for the destruction or regeneration of a country already great and influential; and which, according to the issue, was likely to attain the first rank, or sink into a mere third or fourth-rate nation. All, at first, boded the utter suppression of the Puritans, who were worsted in every encounter. Their ranks were chiefly composed of devout men who had been wont to put little faith in an arm of flesh, and industrious shopkeepers and artisans, to whom warlike weapons had hitherto been strangers, and military discipline unknown; while upon the other side was all the highborn spirit and chivalry of the land, combined with the military experience that had been acquired in foreign travel and adventure. This difference, which Cromwell's sagacity detected at a glance, he thus explained in a letter to his kinsman, Hampden:—"Your troops," he said, "are most of them decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; the king's forces are composed of gentlemen's younger sons and persons of good quality; and do you think that the mean spirits of such base and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit; and take it not ill that I say, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will still be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every encounter." Cromwell, who thus detected the evil, knew not only the remedy, but the right way of applying it. He could not convert the tapsters into chivalrous knights, or the decayed serving-men into gentlemen, but he could do more; he could kindle within them that religious Puritan enthusiasm that would carry them as far, or even farther, than any earthly inspiration, where a brave deed was to be done that a righteous cause might be established. On this principle he acted, and his regiment of Ironsides were at once the bravest and the most devout soldiers that ever England had produced. The same principle became general throughout the parliamentary army, and the enthusiastic elevated spirit of its soldiery was soon more than a match for the utmost of Cavalier loyalty, devotedness, and military daring. And more interesting still was the contrast afforded by the two parties when the war was ended. The high-born Cavalier who, during the trying changes of the campaign, had degenerated into a reckless desperado, careful of nothing but good quarters, pay, and plunder, was fain to sink into a mere hanger-on or led-captain, if he did not become a soldier of fortune, or even a highwayman. But the soldiers of the Commonwealth, after having attained the highest renown in arms, and made the world ring with their exploits, contentedly retired to their farms or their shops, and resumed their original calling and its peaceful spirit as if no interruption had occurred. They had gone forth under a higher call than that of military glory, and accomplished a righteous task whose approval was better than anything which fame could bestow. Such a spirit, even when the reaction came by which royalty was restored, was not to be tampered with; but the Stuarts forgot the lesson, and full dearly abode the penalty. Enlightened and improved by past experi-

ence, Puritanism once more stepped forward to work out the great problem of civil and religious liberty, upon which it had been employed for nearly two centuries; and the result was the establishment of a new order of things under a tolerant church and a limited monarchy.

During this period, the commercial progress of England scarcely fulfilled the promise which it had given during the reign of Elizabeth. For this several causes might be easily assigned. In Holland our commerce found a formidable rival, with whose pertinacious industry, skill, and commercial enterprise, England as yet was unable to compete. The late wars with Spain and Portugal had, in a great measure, shut up the ports of these countries against the introduction of English produce. The grants of patents and monopolies upon several articles of commerce—a mode of rewarding favourites or cancelling obligations which Elizabeth and her father had reckoned a cheap substitute for draughts upon the royal treasury—were greatly increased by the weakness and yielding spirit of James I., and the pecuniary necessities of his unfortunate successor. But the last and most especial cause by which the progress of English commerce was retarded during this season, may be found in the political troubles with which the country was occupied, and the civil war that followed. The chief trade still consisted in native wool, which continued to be in higher estimation than that of any other country; and woollen cloths, which, in spite of their superior material, were so imperfectly dyed and dressed that they were sold at a considerable discount as compared with the rate of foreign goods. The important work of colonization, however, still went onward in spite of the rival opposition of the French and Dutch, and especially in South and North America, to which the tide of Puritan emigration was principally directed, before the Puritans found that flight might be successfully exchanged for resistance.

The present period was an important era of trading companies in England. Of these the following brief enumeration may be given. The first in importance was the "East India Company," originally chartered on the 31st December, 1600. The company traded to Persia, India, and Arabia, from which its chief imports into England were spices, cotton, silks, rice, perfumes, rich woods, and precious stones. Next may be mentioned the "Turkey Company," whose exports were English cloths and Indian spices, indigo and calicoes, and that imported in return, raw silk, cotton, drugs, dried fruits, and oils. The third in the list, as given by a writer of the period, was the "Ancient Company of Merchant Adventurers." This company supplied the cities of Hamburg, Rotterdam, and several towns in the Netherlands, chiefly with English cloth, and imported the principal commodities of Netherland



THE ORIGINAL EAST INDIA HOUSE.
From a drawing by Vertue, in possession of F. Graves, Esq.

manufacture. The "Eastland," or "Muscovy Company," had English cloth for its chief article of export, besides which are enumerated tin, lead, Indian spices, and several other southern commodities, and brought, in return, hemp, pitch, rosin, hides, furs, copper, steel, quicksilver, timber for ship-building, rye, and other such productions of the country. Such were the principal trading companies in England, besides the enterprises of private companies and individual adventurers, who selected those marts in which the greatest profits were to be found.

The facilities afforded for prompt and safe mercantile transactions were, during this period, considerably enlarged. This, indeed, was to be expected from the result of past mercantile experience, as well as the certain prospect of future prosperity. The religious hatred to large interest upon money, under the name of usury, had so greatly increased, probably under the growing ascendency of the Puritan spirit, that the former rate of ten per cent., which had been fixed by statute during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, was reduced, in 1624, to eight per cent., and in 1651 to six per cent. A still more important improvement was the introduction of regular banking. Hitherto the London merchants had been wont to commit their money to the

custody of the Royal Mint in the Tower, until the arbitrary seizure by Charles I., through the pressure of his pecuniary difficulties, of £200,000 of this deposit, under the gentle name of a loan, convinced the merchants that a royal fortress was not the safest of securities. They then tried the experiment of intrusting their clerks and 'prentices with the keeping of their cash, probably as being less liable to such arbitrary demands; but London dissipation made too many of these young keepers unfaithful to their trust; and on the outbreak of the Civil war they were wont to escape an awkward reckoning by enlistment in the contending armies. Safer cashiers were then found in the London goldsmiths, whose hands were more conversant with the temptations of the precious metals, and less liable to infection; and thus the goldsmiths, hitherto mere artificers, rose into wealthy and consequential bankers. In this way they became the depositories of mercantile capital and landed rentals, for which they allowed the usual per-centage, and became so wealthy as materially to influence the movements of the state by the readiness of their accommodations. The only wonder is, however, that the principle of banking, which had been so long in use in the mercantile states of Italy, and was so systematically carried on by the Dutch, should have been so late in finding an entrance into England. Another improvement, not only of mercantile, but universal benefit during this period, was the establishment of a regular internal postage. A foreign post had been established by James I. for the accommodation of English merchants in their transactions with the continental marts; but the means of home correspondence were wanting till 1635, when a home post-office was established by Charles I. Its first object was the maintenance of communication between England and Scotland, which was effected by a post running night and day between London and Edinburgh, and accomplishing the journey in three days, delivering letters at the intermediate towns by the way; and soon afterwards other by-posts, branching from the main line, were multiplied, until the principle was finally extended over the whole United Kingdom. The letters thus conveyed were carried on horseback; and if only three days were occupied in their transit from London to Edinburgh, it must have been at the expenditure of much horse flesh, as well as hard and merciless riding.

The agriculture of England during this period of uncertainty and civil war was so liable to interruption, and so slow in its progress, as to require no further notice for the present. The like may be said of the rural population, whose improvement had been retarded by the same causes, and whose habits and modes of life remained nearly the same as they had been during the preceding period of our history. The chief changes, indeed, that had occurred in country life, were to be found in the mansions of the noble and wealthy, where a greater desire of comfort, and better taste in the selection of the means, were apparent. These were chiefly to be found in less clumsy articles of furniture, a greater amount of carpeting and painted ceilings, a rich display of paintings upon the walls, the productions of the great foreign masters of the period, and the plentiful introduction of graceful china-ware, in lieu of the unshapely pottery of the preceding age. But it was in London that the great moral and political influence of the kingdom was now chiefly contained; and there that principle of centralization had commenced in full vigour, which, in the present day, is viewed with so much alarm. The action of this principle can easily be found in the spirit and exigencies of the age. Men but lately awakened to a sense of their own importance and political rights, were eager to repair to the seat of government, to watch its proceedings, and, if need should be, to resist its aggressions; while such a concourse was sure to be followed by the dissolute in pursuit of pleasure, and the needy in quest of gain. Each man of these several classes had now discovered, not only that the metropolis was a place worth living in, but that it was his proper home.

This rapid extension of London, and disproportionate increase of its population as compared with other towns, soon excited the royal apprehension: here was a hostile encampment around the very walls of the sovereign's palace; an *imperium in imperio*, by which his movements could be watched, and his authority held in check. Elizabeth therefore endeavoured to arrest this rapid growth; but her proclamations to that effect were as fruitless as the commands of Canute to the waves, when they dashed against his feet, and overthrew the royal chair. On the accession of James I. these proclamations were repeated, and not content with these alone, he set himself in good earnest to prevent the growth of metropolitan streets and houses both by remonstrance and interference. Alarmed at the concourse of the nobility to the city, where they now were wont to establish their permanent residence, he endeavoured to pique their pride into a return to their own estates, by telling them that in the country they were like ships in a river, that showed like something; while in London, they were like ships at sea, that showed like nothing. He endeavoured also to prevent the alarming emigration of his old subjects, the Scots, to the gainful metropolis of the south, by prohibitions of their arrival, and the imposition of heavy fines upon the skippers who brought them by sea. But

his strangest plan of all was, to weed the London population by transplanting whole colonies of them into the wilds of Scotland, where they could have ground enough to till if they had but courage to attempt it. Perhaps it is unnecessary to add, that this choice scheme was never reduced to practice. When the pressure upon the seat of government became more alarming in the reign of Charles I., the efforts to check the apprehended danger were increased. Thus, by one proclamation in 1630, no new house was to be erected, or new foundation laid in London or Westminster, or in any place within three miles of the gates of the capital, and no new inmates received into the houses already existing—alleging, as a reason for this strictness, the danger of an increase of the population to such a degree, that it would be impossible to govern or feed them. Two years afterwards, a similar proclamation was emitted, which was chiefly directed against the nobility and gentry, who were commanded, or at least advised to reside upon their estates, as their residence in London wasted their property, enriched other countries by the importation of foreign luxuries, and gathered throngs of idle retainers and hangers-on into London and Westminster, to the embarrassment of government, the increase of poor-rates, and rise in the price of provisions.

The city whose growth was thus so portentous, and which royal edicts in vain attempted to

Ornamented House, time of James I., lately standing in Little Moorfields.—From an original sketch.

check, must have presented at this time an appearance almost incomprehensible to a modern Londoner. According to the maps, it covered a very large extent of ground, composed of clusters of streets and lanes, with large spaces of waste ground interspersed between—but spaces whose formidable hungry yawn announced that they would soon be filled. Thus, about the beginning of this period, Finsbury was a pleasant rural district, covered with trees and wind-mills; Moorfields was also part of the country, reaching to Moorgate; and from the Archery Ground to Islington were nothing but meadows, upon which a whole army of civic pikemen found ample room for drill. In like manner, St. Giles was isolated, until it was connected with the city about the commencement of the Civil war; and as for London and Westminster, they still stood a mile apart, until after the reign of James I., when Scottish emigrants, who had repaired thither as to a Goshen of safety, established a connecting link between the two cities. Closer still to the centre, and within the bars of London, were also large detached spaces that remained unfilled till after the great fire. Such was the city which, after little more than two centuries, was to equal Rome or Babylon in population and extent, and surpass them in wealth—a mighty congeries of fragments, in which the processes of closing and extending were going on simultaneously, and with a rapidity that indicated the commencement of a new life in the history of civilization. But to this brief general outline, we may add a few of those distinctive features by which the aspect of London was individualized. High Holborn and Drury Lane were the favourite site of noblemen's and gentlemen's houses; and the Strand was the fashionable resort for ladies, through which they passed in their carriages to the china shops and the Exchange, in quest of choice gay purchases, while their gallants took lodgings in the same quarter, that they might be in the way of meeting them in their passing by. Merchants resided chiefly between Temple Bar and the Exchange. Fleet Street and Fleet Bridge were the great resort for puppet-shows, which, at that time, were fashionable spectacles, and, under the name of "motions," were eagerly frequented. Sometimes the exhibition was of a scriptural character, as in the advertisement of a "new motion of the city of Nineveh, with Jonas and the whale;" and sometimes political, in which the Cavaliers or Roundheads were to be ridiculed, according as either party might happen to predominate. The small lanes branching from Cannon Street towards the river, were selected by the Puritans on account of a safe retirement for their dwelling-places and conventicles, by which they avoided the persecutions to which they were exposed; and for a similar reason, the Jesuits appear to have selected their lurking-places in the obscure purlieus of Clerkenwell, and from these recesses they issued

in every form of disguise, to embroil every party, in the hope of bringing them all back to Rome. The wildest and most profligate of the sectaries,

Mercers' Shops of the time, in Holywell Street, Strand.[1] Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

who were called Ranters, and whose doctrine was, that nothing was sinful to the elect, held their obscene orgies in Charter-house Lane and Whitechapel; while Leukner's Lane, at this period, and for a considerable time afterwards, held the unenviable reputation of being the great sink of civic licentiousness. Then there was Fewter's or Fautor's Lane, now called Fetter Lane, which received its original name from being the resort of fautors, or idle vagabonds, who selected it because it was the great thoroughfare leading to the principal public gardens. While these were the favourite resorts either of the indolent or the worthless, the great region of Alsatia must not be lost sight of. This was the district of Whitefriars; and as it still possessed the right of sanctuary, thieves, homicides, and broken men of every description, who had rendered themselves amenable to law, took shelter within its damp and dingy lanes and alleys, that stretched along the bank of the river, and there could either hold the messengers of justice at defiance by strength of numbers, or make their escape by land or water if their offences were too rank for Alsatian privileges.

But of all the places of public and miscellaneous resort, nothing was to be compared to the stately middle aisle of St. Paul's Church, which speedily became the great central point of meeting to the whole London population, and where a specimen of every class, character, and occupation was sure to be found. As such a kind of congress is now among the things that were, we extract the following vivid account of it as it appeared in 1628, from Bishop Earle's *Microcosmographie:*—"It is the land's epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this—the whole world's map, which you may here discern in its perfectest motion, justling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and, were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees—a strange humming or buzz, mixed of walking, tongues and feet. It is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politic, jointed and laid together in the most serious posture; and they are not half so busy at the parliament. It is the antic of tails to tails, and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not a few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in a crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the ears' brothel, and satisfies their lust and itch. The visitants are all men without exceptions; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are state knights and captains out of service—men of long rapiers and breeches—which after all turn merchants here, and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach; but thrifty men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is least haunted with hobgoblins, for if a ghost would walk, more he could not." Leaning against a pillar, and quietly surveying this motley scene for the purpose of stereotyping its characters to future ages, may we not imagine the observant eyes of Ben Jonson, or even of Shakspeare himself, fixed in earnest attention? Here were assembled the

[1] This street, which contains several ancient houses, was in vogue at an early period as the emporium of the mercers, who had their appropriate signs. Of these, two remain—the Half-moon, a carved projecting sign, and the Indian Queen, painted by one of the members of the first association of the Royal Academy, one Catton. There was likewise the Golden Ball, a noted shop for silk remnants, which continued in repute to the end of the last century. As the mercery trade declined in this street, the traffic in frippery and old clothes took its place, and has continued to the present time.

manners, the costume, the very persons whom they delineated with such life-like accuracy and variety. To Earle's account we may add, that these meetings "at Paule's" were not always for the purposes of gossiping, for it was here that some of the most serious state conspiracies were devised. The usual hours for public resort were from eleven to twelve at noon, and from three to six in the evening; and unless a person was a "Paul's man," or "Paul's walker," he was held in little account. Next to this great emporium of idleness, was the Exchange, of which the upper part, called "the Pawne," resembled some Eastern bazaar, where all the wealth of a country is usually assembled. The place was a fashionable resort, kept open till nine in the summer and ten in the winter; and many whose occupation was nothing but lounging, were wont to spend the evening here, after a post-prandial visit to Paul's. And well indeed was it fitted to give wings to the weary hours, from the following account of it by Samuel Rolle, before the great fire in which ancient London was swept away:—"What artificial thing," he exclaims, "could entertain the senses, the fantasies of men, that was not there to be had? Such was the delight that many gallants took in that magazine of all curious varieties, that they could almost have dwelt there (going from shop to shop like bees from flower to flower). If they had but had a fountain of money that could not have been drawn dry, I doubt not but a Mahommedan (who never expects other than sensual delights) would gladly have availed himself of that place, and the treasures of it, for his heaven, and thought there were none like it." In allusion to the pleasure-hunting but penniless gallants who made Paul's and the Exchange their favourite haunts, the following epigram was written in 1628:—

"Though little coin thy purseless pockets line,
Yet with great company thou'rt taken up,
For often with Duke Humphrey thou dost dine,
And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup."

Paul's Walk, Old St. Paul's.—From a print by Hollar

Independently of these places of public concourse, the gallantry of the period had established for itself more private places of resort, where assignations could be formed, and love-vows uttered without interruption. A favourite out-of-door place of this description was Spring Garden, which, however, became so prolific in licentiousness, that after being in vogue during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., it was shut up during the stern and decorous protectorate of Cromwell. The shops of milliners and perfumers, independently of their ostensible crafts, were also used for places of private meeting among the fashionable of both sexes—and of this description was the residence of Mrs. Anne Turner, who, while she openly drove a gainful trade in the making of starch for the ladies of the court, was covertly an intriguer and procuress, until she ended her career on the scaffold for the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. But even these demure conveniences were not enough for the coarse and rampant gallantry of the period; and the London taverns, which now amounted to a fearful number, were used for the same purposes, where, in a deep atmosphere of tobacco smoke, and amidst a storm of oaths, ribaldry, and hard drinking, the fashionable of both sexes were often to be found, as partners in these foul revelries. This was viewed with astonishment by foreign visitors, who were already learning to elevate, if not to purify iniquity, by divesting it of its repulsive grossness. The dramatists of this period, who faithfully copied its most striking features, need not therefore be wondered at for so often laying their love-scenes and principal events in a common tavern.

Such was the general aspect of the metropolis, and the manner in which its population was grouped over its whole extent. From the foregoing sketch it will be seen, that as yet the Englishman had not learned to regard his house as his castle, or even his home, and hence so much of his life was still spent in the open air; while

the means of such indulgence were always becoming more contracted, until people at last were thrust perforce into alleys, taverns, and coffee-houses, there to devise new plans of domestic comfort, and snug fireside intercourse, in better habitations of their own. The houses, indeed, were for the most part, so late as the seventeenth century, in the same state as they had been 100 years previous, and this, notwithstanding the advance of civilization; and, therefore, until the period of the great fire, they were still of lath and plaster, and in spite of the patchings they had undergone were nodding to their fall. Government indeed interposed, but in vain, to procure a capital worthy of such a kingdom and the new state of things, by commanding brick or stone to be used in the street front of buildings: of all demolitions, that of one's own house is the last to which men will submit; and the wooden habitations, with their gay but flimsy fronts of stucco-work, still kept their ground, until the sweeping conflagration reduced them to dust and

Stucco-fronted Houses, formerly in Fleet Street.
From Smith's Topography of London.

ashes, and necessitated a new style of civic architecture. While such were the houses, the streets also remained in their former condition—narrow, crooked, and dark; and, in spite of the enactments about paving them, little better than choking dust-funnels in summer, and morasses in winter, while kites and ravens, which were almost the only scavengers, were cherished by the inhabitants as public benefactors. In this state, the plague was often attempted to be held at bay by kindling large bonfires, but this was ineffectual, until the cure was finally accomplished by turning London itself into a bonfire, and destroying cause and effect together. Still, however, the evil had remained long enough to confirm that tendency to consumption, which even already had become the national disease, and foreigners could not help remarking that incessant coughing which was prevalent through all the streets of London.

In this condition of the metropolitan highways, and the increasing taste of the people for assemblies and public meetings of every kind, the desire for the means of transit increased. It was no wonder, therefore, that after the introduction of coaches, which, as we have already seen, occurred in the reign of Elizabeth, the innovation should have been eagerly welcomed and widely adopted. We accordingly find, that in 1625 there were twenty hackney coaches in London, and that they multiplied with such rapidity, that only ten years afterwards government took the alarm at their general use, and endeavoured to limit it, upon the plea that these carriages disturbed the ears of king, queen, and nobles, jostled horse and foot passengers, tore up the streets and pavements, and increased the price of hay and horse provender. It was therefore ordered "that no hackney or hired coaches be used or suffered in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they be to travel at least three miles out of the same; and also, that no person shall go in a coach in the said streets, except the owner of the coach shall constantly keep up four able horses for our (the king's) service when required." But the time had gone by when such despotic edicts were of force; and Cromwell himself was soon after to drive four-in-hand, in Jehu fashion, through this forbidden territory, and be capsized for his pains. Scarcely had this innovation well commenced, when John Taylor, the water-poet, who plied a scull upon the Thames, exclaimed, "They have undone my poor trade!" Speaking of the coaches, he adds, "This infernal swarm of trade-spillers have so overrun the land, that we can get no living on the water; for I dare truly affirm, that every day in any term, especially if the court be at Whitehall, they do rob us of our livings, and carry five hundred sixty fares daily from us." Alluding also to the confusion produced by this startling civic revolution, he says, "I pray you look into the streets, and the chambers or lodgings in Fleet Street or the Strand, how they are pestered with them

(coaches), especially after a mask or a play at the court, where even the very earth quakes and trembles, the casements shatter, tatter, and clatter, and such a confused noise is made, so that a man can neither sleep, speak, hear, write, or eat his dinner or supper quiet for them." It was not merely the watermen of London who regarded this increase of hackney coaches with indignation; the carmen also, who had hitherto enjoyed an exclusive right of possession in the public thoroughfares, were indignant at the intrusion of these aristocratic-looking vehicles, which they rudely denominated "hell-carts," and took pleasure in overturning them into the kennel when they came into contact with their own heavy drays. As there was so much complaint both by royal edicts and popular murmurs against the street wear and tear, as well as the noise, confusion, and danger which some fifty or sixty hackneys were alleged to have occasioned, a gentler mode of conveyance, hitherto used in foreign countries, was introduced into London in the form of sedan-chairs, in the year 1634, which were forthwith patronized by royal patent—because, as it emphatically stated, "the streets of London and Westminster and their suburbs had been of late so much encumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches, that many of his majesty's subjects were thereby exposed to great danger, and the necessary use of carts and carriages for provisions was much hindered."

Such, in the days of James I. and his successor, was the great capital of England: as for the crowds that thronged and enlivened it, so vast was the variety as well as so individualized, and so frequent were the changes from the stately chivalrous decorousness of the Elizabethan period to the coarse vulgar sensuality of that of James I., and again, from that, to the severe and somewhat starched religious decorum of the Commonwealth period, that the very abundance is overwhelming.

COACHES OF THE TIME.—From etchings by D. Strop.

All we can do, as in the case of the principal localities of London, is to divide its living mass into classes, and briefly advert to the distinctive features of each. And in commencing with those of the highest and wealthiest rank of nobility, we fortunately have a general sketch of the mode of life in the following letter of Lady Compton to her husband William, second Lord Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton. It may be thought that she was somewhat extravagant in her demands; but when it is remembered that she was the only child and heiress of "the rich Spenser," who died worth nearly a million, her requirements were not so very unreasonable. Thus writes the considerate female millionaire:—"My sweet life: Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of *your* state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink and consider within myself what allowance were meetest for *me*. I pray and beseech you to grant to me, your most kind and loving wife, the sum of £2600, quarterly to be paid. Also, I would, besides that allowance, have £600, quarterly to be paid,

SEDAN CHAIR.—From the frontispiece of "Coach and Sedan," a tract (1636).

for the performance of charitable works; and those things I would not, neither will be, accountable for. Also, I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow: none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also, I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let; also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to

stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate. Also, when I ride a-hunting or a-hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so for either of these said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses: and a coach for my women, lined with cloth, and laced with gold, otherwise with scarlet, and laced with silver, with four good horses. Also, I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women. Also, at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only caroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all; orderly, not pestering my things with my women's, nor theirs with either chamber-maids, nor theirs with wash-maids. Also, for laundresses, when I travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages, to see all safe. And the chamber-maids I will have go before, that the chamber may be ready, sweet, and clean. Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire is that you defray all the charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also, I would have to put in my purse £2000 and £200, and so you to pay my debts. Also, I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain. Now, seeing I have been, and am, so reasonable unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages. Also, I will have all my houses furnished, and my lodging-chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit, as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, and all things thereunto belonging. Also, my desire is that you would pay your debts, build up Ashley House, and purchase lands; and lend no money, as you love God, to my lord-chamberlain, who would have all, perhaps your life from you. . . . So, now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an earl, to allow me £2000 more than I now desire, and double attendance."

The lady who thus queens it so royally, and who mingles so much of her father's mercantile calculation and exactness with her own costly demands, gives us a pretty full sketch of the retinue and arrangement of a noble household during the earlier part of this period. Commensurate with all these gentlewomen and gentlemen ushers, whose sole business was to wait upon the lady, was the list of the other attendants, which, in the highest of such establishments, usually numbered from 100 to 200. Of these, however, the chief were not so much the mere servants, as the retainers of their noble landlord, being the younger sons of good families, who were supplied with attendants and horses of their own, and who gave their voluntary service for the patronage it afforded them in their hopes of court advancement. Among those gay gallants, however, who had not yet taken to housekeeping, and whose sole business was pleasure, or dancing attendance upon the court, what Falstaff calls "French thrift" was introduced, in which a single "skirted page" was sufficient.

The style of dress during this period was so mutable in its fashion, and composed of so many portions, that it can only be fully understood by a reference to the dramatic writers, illustrated by the works of the contemporary artists. In the attire of gentlemen, the steeple-crowned hat had now obtained the pre-eminence, sometimes adorned with a richly-jewelled hat-band, and sometimes a plume of feathers.[2] The starched ruff,

COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF JAMES I.[1]

[1] 1, From a print dated 1616. 2, From a rare print, by Elstrake, of Anne of Denmark. 3, From a portrait of James I., in "A Jewell for Gentrie."

[2] See the portrait of Lord Bacon, vol. ii. p. 330, where, how-

during the reign of James I., had dwindled into a neck-band, called a *piccadil*, generally made of satin; the jackets or doublets were short, stiff, and plentifully ornamented with fanciful slashings and embroidery, and had false or hanging sleeves like those of a modern hussar. As for the hose during this reign, they had attained such a balloon-like amplitude that, in the pictures of James and Prince Henry, they can scarcely be regarded with ordinary gravity; but afterwards they settled into such loose or pinned-up slops as are still worn in some parts of the Continent, and especially in Holland.[1] To these may be added, stockings of silk and thread, instead of woollen cloth, and pumps ornamented with roses. All this, however, can give us little idea of the costliness of material and extravagance of ornament with which this slight outline was filled up, and how often the man within was reduced to nothingness by the expense of his exterior. These ruinous consequences of extravagance in dress were greatly owing to James I., who, although of such loutish ungainly appearance, not only affected gay attire himself, but was so captivated by comely well-dressed favourites, that every aspirant to royal approbation adopted Somerset and Buckingham as their models.[2] The difficulty of imitating this last exemplar, and the fearful expenditure it must have occasioned, may be guessed from his court-dress cloak, set thick with diamonds, valued at £80,000; his plume or aigrette, made of large diamonds, and his hat-band, girdle, sword, and spurs, set with diamonds all over. Not less conspicuous than any part of dress or ornament were the love-locks of the gentlemen, which are too well known to require description. But the beard was equally cared for; and the different forms into which it was shorn, shaven, and dressed, about the middle of this period, would require a whole chapter for its own especial benefit. "How will you be trimmed, sir?" says the barber in Lyly's "Midas." "Will you have your beard like a spade or a bodkin?—a penthouse on your upper lip, or an alley on your chin?—a low curl on your head, like a bull, or dangling locks like a spaniel?—your mustaches sharp at the ends like shoemakers' awls, or hanging down to your mouth like goats' flakes?—your love-locks wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggy, to fall on your shoulders?" Among the articles of foppery by which the age was distinguished, are mentioned "the mirror in the hat," the "gold cable hat-band," the "Italian cut-work band," the "embossed girdle," the "ruffle to the boot," and, above all, the "wrought shirt." This last was a shirt embroidered all over with fruits and flowers; and the fashion appears to have been so much in request that the Puritans themselves yielded to it—compromising the matter so far, however, with their consciences, as to have the shirt embroidered with texts of Scripture. Much of the dandyism of the day, as might be expected, was of a rough military character, chiefly exhibited by shaggy beards and hair, long trailing tucks, formidable poniards and dudgeon daggers, and heavy clanking boots; and to give themselves the appearance of veritable martialists, these Bobadils often wore patches upon their faces cut into various forms, as if they had just returned from the wars of the Low Countries or Bohemia.[3] Some even went so far in this affectation as to make one arm useless, by carrying it in a sling. Strangely enough, it was from these unpromising examples that ladies derived the fashion of patching, which kept its ground through so many generations.

A SWAGGERER OF THE TIME.
From a rare print by Josias English (1656).

Opposite to these were a very numerous class of exquisites, whose delight it was to carry their love of display to the utmost verge of effeminacy.

ever, the hat is only beginning to assume that steeple form which reached such altitude in the reign of Charles I.

[1] An example of this kind of hose will be found in the whole-length figure of Prince Henry, vol. ii. p. 325.

[2] For what may be called the Somerset style of dress, the reader is referred to the sketch of the earl and his countess in vol. ii. p. 336.

[3] The title of Swaggerer was the current phrase for these boisterous pretenders in the time of Shakspeare, as may be seen by referring to "Henry IV.," Part 2, Act ii. Scene 4. The following quaint stanzas are appended to the old print from which our illustration is taken:—

"Troth 'tis a merrie fellow, and he lookes
Like one ne're us'd to read ye schoolmen's bookes.
See how he laughs to see his Backragg smile;
With wine and smoke he doth his time beguile;
The fancie's good, and those that discommend it
May stay till he has dranke before they'le mend it."

Their persons glittered with every kind of ornament, their gloves and linen breathed of perfume, and their pockets were stored with billet-doux—the evidences of late conquests—and with boxes of rich comfits, on the strength of which they attempted to make more. They even went so far as to heighten their complexions with rouge, that they might thus become pletely irresistible. Against all this extravagance of dress, it was no wonder that the Puritans lifted up, not only their testimony, but their example. Hence that demureness of attire which, though so laughed at by contemporary witlings, would either be unnoticed in the present day, or be thought a decent becoming dress for a staid citizen or country gentleman. Their hats were unadorned with either gold band or plume; their hair, instead of streaming with love-locks, was closely cropped; while their dress, decorously fitted to the shape, and generally of a sober uniform colour, eschewed the vanities of jewellery and every kind of ornament. Even as they passed along the street, also, like clouds across the gay glitter of sunshine, their solemn gait and demeanour not only distinguished them from the rest, but rebuked the surrounding extravagance.

COSTUMES OF THE NOBILITY, TIME OF CHARLES I.[1]

Of the female dress during the reign of James I., the pictures of the period give but an indifferent idea, either as to its comfort or gracefulness. From these we learn that the head-dress, besides being richly adorned with jewellery, was surmounted with plumes; that the neck was adorned with a large, broad, stiffened ruff, which rose like a pair of wings from the shoulders to the head; that the waist continued to be lengthened and pinched, as in the previous reign, with tight-laced, unyielding boddice, and that the large round volume of fardingale followed, as if to set off by contrast the slimness of the waist that surmounted it. Such was the principal style of female court attire, as we learn from the portraits of Anne of Denmark and the Countess of Somerset. To these essentials of dress may be added a visor, a muff of rich fur, and a fan of ostrich feathers. By incidental notices we learn that the chief dress of the citizens' wives and daughters were grogram gowns, lined throughout with velvet, or gowns ornamented with lace, and French hoods, while silver bodkins were the chief ornaments.

As the stiff and pedantic costume of the period of James I. was so well suited to the character and tastes of that monarch, a change for the better might have been expected under his accomplished son. The fastidious delicacy of Charles I., and his love of the fine arts, would scarcely be expected to sympathize with the padded and buckramed doublets, hanging sleeves, huge cuffs, and stubborn tray-shaped ruffs, that had delighted the eyes of his father; and accordingly these exaggerations were gradually softened down or abandoned, until the court costume, previous to the commencement of the Civil war, had become the most graceful which England had seen for more than a century previous. The nature of these improvements, also, are so well and so generally understood from the portraits of Vandyke, and the engravings which have been made of them, that little further notice on this head is necessary. It is enough to mention that the Dutch hose became of considerably less ample volume, and instead of being pinned-up into balloons, were allowed to hang loose below the knee, where they were ornamented with ribbons or points, or with fringes, and came in contact with the laced or ruffled boot-tops; that the stiff collar now lay gracefully upon the breast and shoulders, and was a becoming ornament of rich lace; and that the doublet of silk or satin was fitted to the form, while the sleeves, which were slashed, were also opened more than half-length, to give free scope to the arm. The cloak, which was now a short one, was allowed to hang carelessly from the left shoulder; and the beaver, which had lost somewhat of its former primness, had brims which could be looped up at the pleasure of the wearer, and was surmounted by one or more plumes. Add to these, the well-known peaked beard and mustaches, which the example

[1] 1, 4, and 5, Ladies—from prints by Hollar. 2, Sir William Villars, Viscount Grandison, after Vandyke. 3, Sir Thomas Urchard, from an engraving of the time by Glover. 6, From Vandyke's picture of the Pembroke family at Wilton.

of Charles had made fashionable, and the costume of a Cavalier of his court was completed. A similar influence was exercised by the queen upon the costume of the court ladies, as we may judge from the portraits of the period, where we find the beautiful high-born dames of England dressed

PURITAN COSTUMES.—From prints of 1645 and 1649, and the first edition of Hudibras.

according to the French taste and becoming costume which characterize the pictures of Henrietta Maria. When Puritanism laid its arrest upon vanity in clothing, the ladies of the party joined their protest to that of their male partners, by discarding flowing locks, gay embroidery, and rich ornaments; and assuming a demure attire, the chief peculiarity of which was a cap, a coif, or a high-crowned hat, that covered the head and half-concealed the countenance.

Such were the throngs with which the streets of London, and especially the more fashionable of them, were crowded; and thus were they ripened for that terrible process of weeding which commenced with the Civil war. We have already adverted to the manner in which this crowd was daily augmented, by the eagerness of the rural gentry either to visit the metropolis, or establish in it a permanent lodgment. Sometimes the pretext was a lawsuit, and thus, during the law terms, the Inns of Court were crowded with country gentlemen; sometimes love of the commonweal, which could be more carefully watched in London than elsewhere; but in either case the knight or squire seldom came singly, for his whole family were equally eager to gaze upon the marvels, and enjoy the pleasures of the metropolis. Thus it was that, according to the old song—

"With a new fashion, when Christmas is drawing on,
On a new journey to London straight we must all begone,
And leave none to keep house, but our new porter John,
Who relieves the poor with a thump on the back with a stone."

It was well for these pleasure-hunters if, after having been absorbed into the vortex, and enjoying themselves to the full, they could still return to the country, and there find a house to re-enter and a few acres to occupy. But the "Rake's Progress," afterwards so powerfully delineated by the great English moral painter, had already exhibited its worst aggravations, and the impoverished country gentleman was often fain to betake himself to the work of a lackey, and follow the heels of those with whom he had formerly walked abreast. The following satirical rules of Ben Jonson, for converting a rural squire into a town gentleman, give a faithful picture of one of those modes in which ancient families at this time were wont to fall out of their rank, and disappear with such alarming frequency:—"First, to be an accomplished gentleman—that is, a gentleman of the time—you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel—you may do it without going to a conjuror: and be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [common]: study their carriage and behaviour in all; learn to play at primero and passage, and ever (when you lose) have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears: but, above all, protest in your play, and affirm, 'Upon your credit,' 'As you are a true gentleman,' at every cast: you may do it with a safe conscience, I warrant you. . . . You must endeavour to feed cleanly at your ordinary, sit melancholy, and pick your teeth when you cannot speak: and when you come to plays be humorous, look with a good starched face, and ruffle your brow like a new boot, laugh at nothing but your own jests, or else as the noblemen laugh. That's a special grace, you must observe. . . . You must pretend alliance with courtiers and great persons; and ever, when you are to dine or sup in any strange presence, hire a fellow with a great chain (though it be copper it's no matter) to bring your letters, feigned from such a nobleman, or such a knight, or such a lady." Such a training was a downward course, the end of which was poverty and ruin. Even this, however, was but a gentle prelude, compared with others which have been fully described by the dramatists of the period.

While such were the courtiers and fine gentlemen previous to the commencement of the Civil

war, the mercantile classes were closely treading upon their heels, and threatening to supplant them by their superior wealth and influence. Still, indeed, the aristocracy pretended to look down upon them with disdain, while upon the stage the English merchant was made to take the place of the Italian pantaloon. He was constantly reminded of his inferiority, also, by being allowed to have nothing better than a link carried before him, while the courtier was lighted by a torch. But in spite of all, these traffickers went on and prospered, until at last they vindicated their place as the most essential portion of the British community. At this period shops, for the most part, were paltry booths; and instead of a signboard, the master or his 'prentice paraded before the door, rehearsing a list of the articles he sold, with the additional demand of "What d'ye lack, sir?"—"What d'ye lack, madam?" A shop of this kind, which survived the great fire, just outside Temple Bar, will give a tolerable idea of these early repositories of London traffic. The mercantile hours of business

Bulk Shop of the time, lately standing near Temple Bar. Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

on the Exchange were twelve o'clock at noon and six in the evening; and at nine o'clock the Bow bell rung the signal for citizens to leave off work and prepare for supper and bed. Although their calling was so mechanical, and so much despised by the higher classes, yet the time had arrived when merchants, shop-keepers, and 'prentices were to show that their calling had by no means interfered with their martial spirit, and that they were conscious of possessing homes and privileges that were well worth defending. This was shown by their readiness to repair to the Artillery Ground for training when the Civil war was impending; the facility with which they accommodated themselves to the incumbrances of steel head-piece, back, and breast plate; and the dexterity they acquired in handling pike and matchlock; so that awkward arrays of vulgar citizens and demure Puritans, at whose evolutions the martial gentry condescended to laugh, became, in process of time, an army such as Rome itself never surpassed. These men thus showed that they were not to be overlooked, and that it might be dangerous to provoke them, according to the declaration of the worthy goldsmith in the old song of the *Counter Scuffle*:—

"'Of London city I am free,
And there I first my wife did see,
And for that very cause,' said he,
'I love it.

'And he that calls it cuckoo's nest,
Except he say he speaks in jest,
He is a villain and a beast—
I'll prove it!

'For though I am a man of trade,
And free of London city made,
Yet can I use gun, bill, and blade,
In battle.

'And citizens, if need require,
Themselves can force the foe retire,
Whatever this low country squire
May prattle.'"

Lower down in the scale of the London population were many strange characters, whose chief dwelling was Alsatia, and whose common period of action was that of darkness—men with whom the streets swarmed so plentifully at night, that the peaceful wayfarer was obliged to pick his steps with circumspection, and be ready for conflict at the turning of every alley. These were the Swashbucklers, whose only occupation was to force a quarrel or commit an assault wherever it could be done with safety—and Portingale captains, who had cruised as pirates against the rich carracks of Portugal, under the comfortable doctrine that no treaty of peace held good beyond the line—and other similar characters, who were classed under the names of Roaring Boys, Privadors, and Bonaventors. These men, the refuse of every rank, and often stained with crime as well as buried in debt, were frequently as ready to cut a purse as a throat; and as such, it required the utmost exertions of the watch, as well as the formidable war-cry of the 'prentices, to prevent them from gaining an unlimited midnight ascendency, and sacking, it may be, the whole city.

But in this lowest deep, a still lower deep was to be found. This consisted of the persons whose sole occupation was to prey upon society whether by violence or craft. In the reign of Elizabeth

they had acquired such boldness, as on one occasion to beset her coach near Islington, so that she was obliged to send to the civic magistrates for aid; and in the rescue that followed, not less than seventy-five of these rogues were inclosed in one haul of the net of justice. Numerous though they were, also, during her reign, they appear to have multiplied two-fold, partly through the increased wealth of the next period, but mainly, from the unsettled state of things that both preceded and accompanied the Civil war. Those whose practice was to rob on the highway, often travelled in formidable bands, mustering from ten to two or three score persons, armed with chacing-staves, which were heavy long poles shod with an iron pike—with guns and pistols, and even with bows and arrows. In such cases, travelling was unsafe except in bands equally numerous and well-armed, whose appearance gave more promise of blows than booty. Independently of their weapons, these robbers were also frequently furnished with such ingenious disguises, that they could transform not only their own faces and persons, but even their horses, and thus reduce the pursuit of justice to a nonplus. While the highways of England were thus infested, the streets of London and the other large cities were equally prolific of those who had recourse to craft and cunning in the way of shifting for their daily livelihood; and under the general names of cozeners, coney-catchers, cut-purses, foysters, nippers, and other such appellations, they refined so much upon the different modes of their occupation, that they comprised not less than twenty-two classes so early as the time of Holinshed. Their dexterity also was such, that even their successors of the present day appear but bunglers in comparison, and not a clever shift of modern thieving or swindling can be mentioned, but was in full practice in the reign of James I. Thus they had numerous schools in the brick-kilns near Islington, and in the Savoy, which were their favourite haunts; and there each pupil was trained in that mode of conveying for which he was best fitted, as well as taught the language of his craft, which was unintelligible to the uninitiated. In this way the young pickpockets were accustomed to practise upon a purse suspended from the ceiling, and garnished with little morrice-bells; and when the tyro could empty it without causing one warning tinkle, he was made free of his guild, and accounted ripe for street practice. Not trusting also to mere adroitness of finger, they were generally furnished with instruments for cutting or hooking, made of the finest steel, and by the best foreign artificers. It may easily be judged, therefore, how perilous a common walk in the streets of London must have been to those who had well-filled pockets, or tempting purses dangling at their girdles; and how often the hue and cry must have been raised in every street and alley. In the meanwhile, the office of a magistrate was no sinecure; and the prisons of London were usually over-crammed, until the gibbet or the jail-fever effected its periodical deliverance. Fleetwood, the recorder, who was the Fielding of the day, appears to have pursued his vocation with peculiar zest; and his own notices of his feats in this way would overwhelm a whole bench of modern magistracy with amazement. When rogues were brought before him he gave them "substantial payment," and if they appeared a second time, he gave them "double payment." He presides at Newgate on a Friday in the trial of certain "horse-dealers, cut-purses, and such like," to the number of ten, of whom nine are hanged on the following day. After a Sabbath of rest, he starts afresh on Monday, in chase of sundry "that were receptors of felons," of whom he gives a good account. It was by such indefatigable and merciless pursuit, and a constant succession of executions, that he was able to introduce a tolerable degree of security into the streets of London and Westminster, and the highways by which they were surrounded.

In passing to the domestic living of this period, we do not find that the accession of James had any tendency to refine the coarse epicurism of the courtiers and nobility. On the contrary, his example seems only to have brutalized the sensuality, as well as increased the expense of extravagant feasting. Whatever was costly or rare, no matter however revolting to the natural palate, appears to have been still the criterion of excellence in cookery; and a dish was little valued, unless the simple material was be-spiced and be-sugared, besides being enriched with oranges, lemons, and dried fruit, or smothered with butter, cream, ambergris, and marrow. The following is a sufficient specimen—and from the unction with which the directions are given for its preparation, it was no doubt reckoned a "dainty dish," even for royalty itself. It was nothing more or less than a herring pie, of which this was the construction: "Take salt herrings, being watered; wash them between your hands, and you shall loose the fish from the skin; take off the skin whole, and lay them in a dish; then have a pound of almond-paste ready; mince the herrings and stamp them with the almond-paste, two of the milts or roes, five or six dates, some grated manchet, sugar, sack, rose-water, and saffron; make the composition somewhat stiff, and fill the skins; put butter in the bottom of your pie, lay on the herring, and on them dates, gooseberries, currants, barberries, and butter; close it up, and bake it: being baked, liquor it with but-

ter, verjuice, and sugar." Sir Epicure Mammon, in Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," speaks in the same recondite vein of "the tongues of carps, dormice, and camels' heels," and adds, among the anticipated luxuries of his new style of life:—

> "My footboy shall eat pheasants, calver'd salmons,
> Knots, godwits, lampreys: I myself will have
> The beards of barbels serv'd instead of salads;
> Oil'd mushrooms; and the swelling unctuous paps
> Of a fat pregnant sow, newly cut off,
> Dress'd with an exquisite and poignant sauce."

With a coarser kind of feeding, a more abundant drinking was introduced by James, a practice that was continued under his successor; for although Charles I. was himself distinguished for temperance, his followers were eager to show their loyalty and abhorrence of Puritanism by the frequency of their "healths," and depth of their potations. Indeed, Elizabeth was scarcely cold in her grave, when the arrival of the King of Denmark and his courtiers, on a visit in 1606, so changed the whole English court, that the Virgin Queen would have been unable to recognize the stately decorous train by which she had been so lately surrounded. An abundant proof of this is given in Sir John Harrington's account of a state festival and pageant, presented before the two sovereigns at Theobalds:—"One day," he thus writes to a friend, "a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon, his temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba, was made, or, I may better say, was meant to have been made, before their majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But, alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The lady who did play the queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties, but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down, and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen which had been bestowed on his garments, such as wine, cream, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress Faith, Hope, and Charity: Hope did essay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble, that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity: Faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition: Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given to his majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope, who were both sick . . . in the lower hall. Next came Victory in bright armour, and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long; for after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now Peace did make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, did rudely make war with her olive-branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming."

This ridiculous show or pageant, in which noble personages were the actors, and sovereigns the spectators, fitly introduces the sports of the period, with those of the court at their head. On the arrival of James in England, the chivalrous character as well as stately decorum of the days of Elizabeth were ended; the tilt-yard was closed, and the "bruised arms" of the English nobles that had seen service in the fields of France and Scotland were "hung up for monuments." This was but the natural consequence of his majesty's constitutional dread of weapons, blows, and bloodshedding; his coarse gibes at the steel clothing, and constrained movements of a fully accoutred knight; his constant declamations against war, and his pretensions to the title of a second Solomon, by being the most pacific, as well as wisest of kings. A masque was better suited to his taste; and as he was a pedant and theologian, it required to be well stored with heathen gods and Christian mysteries, however incongruous might be the mixture. And all this while Ben Jonson was at court, and Shakspeare upon the stage! During the earlier part of the succeeding reign, and while as yet a court existed, these masques underwent a change correspondent to the character of the new sovereign, being divested in a great measure of their pedantic character, and almost wholly of their grossness. At last, however, they became dangerous, by being made the vehicles of that political discontent which so soon afterwards ripened into civil war. Of the other active sports, hunting and hawking enjoyed a temporary revival in England from the example of James I.; and tennis, which was the favourite amusement of his son Prince Henry, became also that of the courtiers. To these may be added

the athletic play of the wind-ball or *follis*, which was now, however, in its decline; and pall-mall, which was only coming into practice. Games of a more sedentary character were daily becoming more fashionable, such as bowls, billiards, cards, and dice. To these also may be added those spectacles by which, in the absence of the old chivalrous sports, the excitement produced by strife and bloodshed could still be gratified; and therefore all ranks had now become more eager spectators than ever of bull and bear baiting and cock-fighting. Among the generality of London citizens, besides games of chance, which were now coming more into vogue from the disuse of their former active and rural sports, there were the recreations of the ordinary and club-room, with balls, plays, dances, and musical entertainments; lounging in the parks, which had now become places of favourite public resort; excursions to those rural villages that still were separated from London by gardens and green fields; and competitions in archery, which was now an amusement and nothing more. Besides these, they still occasionally indulged in the luxury of hunting, for which their range was ample enough, as it comprised Middlesex, Hertfordshire, the Chilterns, and Kent, secured to them by charter, over which they watched with jealous care. Of those lower citizens of London who may be characterized as the mob, Stow has mentioned their favourite sports as consisting of football, wrestling, cudgel-playing, nine-pins, shovel-board, cricket, stow-ball, quoits, ringing of bells, pitching the bar, bull and bear baiting, throwing at cocks, and lying at ale-houses. This last amusement, otherwise called "lying for the whetstone," sometimes mentioned by old English chronicles as common both to town and country, was a trial of skill, in which he who could invent the greatest or most plausible falsehood was rewarded with the prize of a whetstone. It will be seen, from the above-mentioned enumeration of Stow, that most of these amusements had once been common to all classes, and were now in their lowest stage previous to a final departure. While these were the sports of the town, those of the country still chiefly consisted of archery, vaulting, leaping, dancing, and morrice-dances; of May-games, may-poles, and whitsun-ales, and the decoration of churches with rushes and branches for the celebration of those holidays enjoined by the rubric. Upon these games Laud and his coadjutors took their stand when the overthrow of the church was menaced by Puritanism; and they were declared by the *Book of Sports* not only lawful on Sundays, but were even enjoined to be practised by the people after the church service was over. It was no wonder, therefore, if party spirit as well as religious conviction animated the Puritans in their correction, or even entire suppression of such tokens of High Church devotedness, when their day of power had arrived. Bear-baiting was prohibited; and to remove all temptation, the bears were killed by Cromwell's orders. The concourses of the bull-ring were dispersed, and the cock-pits shut up. The holidays of the church, if not prohibited, were discountenanced, and their observances condemned as Popish or heathenish. No one, however, who understands the character of Cromwell, will believe that he was an enemy to manly sports or innocent recreation; and the following amusement, announced in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, one of the journals of the day, was of the true old English character:—"Hyde Park, May 1st, 1654. —This day there was a hurling of a great ball by fifty Cornish gentlemen of one side, and fifty on the other; one party played in red caps, and the other in white. There was present his highness the lord-protector, many of his privy council, and divers eminent gentlemen, to whose view was presented great agility of body, and most neat and exquisite wrestling, at every meeting of one with the other, which was ordered with such dexterity, that it was to show more the strength, vigour, and nimbleness of their bodies than to endanger their persons. The ball they played withal was silver, and designed for that party which did win the goal." After this no one will wonder that Cromwell had no countenance for the following May Day observance, held in the same place, and upon the same day:—"Monday, 1st May.—This day was more observed by people going a-maying than for divers years past; and, indeed, much sin committed by wicked meetings with fiddlers, drunkenness, ribaldry, and the like; great resort came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of coaches, and gallants in attire, but most shameful powdered-hair men, and painted and spotted women. Some men played with a silver ball, and some took other recreation. But his highness the lord-protector went not thither, nor any of the lords of the Commonwealth, but were busy about the great affairs of the Commonwealth." While upon this topic, we may as well advert to the future English sport of coach-driving, of which Oliver Cromwell himself seems to have been, if not the honoured founder, at least one of the earliest experimenters. The account, as given by Ludlow, is both amusing and characteristic:—"The Duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Friesland coach-horses; with which taking the air in the park, attended only with his secretary Thurloe, and a guard of janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him;

and therefore not content with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself: by which he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to meddle with those things wherein he had no experience."

But the chief of all the recreations of the period still remains to be mentioned. The miracle and mystery plays had already fulfilled their office, by teaching religion and morals to a rude and unlettered people; the street pageants and processions were now little better than raree shows for the amusement of a shouting mob. The superior civilization and learning of the age required not only a higher course of instruction, but a more refined form of representation; and the demand created the supply—a supply the more certain to be produced, as the craving was founded upon that love of imitation which is so strong a principle of our nature. Hence arose the English drama, of which we shall afterwards speak, and the English stage, to which for the present we confine our attention.

As soon as the writing of the regular drama had commenced, it was found that the tawdry and unwieldy apparatus, formerly in use for scenic representation, was no longer needed. Divine or allegorical personages had given place to the agents and incidents of real life; and the chief interest of the play was to depend, not upon dumb show and gaudy pantomime, but the truthfulness of nature and the power of poetry. This complete reaction upon the spirit of the drama acted in an inverse ratio upon its form and impersonation: the play of Shakspeare might be written, and it was enough; but the old stage had been swept away, while a new one had not as yet been created. Hence the first play-houses erected under this new state of things were nothing more than large wooden booths; the actors were often a part of a rich nobleman's menial establishment, or if not, were hard-handed mechanics, or needy wanderers, who played in their every-day attire; while the auditory was generally such as afterwards settled into the lees of a Bartholomew Fair. This squalid state of things, however, could not long continue; and by the commencement of the present period, when dramatic writing was of a higher character, and more duly appreciated by the better classes, greater regularity had been introduced, and a better promise afforded. At the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and during that of her successor, the Globe, Fortune, and Paris Garden theatres were furnished with their regular array of actors, and crowded with persons of every rank, who repaired to witness the great master-productions of Shakspeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the other renowned dramatists of the age. Of these the Globe, a building of such imperishable remembrance, because so closely connected with Shakspeare's life and writings, was erected about 1593; and, in consequence of the growing importance of the drama, it surpassed in size every theatre that had as yet existed in London. It shared the usual fate of other theatres, being burned down in 1613; but it was rebuilt the following year with greater magnificence than ever. Encouraged, probably, by the success of the speculation, the erection of the Fortune Theatre followed that of the other, about 1599, and was an improvement upon the plan of the Globe, having a stage forty-three feet in width and thirty-nine and a half in depth, with better accommodation for the audience. How well it was frequented, and how profitable it speedily became, is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that Alleyn the actor, its chief proprietor, was the founder of Dulwich College.

Even at the best, however, these theatres were but sorry places according to modern estimation. The whole was pit—boxes and even gallery were the inventions of a later day. The stage was strewn with rushes, which sufficed for a carpet: if a scene was upon it, it remained for the whole piece, while the imagination was to transform it according to the changes of the play. "Now," says Sir Philip Sydney, "you shall see three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By-and-by we hear news of a shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke; then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While in the meantime two armies fly in, represented with four swords and two bucklers; and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field!" Sometimes, even this help to the fancy was not afforded; and in the case of such nakedness, a placard was hung up on the front of the stage, having on it the name of the city or country in which the events of the play were to be supposed to take place:—

> "The king is set from London; and the scene
> Is now transported, gentles, to Southampton;
> There is the playhouse now, there must you sit:
> And thence to France shall we convey you safe.
> * * * * * *
> But till the king come forth, and not till then,
> Unto Southampton we do shift our scene."

The very greatness of an event, also, was a sufficient apology, not only for defective scenery, but the absence of all scenery whatever:—

"Can this cock-pit hold
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
Within this wooden O, the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

Over-head, the stage was lighted with a cresset. As for house-doors or gates upon the stage, by which actors might make their entrances and exits, the absence of these was supplied by stripes of a curtain, over each of which was the name of the personage whose habitation it was meant to represent. At first, plays were acted only on Sundays, and in this case, it was not wonderful that the Puritans were so hostile to the theatre; but as plays continued to multiply, and profits to increase, the number of acting days was soon extended from one to four or five days a-week. On Wednesdays, however, the theatres were closed, that they might not interfere with the rival recreation of bull-baiting, which usually took place on that day. The performance of each day was usually announced by a placard set up on the public places; and if a new production was to be brought forward, the price of admission, usually a very small one, was on that occasion doubled or even trebled. The hour of commencing the performance was one o'clock—one hour later than that at which the aristocracy were wont to dine; a flag was usually hoisted at the top of the building until the play was over; and as only a single piece was acted, the time occupied was seldom more than two hours.

THE GLOBE THEATRE, Bankside, Southwark.—Wilkinson's Londiniana.

THE FORTUNE THEATRE, Golden Lane, Barbican.—Wilkinson's Londiniana.

This circumstance may perhaps account for the mixture of comedy and farce that was generally introduced into the gravest tragedies of the period. For one auditor who could appreciate the soliloquies of Hamlet, there were at least twenty who could relish the jokes of the grave-digger, and would on no account have them omitted.

Such was a theatre when empty—but what imagination can re-people the void with the throngs that filled it? The illustrious who sat there were famed in the history of England, and the poetry to which they listened is engraved upon the living rock of all time. Behind the stage, or in its obscure recesses, that author may have looked and listened for the applause of the passing hour, who was unconscious that successive ages would re-echo it. But the very thought is overwhelming; and we turn from it, to the usual characters of which an audience of the day was composed. Here, we find, that those in the pit, usually composed of the middling and lower classes, and termed the "groundlings," were wont to spend the time before the performance commenced in playing at cards, drinking ale, smoking tobacco, and criticizing past or present plays, while ale and wine were hawked about as at an ordinary fair. But there the people of higher rank could not condescend to sit, and therefore they were accommodated upon the stage, where stools were supplied to them for a few pence by persons who hired them-

selves for the purpose, while pipes and tobacco were furnished to them by their pages, who stood behind. And then the play began with the prologue, which contained the argument of the piece, and was spoken by an actor dressed in a long black velvet cloak, who usually came upon the stage in a flourish of trumpets; and afterwards the actors entered, who at first were dressed in perukes and masks, until "periwig-pated fellows" and concealed faces were found to be inconsistent with the true representation of nature. And then, too, commenced the criticism, as loud and harsh in those primitive days as the off-off-ing or cat-calling with which an unpopular actor is driven from the stage, or a luckless play damned, in the nineteenth century. In such condemnations, too, it usually happened that the "song began from Jove," that is, from the higher classes seated upon their pre-eminent stools on the stage; for rank in England still went for something, more especially as it was the characteristic of a better education. Sometimes, however, a critic was so unreasonable and so noisy, that the pit would rise in defence of the play, in which case, the fashionable judge snapped his fingers in contempt of the groundlings, and hied away in magnificent disdain. Of such a critic—whom perhaps he knew but too well—Ben Jonson has given the following sketch, in his induction to "Cynthia's Revels:"—"Now, sir, suppose I am one of your genteel auditors, that am come in, having paid my money at the door, with much ado, and here I take my place and sit down. I have my three sorts of tobacco in my pocket, my light by me, and thus I begin:—'By this light, I wonder that any man is so mad to come to see these rascally tits play here! They do act like so many wrens or pismires—not the fifth part of a good face amongst them all. And then their music is abominable—able to stretch a man's ears worse than ten pillories; and their ditties, most lamentable things, like the pitiful fellows that make them—poets. By this vapour, an 'twere not for tobacco, I think, the very stench of 'em would poison me. I should not dare to come in at their gates. A man were better visit fifteen jails, or a dozen or two of hospitals, than once adventure to come near them."

In the education of this period, we find that the impulse which it had received from the revival of learning in Europe, still went on with steady progress, unchecked by the great political changes to which every other source of public benefit was exposed. Latin and Greek, indeed, still formed the groundwork, and were inculcated by "learned and lashing masters," who had little toleration for laziness or inaptitude; but to these were added the study of modern tongues, especially that of Italy, and the result was to be seen in the powerful influence which it was daily exercising upon our national literature. But besides the study of languages, that of philosophy, so lately cherished by the works of Plato, was even already acquiring that sound practical character which Bacon's *Novum Organum* was so well fitted to inspire. In this way, the progress that had been made during the long reign of Elizabeth, was matured and perfected under that of her successor. It needed only the polish imparted by the fine arts, to give lustre and refinement to the education of the day, and this was fully secured by the munificence of Charles I. in collecting the richest paintings and works of art, and inviting the best foreign artists to England. In this way, at the breaking out of the Civil war, the senate, the bar, the pulpit, and the press exhibited an array of intellect and accomplishments scarcely equalled, but certainly never surpassed in any later period of our history. Independently of these studies, so much of the chivalrous character still remained, that military exercises were judged essential to the education of the young nobility and gentry; and therefore, not the least valued among the preceptors of the period, were those who taught fencing, riding the great horse, and shooting with the musket, the cannon, and sometimes even with the cross-bow or long-bow, to which the national remembrances of ancient victories still affectionately adhered. On this account, when the English aristocracy were unexpectedly summoned into the field, whether by Charles I. or the Long Parliament, they at once exhibited the character and training of good skilful soldiers. Even at the public schools, also, the intervals of study were seasons of drill, in which the classes were brigaded into companies, and trained in military evolutions, for which purpose arms were abundantly provided, and soldiers of reputation appointed to superintend these lessons of the play-ground. When the whole round of education was finished, travel succeeded, and the ingenuous youths of England were to be found in great abundance in France and Italy. It was not every town, however, that they might visit, for here government interfered, and proscribed those places where Popery was strongest, and Jesuitism most abundant; and often, especially if the rank of the young tourist was of some consequence, his course, and the persons with whom he associated were carefully watched, and an account of them transmitted to head-quarters in London. Nor will this jealousy of government appear unreasonable, when we remember the plots so often devised on the Continent for the eversion of the British church and constitution. Such, in its best form, was now the state of education in England. That however for the females, since the death of Elizabeth, had in a great mea-

sure shrunk within its former narrow limits; and for this, more than one cause might be assigned. A female court no longer predominated; and while stern events of politics and war were at hand, ladies, however worshipped, were not as yet admitted to those consultations in which the fate of kingdoms was at stake. Yielding to the necessity, they forsook the high position they had formerly occupied, and were content to be unnoticed, at a season when man and nerve, the strong heart and sagacious brain, were of chief and almost only account. A long interval had to elapse before they recovered from the effects of this humbling inferiority.

The history of English literature during this period, and the progress of arts and sciences, would lead us too far into detail. This, however, becomes the less necessary, from the high pre-eminence the English drama had now attained, by which every other department of intellect and taste was overshadowed. The first struggle of the stage to emancipate itself from allegory into real life, produced, as has been supposed, the regular comedy of "Ralph Roister Doister," written by Nicholas Udal, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Even this early effort, rude though it was, gave high promise of the future drama of England. Almost contemporary with it, though of inferior excellence, was "Gammer Gurton's Needle," a comedy, the author of which is unknown. It will thus be seen, that the dramatic spirit of England, like that of Athens in the days of Thespis, commenced in the comic rather than the tragic vein. The latter, however, soon followed in the shape of historic plays, several of the scenes of which Shakspeare is supposed to have thought not unworthy of improving, and incorporating into his own imperishable dramas. Soon afterwards, regular tragedy succeeded in the "Ferrex and Porrex," or, as it was sometimes entitled, the "Tragedy of Gorboduc," the joint production of Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and Thomas Norton, a Puritan divine. In this play, which is more stately than natural, the two authors endeavoured to blend the character of the old classical drama with the newly-awakened perceptions of what was needful for modern representation, and therefore, while it was prefaced by a representation of the story in dumb show, every act was closed by an ode like the Greek chorus. As yet, also, in these preliminary attempts, the question was at issue, whether dramatic writing should be embodied in rhyme or in blank verse, so that while the first three plays were written in the former, the last was in both. The earliest attempts in the English drama, however, had not solely a retrospective view to the example of the Greek stage, for sometimes an attempt was made, though happily unsuccessful, to retain the spirit of the old moralities embodied in the new dramatic form. One of these pieces, quoted by Collier, entitled "All for Money," has for three of its characters, Judas, Dives, and Damnation, which last drives the other two "making a pitiful noise" into the bottomless pit.

In such preludings, and amidst such trial and experiment, the dramatic muse of England was employed for about thirty years, when the gray dawn was succeeded by a bright morning, to be immediately followed by the bursting forth of the sun itself. In 1584 George Peele first appeared as a dramatic writer, and in rapid succession, he was followed by his contemporaries, Robert Greene, John Lyly, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Lodge, and Christopher Marlow. Accomplished classical scholars, they naturally preferred to write in blank verse, then a new attempt in English poetry, and in this they persevered, until each successive improvement was perfected in "Marlow's mighty line." Of all those who held the honoured office of being the precursors of Shakspeare, Christopher, or as he is usually termed, Kit Marlow, was undoubtedly the greatest. He is supposed to have been born about the year 1562, but of what parentage is unknown. After graduating at Cambridge, he became a dramatic writer, and in 1586, if not earlier, he produced the tragedy of "Tamburlaine the Great." As might be expected from a genius so young, and withal so fervid and overflowing, "Tamburlaine" abounds with bombast; but in his subsequent productions of "Faustus," the "Rich Jew of Malta," and "Edward II.," the irregularity abated, while the fire burned more vehemently than ever. The temptations of Faustus while his good and bad angel stand on either side, the one to urge, and the other to restrain him in the study of magic and its forbidden arts—the eagerness with which he plunges into sensuality when the unlawful bargain is made, and the agonizing remorse he experiences when the forfeit is to be paid—have seldom been excelled in the most powerful of dramatic delineations; while in Edward II., the misery of a king in the act of abdicating his royal office, approaches, in many instances, the similar sketch of Shakspeare in the tragedy of "Richard II." Marlow's chief delight was in the terrible, of which he showed himself a master; but withal, there was a licentiousness of spirit in his writings, and especially in his translations from Ovid, that subjected them to the censures of ecclesiastical authority. As was his poetry so was his life, wild, fervid, and erratic, until it was abruptly brought to a melancholy termination by a disgraceful brawl at the early age of thirty-one, when it might have been said of him in the words of his own "Faustus"—

"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
And burned is Apollo's laurel-bough
That sometime grew within this learned man."

Much as had now been done, the drama of England was still incomplete—nay, as yet, even the foundation was scarcely laid. A mighty superstructure was to be raised, but the master-builder had not yet appeared. This is evident from the fact, that the dramatic productions of those writers we have already named have passed away from popular remembrance, and are now scarcely to be found except in the dark crypts of antiquarianism. But William Shakspeare was already born, and he entered the field before they had departed. The date of his birth was April, 1564; the place, Stratford-on-Avon, in Warwickshire. What education he received, and what was the history of his youth, are enveloped in mystery, and have given rise to much literary contention—as if a man so superior should be destined to exemption from that irreverent scrutiny which familiarizes us to the history of less distinguished mortals. And yet, from his knowledge of rural life, it is evident that his boyhood and youth were not spent in seclusion—that his gaze must have been everywhere, and his course open as day. At the early age of eighteen he commenced life in earnest by becoming a husband; and, only two or three years after, he repaired to London, but whether instigated by literary ambition seeking its fittest arena, or by some wild escapade that required concealment or protection, is also matter of controversy. His, however, was no idle life in London; for in 1589, or about four years after his arrival, and at the age of twenty-five, he was one of the proprietors of the Blackfriars' Theatre, and in 1598 had already produced his best plays, and acquired the character of being by far the best of English dramatic writers, whether in tragedy or comedy. While his fame thus rose so rapidly, his fortune almost kept pace with it, so that he had property in several theatres, and was soon in such comfortable circumstances as to be able to combine the life of a gentleman and courtier with that of a player and poet. But while he enjoyed the patronage of Elizabeth, and the acquaintance of the highest characters of her court, his chief delight appears to have been to mingle with the learned and intellectual of the day; and here his "foyning o' nights" at the Mermaid will occur to the memory of our readers, as described so affectionately afterwards by Beaumont, in his epistle to Ben Jonson:—

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtile flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolv'd to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life!"

William Shakspeare.
From the monumental bust, at Stratford-upon-Avon.

This meeting or club, of which Shakspeare was a member, and which contained more wit, learning, and talent than perhaps were ever assembled in one tavern room, was founded by Sir Walter Raleigh; and, besides Shakspeare and himself, included Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Cotton, Carew, Selden, Donne, Martin, and many others, whose names were the trumpet signals of an age awakening from the slumbers of the past, and preparing a new era for the world. This splendid association derived its name from its place of meeting — the Mermaid, a tavern in Friday Street, leading from Cheapside towards the river. But who can well imagine these glorious encounters to which Beaumont so affectionately reverts, and which the quaint old Fuller, who was only in his eighth year when Shakspeare died, endeavours, from his knowledge of the parties, to describe, as if he had been an onlooker and listener? "Many were the wit-combats betwixt him [Shakspeare] and Ben Jonson, which two I beheld like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war: Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performances. Shakspeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk but lighter in sailing,

could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention." But the harmlessness of his wit, notwithstanding its wondrous power, the affectionate kindliness of his nature, and unostentatious simplicity with which he bore the honours that were heaped upon him, secured him the love of his contemporaries; and while they recognized and acknowledged his superiority, the title by which he was best known among them was "the gentle Shakspeare." After having written thirty-seven plays, a collection of sonnets, and the poems of "Venus and Adonis," and "Tarquin and Lucrece" —after having distanced competition, whether ancient or modern, in every department he attempted, and enjoyed, what is still more rare and wonderful, an unqualified foretaste of the renown that awaited him from posterity—he hied him homeward while it was still day, as if all he had achieved and enjoyed was of little account, and that the main business of life was still to come. At the age of forty-eight, while the maturity of manhood is still unbent, and the promises of ambition are more alluring than ever, he retired to an estate which he had purchased in the neighbourhood of his native town. Here, however, he lived only four years, and died in 1616. His fate, like that of so many of the highest of mankind, was to leave no family succession, his only son having died early, while his married daughters were childless. Is this seemingly harsh doom inflicted upon the greatest and the best, that the veneration of future ages may not be disturbed by the presence of an unworthy posterity?

THE HOUSE IN WHICH SHAKSPEARE WAS BORN.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

After the countless eulogiums that have been written in every language and style, and in every form of dissertation, upon the works of this greatest and most attractive of all poets, it would be mere supererogation to attempt anything further. As the poet not of any class, country, or period, but of human nature and of all time, Shakspeare may be safely left to mankind at large, of whom he is the common property, and to the latest posterity, by whom he will still continue to be appreciated. Who can imagine the country or the generation when he will cease to be invoked in his own words:—

"Thou art mighty yet;
Thy spirit walks abroad?"

We turn from him to his distinguished contemporary and companion, Ben Jonson, to whom already we have occasionally referred. He was born in 1574, or ten years later than Shakspeare. In his boyhood, he was brought up at Westminster school, where he had the learned Camden, one of its junior tutors, for his preceptor, and afterwards was admitted as student into St. John's College, Cambridge. Here, however, his stay was brief, for his step-father, a

SHAKSPEARE'S TOMB, Stratford-upon-Avon.[1]—Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams.

[1] Shakspeare is buried in the chancel of the church of Stratford-upon Avon, within the altar rails. A marble slab bearing

bricklayer, required his assistance at home; and, accordingly, the young student, as Fuller tells us, "helped in the building of the new structure of Lincoln's Inn, when, having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket." Soon tired of this uncongenial occupation, and before he had reached his twentieth year, he joined, as a volunteer, the English army in Flanders; and there, according to the conversation set down for him with Drummond of Hawthornden, he slew an enemy in the face of both camps, and carried from him the *spolia opima*. His military service in Flanders does not seem to have lasted beyond a single campaign. On his return to London, at the age of twenty, he married; and although he resumed his original occupation of a bricklayer, it was only for the purpose of completing his literary education, and commencing the life of a dramatic author, to which, it is probable, the success already acquired by Shakspeare may have powerfully incited him. Besides this, the opening glories of the English stage, and the distinction which it already promised, had turned the poetical spirit of the country exclusively in that direction. While his time was thus occupied between the book and the trowel, an interruption, not by any means strange for the period, occurred. He quarrelled with an adversary, who challenged him to the field; and, in the duel that followed, he slew his man, whose tuck was ten inches longer than his own. For this deed of homicide he was imprisoned, and would have been brought to the gallows but for a favourable verdict of his judges. On being set free he resumed his literary labours, accompanied with his daily mechanical toil; and it would appear that, even already, he had acquired the malicious title of "the lime-and-mortar poet." His appearance, also, was as unpromising as could well be, for, according to the testimony of his enemies, he had a face "like a russet apple when it is bruised," or "punched full of eye-let holes, like the cover of a warming pan;" "one eye lower than t'other, and bigger;" and, even according to his own declaration, "a mountain belly and rocky face." But with all these personal disadvantages, he was already one of the ripest scholars in England, and resolute to become one of its choicest dramatic poets. He is supposed to have commenced writing for the stage so early as his nineteenth year; but nothing can be certainly ascertained of his novitiate as an author until three years later, when his comedy of "Every Man in his Humour" was brought out at the Rose Theatre. Such was its success that his reputation, as a dramatic writer of the first rank, was established. And no wonder, for, although the earliest, it is also the best of his productions. Then followed two tragedies and ten comedies, among the last of which the three best were thus commemorated:

"The Fox, the Alchemist, and
Silent Woman,
Done by Ben Jonson, and
outdone by no man."

Ben Jonson.—After Gerard Honthorst.

But the chief occupation in which he was employed from 1606 to 1633, was as a writer of masques for the diversion of the sovereign and courtiers; and this literary department, hitherto so barren and puerile, he raised by his genius, inventiveness, and taste, to a high state of classical excellence. The death of James I. was to him the loss of a liberal patron; his court and city pensions ceased, and he was once more driven to dependence on the stage by the pressure of his necessities; but his later efforts, under such circumstances, were not equal to those he had produced before he became a court writer, and its poet-laureate. His last piece was even hissed from the stage as a mere effort of dotage, upon which he indignantly adopted, and eloquently expressed his final resolution:—

"Leave things so prostitute,
And take the Alcaic lute;
Or thine own Horace, or Anacreon's lyre;
Warm thee by Pindar's fire;
And though thy nerves be shrunk and blood be cold,
Ere years have made thee old,
Strike that disdainful heat
Throughout, to their defeat,
As curious fools, and envious of thy strain
May, blushing, swear no palsy's in thy brain."

an inscription by himself covers the spot, and near it, on the north wall, is the monument to his memory containing the well-known Stratford bust.

It is gratifying to add that the poet's circumstances were afterwards improved. He resumed the writing of court masques, in which his classical and literary tastes were fully gratified; his pension as poet-laureate was increased by Charles I.; and to this was added the tierce of wine, that has made so many peevish fault-finders merry, and which was continued to the laureates until within these few years. He died in 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; and upon the stone over his grave was inscribed the short epitaph, "O rare Ben Jonson!"

As a poet, Jonson was so different from Shakspeare as to be almost a complete contrast. Instead of taking human nature in its great essentials, he confined himself to the characters that passed before his eye; and, not content with seeking for the emotions he wished to describe within the recesses of his own heart, he had recourse to his books, and relied upon those stores of erudition that were so fully at his command. In this way, his tragedies were stately classical declamations, while his comedies were merely the transcripts of London life and character as they existed in his own day. How low an aim, and how limited a range, compared with that of the universal Shakspeare! But still, within that sphere he is unrivalled; and while adopting the Roman classical model, he has even outstripped his teachers, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca. His productions, however, although they secured the reward they aimed at, secured nothing more; they were famed during their day, but were forgot when the generation they chronicled, and the manners they described, had given place to new men and new modes of life. It has not been, and never can be thus, with such productions as "Romeo and Juliet," "Hamlet," "King Lear," "Macbeth," and "Othello."

While by some, Jonson, as a dramatic writer, has been ranked next to Shakspeare, this claim has been contested by others in favour of Beaumont and Fletcher. Between these two there was such a Siamese twinship of intellect, that it becomes impossible to separate them; while the resemblance between them was so complete that it is equally impossible to discriminate the one from the other. No critic, however acute in the detection of internal evidence, can lay his finger upon any one act or scene of the fifty dramas they produced, and decidedly pronounce which of the two must have been its author. Even at the commencement of the English stage, the practice of joint-stock play-writing was frequently adopted, and it continued so late as the days of Dryden; but such a close union or interfusion between two such superior minds, and so long continued, has neither parallel nor resemblance in the whole history of human authorship. As men, however, although not as poets, we can speak of them as two veritable persons. Francis Beaumont, whose name always stands first, although he was the younger of the pair, was descended of an ancient family, and born at Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire, in 1586. At the early age of ten years, he was entered as gentleman-commoner in Pembroke College, Oxford, and afterwards he became a student in the Temple. Poetry rather than law, however, must have occupied his chief attention, while his love of poetical society led him to the Mermaid tavern, into the society of which he was admitted to the high privilege of membership. Here he met with Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, and, above all, with his Pylades, Fletcher; and such was the congeniality of wit with which both overflowed, that, according to Shirley, "on every occasion they talked a comedy." Their first play was written in 1607, when Beaumont had reached his twenty-first year, and Fletcher was ten years older; and from this period their connection was so close, that we are told they lived not only in the same street but the same house, and had most things between them in common, not even excepting their clothes and cloak. How diligently they must have laboured is sufficiently attested by the fact, that, numerous as their joint productions were, Beaumont died in the spring of 1615, only eight years after their first play was produced. John Fletcher was born in 1578. He was the son of a bishop, and born of a poetical family, his uncle, Dr. Giles Fletcher, and his cousins, Phineas and Giles, being well known, especially the two latter, whom Southey characterizes as "the best poets of the school of Spenser." The authorship of John Fletcher commenced so early as his seventeenth year, by a translation of Ovid's story of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," which was published in 1602. His death occurred in 1625, nine years after that of Beaumont; and during this interval he appears to have written eleven plays that are included in the joint collection. Such are a few notices of their individual history. As poets they were more fervid and imaginative, and as delineators of character more natural than Jonson, although they wanted his regularity and correctness. Indeed, with all their inspiration, which flashes upon the reader through almost every scene, there is the evidence of a haste and looseness which, in most cases, prevented them from producing a complete and finished play. Still, in richness, variety, and creative power, their productions are the most worthy to be placed next to those of Shakspeare, while the lyrical pieces in which they abound are superior to the same efforts even of Shakspeare himself. But what shall we say of the gross obscenity with which all their plays are defiled? It gives us a strange idea of the language and manners of our

ancestors that such delineations should not only have been tolerated upon the stage, but have become so popular as, even till the close of the century, to have been more highly valued than the deep philosophy of "Hamlet," or the pure, devoted love of "Romeo and Juliet." And it seems more marvellous still, that stern moralists and pious divines should have so highly lauded them as the perfection of all that was morally excellent —as being, in the words of Bishop Earle, productions too "pure," and "chaste," and "sainted," to be called plays! It is enough to add, that not one of them could be read aloud in the present day, and that the modern process of "castigating" would absolutely tear it to pieces. With all that love of literary resuscitation which prevails among us, we suspect that no one would be so enthusiastic as to republish an entire edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

Contemporaneous with these illustrious four, who reigned supreme in the realms of dramatic poetry, were a whole host of inferior writers, each of whom was fitted to obtain no mean distinction had he but appeared alone, or been born in an earlier or later period. The best of these, however, we can only briefly particularize. And first in excellence was Philip Massinger, well known even at this late period by his "New Way to Pay Old Debts," and "The City Madam," which still keep possession of the stage, and are justly admired for their excellence of construction, and forceful delineation of character. Of the thirty-eight plays he wrote, only eighteen have been preserved; and from these, he appears to have possessed more imitative than creative power, and to have excelled in profound thought and correct vigorous description rather than high poetical imagination. Another dramatic poet was George Chapman, who began to write for the stage in 1595, produced twenty-three plays, of which sixteen have survived, and who has been characterized as the most descriptive and didactic of all the contemporaries or successors of Shakspeare. Besides these plays, of which the best known are "Eastward Hoe," and "Bussy d'Ambois," he translated the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into English verse, and in these fully evinced that his forte was as strong in epic as in dramatic poetry. Next in order may be mentioned John Webster, tailor, and parish clerk of St. Andrews, Holborn, who, in spite of his humble position and mechanical calling, won for himself a high place among the dramatic poets of England. He was known to posterity chiefly as the author of the "White Devil" and the "Duchess of Malfy," in which the deepest notes of horror and anguish are touched with a vigorous and discriminating hand. Only four dramatic pieces were his sole production, for unlike his brethren, he wrote slowly and with care and study: the other four which sometimes bear his name, were joint productions which he wrote in partnership with Dekker and Morley. Such, indeed, as we have already observed, was a common fashion in the play-writing of the day: to sketch the plot, to fill up the characters, and give the whole a regular continuity, were often the result of a combination of labour; and hence the irregularity or absence of an individual character throughout, by which a single play of the olden time is so often distinguished.

MONUMENT TO CHAPMAN.[1]—From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

Such a play-writer or play-wright was Thomas Middleton, who was the author of some score and a half of tragedies and comedies, in several of which he was assisted by Ben Jonson, Dekker, Fletcher, Rowley, and Massinger; and Dekker himself, who stands sponsor to the same amount, in which the aid he so liberally imparted to others was fairly reciprocated. Middleton's best-known production is a tragi-comedy, called "The Witch," in which he has shown such power in delineations of the supernatural, that Shakspeare has been by many supposed to have drawn from them the ideas which he so magnificently embodied in the witch-scenes of "Macbeth." But of all the dramatic artificers of the day, what shall we think of the labours of Thomas Heywood, scholar, translator, poet, actor, historian, and theologian, who, besides several folios and quartos in prose of which he was sole author, one of these being his *Hierarchy of the Blessed An-*

[1] This monument is in the churchyard of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, placed against the south wall of the church. It was erected by Inigo Jones at his own expense.

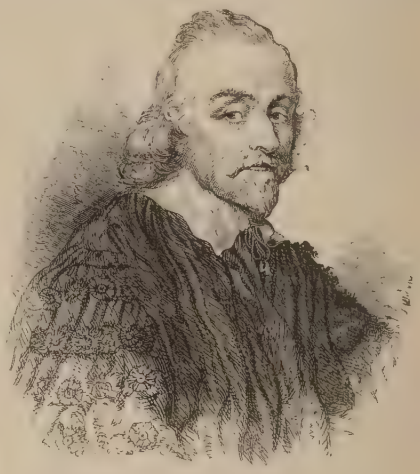
gels, which is still to be found on many a street book-stall, had large literary investments in 220 plays, wherein he tells us, he "had either an entire hand, or, at the least, a main finger?" We hasten to close the list of dramatic authors, that would otherwise be too voluminous, with the names of John Ford and James Shirley. The first of these wrote eleven plays, besides assisting in several others, and was chiefly distinguished by grave tranquil dignity in his expressions of sentiment, with winning tenderness in his love-scenes. Shirley, who began to write for the stage in 1629, and who produced forty plays, may be considered as the last of the great Shakspearian era. Never had the dramatic spirit been so greatly accumulated, or so fully and eloquently expressed, either in ancient or modern times, as in England, and during the first portion of the seventeenth century; and when the Long Parliament, in 1642, commanded the theatres to be closed, the inspiration that had made the stage so alluring was exhausted, so that the mandate was of little consequence. After an interval, in which real strife, and havoc, and suffering were to take the place of their poetical representatives, the stage was again to be opened, and with a more imposing aspect than ever; but no new Shakspeare or Jonson was to animate it, or even a Marlow or a Massinger.

While Puritanism thus sternly silenced the dramatic muse with the declaration, that "public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity"—and while the license of the stage but too often justified this condemnation—we are naturally anxious to know whether this religious spirit could produce true and good poets, as well as wise statesmen and gallant warriors. Such, however, was the case; and under the name of the Puritan poets, by which title they are sometimes known in the history of our national literature, they occupy an honoured place among the distinguished characters of this stirring period. Among these may be named Francis Quarles, George Wither, Andrew Marvel; and John Milton, who had already given earnest to the world of the great epic which he was to produce when the commencement of the ensuing period had freed him from controversy and political turmoil. With these, also, may be classed, as religious poets of the age, although they were not Puritans according to the sectarian meaning of the term—Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, John Donne, George Herbert, and Richard Crashaw. The classical spirit, talent, and refinement, combined with the poetical enthusiasm and excellence of these writers, sufficiently redeem the era of the Commonwealth, and the character it matured, from the charges of narrowness and poverty that have been so unreflectingly heaped upon it. While these poets were poetical impersonations of the religious character of the age, there were others also who, in contrast to these, may be called the heralds of the Restoration, and the new literary character it introduced. These were Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling, and Colonel Richard Lovelace, noble types of the Cavalier party to which they belonged, and who exhibited its chivalrous spirit and talent without its selfishness and sensuality. Independently of these poets of the two great antagonistic classes of the period, there were several who cultivated their poetic tendencies, independent of the political or ecclesiastical divisions by which society was rent asunder, and whose excellence insured them a reputation that has outlasted their own day. These were William Warner, Michael Drayton, author of the *Polyolbion*, and Samuel Daniel, all of whom were chiefly poetical chroniclers or historians; Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso; Sir Richard Fanshawe, the translator of the *Lusiad* of Camoens; Sir John Davies, author of "Nosce Teipsum" and the "Orchestra;" Sir John Denham, whose chief poem of "Cooper's Hill" was published within the present period; and Robert Herrick, author of the "Hesperides."

The taste of Charles I., and his inclination to patronize distinguished artists, might have made this age of poetry also illustrious as one of painting; but political troubles and the Civil war postponed this event to a later season. The commencement, however, was fully effected by the arrival of Vandyke in England, and the enthusiasm which his numerous productions created among the noble families of the country for rich picture galleries and family portraits. A native of Antwerp, and already in high reputation on the Continent, Anthony Vandyke was invited by Charles I. to England in 1629, where his splendid portraits of the king and principal courtiers grew into such request, that all were eager to employ his pencil. The high value attached to these numerous productions, and the undiminished admiration they still excite, make further description unnecessary. In the meantime, the fortunate artist reaped such a harvest of success in profit as well as fame, that he had little cause to regret his expatriation: he was knighted and pensioned, while the rich returns of his professional occupations enabled him to live in a style of magnificence which rivalled that of the highest nobles. The greatest work which he proposed to accomplish was to paint the walls of the Banqueting House, of which his master, Rubens,

had already painted the ceiling; but the proposed cost of this undertaking (£8000), and the breaking out of the war, compelled it to be abandoned. Vandyke died in England in 1641, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, and although he had done so much, he had only reached the age of forty-two.

While poetry of every kind, and poets of every variety of excellence were in such abundance, the other departments of intellect were by no means unproductive; and the eminent literary and scientific characters of this period need merely be named, to call up to memory their mental achievements and their greatness. Foremost of these may be placed Lord Bacon, "the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind," who, if he deserved the last epithet as a politician, fully merited the other two as a philosopher and universal instructor.[1] Enough of his political career has been given in another part of this work, and it is grateful to turn from his character as a statesman and the flatterer of Buckingham, to that by which he will be best remembered—his being the author of *Novum Organum*, by which the Aristotelian form of reasoning was superseded, and the philosophy of reason, truth, and nature restored to its proper pre-eminence. The fruits of this mighty revolution have been manifested in the history of English intellect from that period onward—and may be traced in the inventions and discoveries by which physical science has so greatly ameliorated the ills and enlarged the powers and comforts of humanity. Compared with this, what were the heroic deeds of this warring age, or even the political changes they effected? After Bacon, but at a long distance, may be named Sir Thomas Browne, author of the *Religio Medici;* Robert Burton, well known for his *Anatomy of Melancholy;* and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In physical science, Harvey was distinguished during this period by his discovery of the circulation of the blood, a discovery which has revolutionized and benefited the healing art more than any that had yet been made. Dr. William Harvey, for whom this high distinction was reserved, after a life of study in France, Germany, and Italy, settled in London as lecturer on anatomy and surgery in the College of Physicians; and it was in his course of lecturing, that he disclosed his discovery of the circulation of the blood, which he afterwards gave to the world at large in his work entitled *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis.* He was physician to James I. and Charles I.; and after a long life in which his gentleness, modesty, and piety were as conspicuous as his great talents and compelled the esteem of all parties, he died in 1657, at the age of eighty-eight. Among the political writers whom this stirring age produced, the best was John Milton, who would have been renowned as the ablest of political controversialists, if he had not secured the more enduring character of the best of poets. Another eminent political writer was John Bar-



William Harvey.—After Cornelius Janssen.

York House, London. The birthplace of Bacon.[2]—From a print by Hollar.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 330, for a portrait of Bacon.

[2] The house in which Bacon first saw the light was originally the town residence of the Bishops of Norwich, and after some changes became that of the Archbishops of York, in the reign of Queen Mary. The latter appear to have let it to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the philosopher's father, as keeper of the great seal. It

clay, author of *Argenis*. In history, this period was prolific not only of voluminous chroniclers and learned laborious antiquaries, through whom our knowledge of English history has been completed, but also of regular historians, at the head of whom may be placed Lord Bacon; Thomas May, the historian of the Long Parliament; Richard Knolles, author of a *History of the Turks*, which is still a valuable standard authority; and Sir Walter Raleigh, who after having acquired distinction as a scholar, soldier, courtier, navigator, poet, and chemist, sat down in his imprisonment in the Tower to write the *History of the World*, as if to console himself for being no longer able to explore its still undiscovered regions, or to take a part in its exciting movements.

As the present was a religious age, and as the Civil war partook as much of a religious as a political character, it is in theology, still more than in general science, that the master-spirits of the day are to be found. Next to the stage, therefore—although the transition is a strange one—it is to the pulpit that we must look for the highest manifestations of intellectual excellence during the first part of the seventeenth century. And here the name of Jeremy Taylor at once suggests itself as the Milton of preachers; of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, who was not only a poet, but one of the most eloquent of preachers, and whose vigorous, sententious mode of illustration obtained for him the title of the "Christian Seneca;" of John Donne, dean of St. Paul's, a poet like Hall, and who, like him, also threw his whole poetical fervour into his ministrations as a teacher of righteousness. With these may be classed John Howe, the learned and eloquent chaplain of Cromwell, and whose sermons, independently of their sound Christian truthfulness, breathe the purest and most elevated spirit of Platonism. As the danger to which the English church was exposed by the growing power of the Puritans became daily more imminent, the necessity called forth learned and able controversialists in its behalf, the chief of whom were Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, and the primitive Archbishop Usher. The same necessity existed of defending the common Protestantism against the attacks of Popery, and in this department of theological controversy John Hales and William Chillingworth are still unrivalled. In ecclesiastical history, Thomas Fuller may be mentioned, whose *Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year* 1648, and his *History of the Worthies of England*, are still read with profit and delight.

In passing from England to Scotland during the present period, its condition may be mentioned in a very few words. As yet, the change that was finally to be accomplished upon its character by union, and ultimately by incorporation with England, had not visibly begun to operate; and therefore the manners and customs of the people were still as simple and rude as they had been during the preceding stage. In learning, also, the nation had rather retrograded than advanced, owing to that struggle in defence of its beloved church, by which its whole time and energies were fully occupied. The distinguished Scottish characters of this period were therefore men of action rather than contemplation; and they are to be found in the public arena where great events were at issue, rather than the closet or the college. From this general criterion, however, two illustrious exceptions occurred in the cases of Drummond of Hawthornden and Napier of Merchiston.

Sir William Drummond was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His family seat of Hawthornden, now a place of pilgrimage to admiring tourists, was a fitting birth-place and home for a poet; while his studies, which were chiefly devoted to the writings of the great authors of Greece and Rome, elevated his taste, and refined his language beyond those of his contemporaries, not merely in Scotland but of England also. His sonnets, especially, were the admiration of the age, on account of their purity of style and melody of versification, so that he has been justly compared to the best of his Italian models. Instead of betaking himself to the profession of the law, for which, like the other jurisconsults of his country, he had studied four years in France, he retired, on the death of his father, to Hawthornden. His reputation as a poet, by the publication of several of his verses, and especially of "A Cypress Grove," which was printed at Edinburgh in 1616, so widely diffused his poetical reputation, that, only two or three years after, Ben Jonson resolved to pay a visit to their author; and this he accomplished in his own rough bold fashion, by a journey on foot of 400 miles over moor and mountain, and among a people still dreaded as barbarians. The chief poetical works of Drummond were sonnets, madrigals, and religious poems, which, during his lifetime, were printed upon loose sheets, and were not collected until 1650, six years after his death, when they were published in one volume.

The other distinguished Scot of this period—John Napier of Merchiston, inventor of the *logarithms*—has secured for himself a name as imperishable as the invention upon which it is

was afterwards occupied by Bacon himself on his attaining the dignity of lord-chancellor, and it was here that he was deprived of the great seal on his degradation. York House then passed into the hands of the crown, and was bestowed by James I. on his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, who altered it to the form represented in the woodcut. Nothing now remains of the building but the beautiful water-gate on the Thames, one of the finest works of Inigo Jones, at the end of Buckingham Street, and a portion of the old ceiling which is still preserved in a house at the corner of Villiers Street.

founded. He was born in 1550, and although aggrandized with the title of baron, which in England was one of nobility, in Scotland it indicated nothing more than a laird, whose ancestors had held the power of *fossa et furca* within their own small domain. Little is known of the earlier part of his life, except that he studied in the university of St. Andrews, and afterwards travelled on the Continent. On returning to Scotland, his life was so studious and recluse, and his evening walks so lonely, that the country people eyed him at a distance, and with fear, as a magician, or at least as something "not canny;" and to this he afforded some grounds by the nature of his studies, several of which bordered on the miraculous. The chief of these were the discovery of concealed treasures by the divining rod, and the invention of a warlike machine for the defence of Christendom, that would destroy 30,000 Turks by a single volley. The same love of the wonderful incited him to the study of the future, but in this he wisely confined himself to the Revelations of St. John, upon which he published a *Commentary* in 1593. It was not, however, till 1614 that he burst upon the world in his true scientific character, by the publication of his *Book of Logarithms;* and in a short time this useful discovery, by which the most laborious and abstruse calculations were simplified into short easy processes, was hailed as one of the most valuable benefits that had ever been rendered to science. Still prosecuting these important investigations, he published, in 1617, directions for the processes of multiplication and division by small graduated rods, which, from their inventor, were afterwards called "Napier's Bones." In the same year he died at Merchiston Castle.

While the literary and scientific annals of Scotland could thus supply not more than two names of distinguished mark, its ecclesiastical history was scarcely more productive. During the reign of James the church was almost trodden under foot, and in the Civil wars even the best of its divines were employed as political negotiators or military chaplains. In spite of these disadvantages, however, so unfavourable to literary research, and the cultivation of taste and eloquence, this period produced David Calderwood, whose voluminous *History of the Kirk of Scotland* is a valuable record of Scottish events during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while his *Altare Damascenum* places him in the highest rank of ecclesiastical controversy. Another excellent writer, as well as accomplished scholar, was Robert Baillie, principal of the university of Glasgow, who understood thirteen languages, and wrote in Latin with classical purity. His chief works were *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, published in folio at Amsterdam, and his *Journal and Letters*, which contain a full and graphic account of Scottish affairs during the Civil war and the Commonwealth, but which remained unpublished till 1775. Among the other distinguished Scottish churchmen of the period, may be mentioned Alexander Henderson, who, after John Knox and Andrew Melvil, is reckoned the third Scottish Reformer, as under his able leading the prelacy imposed upon his country by James I. and Charles I. was overthrown;—and George Gillespie, one of the four Scottish ministers deputed to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and whose scholarship as well as dialectic talent was so complete as, in one of the assembly's discussions, to have completely nonplussed the learned Selden himself, although he came fully armed with preparation, while Gillespie entered booted and spurred from his journey, and with the purpose of being only a spectator. Equal to any of these was Hugh Binning, whose early proficiency in scholarship was so remarkable, that at the age of nineteen he stood candidate for the chair of philosophy on the resignation of Mr. James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair, and gained it against every competitor. From the university, where he was distinguished as one of the first emancipators of philosophy from the pedantry with which it was overlaid, he entered the church, and became one of its most eloquent divines, and died while as yet only in the twenty-sixth year of his age. His works were a treatise on *Christian Love*, a lesson of which the day was greatly in need, and many miscellaneous tracts and sermons, which have been collected into a large quarto volume. So superior is the style of Binning to that of his contemporaries, that while most of the productions of the latter have fallen out of sight, his sermons are still read with high relish even by the most critical and fastidious.

Such were the few eminent men whom Scotland at this period produced. A twilight had already commenced, and a dark and stormy night was to follow, before the land was fitted for that high intellectual position which she was destined finally to occupy.

BOOK VIII.

PERIOD FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. TO THE REVOLUTION.—29 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1660—1689.

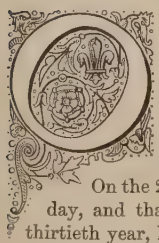
CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Spain.	Sweden.	Popes.
1660 CHARLES II.	1665 CHARLES II.	1660 CHARLES XI.	1667 CLEMENT IX.
1685 JAMES II.	Portugal.	Denmark.	1670 CLEMENT X.
	1683 PEDRO II.	1670 CHRISTIAN V.	1676 INNOCENT XI.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1660—1661.

CHARLES II.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1660—DEATH, A.D. 1685.

Charles II. lands in England—His reception—Choice of his principal counsellors—His exercise of a royal attribute—First proceedings of the Restoration—Selection of regicides for punishment—Revenue assigned to the king—Unsatisfactory settlement of the question of toleration—Usher's scheme of union between Episcopalians and Presbyterians—Its unsatisfactory discussion before the king—Trial of the regicides—Trials of General Harrison, Colonel Carew, and Harry Martin—Trials of William Hewlet, Garland, and Hugh Peters—Execution of General Harrison—Execution of other regicides—Arrival of the queen-mother in England—Marriage of the Duke of York to the daughter of Lord Clarendon—Conformity to the Church of England enjoined—Violation of the graves of regicides, and execution of dead bodies—Venner's insurrection in London, and its suppression—New troops raised—Claims of Scotland on the gratitude of Charles II.—His hatred to the Kirk of Scotland—The Marquis of Argyle entrapped, tried, and executed—Other Scottish executions—Evil government of Scotland by Lauderdale and Middleton—Sharp made Archbishop of St. Andrews—His persecution of the Covenanters—The new or "Pension Parliament"—Its intolerant church measures—Persecution of eminent Commonwealth men—A rigorous conformity bill passed—Marriage of Charles II. to Catherine of Braganza—He continues his open profligacies—Afflictions of the new queen—She threatens to return to Portugal—Trial of Sir Harry Vane—His defence—His sentence—His conduct on the scaffold, and execution—Assassination of Mr. Lisle at Lausanne.



ON the 25th of May, Charles and his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, landed near Dover, where Monk met them. The king embraced and kissed his restorer, calling him "Father." On the 29th, which was Charles's birthday, and that on which he completed his thirtieth year, he made his solemn entry into London, attended by the members of both houses, by bishops, ministers, knights of the Bath, lord-mayor and aldermen, kettle-drums and trumpets. All was joy and jubilee. And when Charles met the House of Lords, the Earl of Manchester hailed him as "great king," "dread sovereign," "native king," "son of the wise," &c., and prophesied to him that he would prove an example to all kings, of piety, justice, prudence, and power. Nor were the commons much behind the lords: their speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimston, told Charles that he was deservedly called the "king of hearts;" that he would receive from his people a crown of hearts; that he could not fail to be the happiest and most glorious king of the happiest people.

The king's principal adviser was, and for some time had been, the Earl of Clarendon—the reforming Edward Hyde of former days; but in the formation of a government or a ministry, Clarendon was obliged to consult the interest of Monk. In Charles's first privy council there were admitted almost as many Presbyterians as Church of England men and Cavaliers; but Clarendon evidently hoped to be able to displace these Presbyterians by degrees. Among the members of this new cabinet were the king's two brothers, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of

Lindsay, Lord Say and Sele, General Monk, the Earl of Manchester, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Sir Antony Ashley Cooper. Monk was continued captain-general of all the forces of the three kingdoms, and he was soon gratified by a long list of titles of nobility, ending in that of Duke of Albemarle. The Duke of York was made lord high-admiral, lord-warden of the Cinque-ports, &c. The Earl of Southampton became lord high-treasurer; the high-church Marquis of Ormond, lord-steward of the household; and the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester, lord-chamberlain. Lord Clarendon, retaining the chancellorship, was intrusted with the chief management of affairs.

The Presbyterians were startled at the reproduction of the Thirty-nine Articles; but they were gratified by a royal proclamation against vice, debauchery, and profaneness, and by seeing one of the most debauched and profane of princes admit into the number of his chaplains Baxter and Calamy, two eloquent and famous Presbyterian preachers. To keep the lord-mayor, the aldermen, sheriffs, and principal officers of the city militia in good humour and loyalty, the honour of knighthood was showered upon them, and the king went into the city to feast with them. That none of the old attributes of royalty might remain in the shade, his majesty began to touch for the king's evil, sitting under his canopy of state with his surgeons and chaplains, and stroking the faces of all the sick that were brought to him, one of the chaplains saying at each touching —"He put his hands upon them and he healed them." This disgusting and even blasphemous ceremony — this pretension to an hereditary right of working miracles—greatly incensed the Puritans.

Charles II.—After Sir P. Lely.

The lords and commons who, under Monk, had recalled the king, were not properly a parliament, but only a convention. Therefore one of the first proceedings after his arrival was to pass an act constituting this convention a parliament. They then voted £70,000 a-month to the king for present necessities. The Chancellor Clarendon told them that his majesty would in all points make good his declaration from Breda; that he granted a free pardon to all except those whom the parliament might except; and that no man should be disquieted for differences of opinion in matters of religion.

Fifteen days before Charles's joyous entrance into London, the lords had caused the Book of Common Prayer to be read in their house; and at the same time they and the commons had begun to arrest as traitors all such as spoke amiss of his gracious majesty or of kingly government. They had also seized Clement, one of the late king's judges; and had ordered the seizure of the goods of all that sat as judges upon that memorable trial; thus plainly intimating, even before Charles's arrival, that vengeance was to be taken upon the regicides. And now the Presbyterian majority of the commons, led on by the noisy, hot-headed, and vindictive Denzil Hollis, voted that neither they themselves nor the people of England could be freed from the horrid guilt of the late unnatural rebellion, or from the punishment which that guilt merited, unless they formally availed themselves of his majesty's grace and pardon, as set forth in the declaration of Breda; and they went in a body to the Banqueting House, and threw themselves at the feet of Charles, who recommended them to despatch what was called a bill of indemnity and oblivion. Clarendon had all along counted upon punishing with death all such as had been immediately concerned in the death of the late king. Monk, however, when arranging the Restoration, had advised that not more than four should be excepted; and now he stepped in to check the vindictive fury of the commons, and prevailed upon them to limit the number of their victims to seven—Scott, Holland, Lisle, Barkstead, Harrison, Say, and Jones—who, it was voted, should lose the benefit of the indemnity both as to life and estate. But the number of seven was presently raised to ten by the addition of Coke, the active solicitor; Broughton, clerk to the High Court of Justice; and Dendy, who had acted as serjeant-at-arms

during the trial. These ten, it was understood, were all to suffer a horrible death. But without losing time, the commons proceeded to select a still larger number that were to suffer the minor penalties of imprisonment for life, loss of property, and beggary to their posterity. They voted that a petition should be drawn and presented to the king, begging him to issue a proclamation commanding all those who had been concerned in managing his father's trial, or otherwise forward in promoting his death, to surrender themselves within fourteen days. Charles issued this proclamation accordingly, and nineteen individuals came in to stand their trial, hoping that, as ten had been fixed upon already for execution, their lives, at least, would be spared; while nineteen or twenty, measuring more accurately the vindictiveness of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, hid themselves or fled beyond sea. Then the commons selected twenty more to be excepted out of the general act of oblivion, to suffer such penalties and forfeitures, not extending to life, as should be thought fit to be inflicted on them by an act to pass for that purpose.[1] These twenty were—Sir Harry Vane, St. John, Hazlerig, Ireton, Desborough, Lambert, Fleetwood, Axtell, Sydenham, Lenthall, Burton, Keble, Pack, Blackwell, Pyne, Dean, Creed, Nye, Goodwin, and Cobbett. Nor did the commons stop here, going on to except from all benefit of the indemnity such of the late king's judges as had not surrendered upon the proclamation. And in this state the bill of indemnity and oblivion went up to the lords, who found it much too moderate and merciful. Their lordships began with a vote of the most fierce and barbarous kind. "The lords were inclined to revenge their own order on the persons of some in the High Court of Justice, by whom some of their number had been condemned, and to except one of the judges for every lord they had put to death; the nomination of the person to be excepted being referred to that lord who was most nearly related to the person that had suffered. According to this rule, Colonel Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the Earl of Derby, Major Waring by the kinsman of another, and Colonel Titchburn by a third: the Earl of Denbigh, whose sister had been married to the Duke of Hamilton, being desired by the lords to nominate one to be excepted in satisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, named a person who had been some time dead, of which some of the house being informed, they called upon him to name another; but he said that since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more. This action, although seeming to proceed from chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary, the Earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man and a lover of his country."[2] After this return to the spirit of the execrable *lex talionis* of the most barbarous times, the lords voted that all who had signed the death-warrant against Charles I., or sat when sentence was pronounced upon him, and six others not in that category—namely, Hacker, Vane, Lambert, Hazlerig, Axtell, and Peters—should be excepted, as capital traitors, from the indemnity. They were going on to make the bill more severe, but the king was more eager for money than for revenge, and, after several messages had been sent from Whitehall by the Chancellor Clarendon and others, praying the lords to despatch the bill, he himself, regardless of the constitutional rule, which precluded the sovereign from taking any cognizance of a pending bill, sent down a positive order to hasten their proceedings, in order that the commons might pass that for the grant of money. Hereupon the lords, without noticing the irregularity, returned the bill of indemnity to the commons with the alterations we have mentioned; and the commons adopted it in that form. They, however, were anxious to save the lives of Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert; and the lords joined with them in an address to the king, praying that if, after trial, these two should be attainted, execution should be remitted. The lords also agreed that Lenthall, who had intrigued with the royalists before the Restoration, and had offered the king a bribe of £3000, should be spared both in life and estate. That rash republican, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who unwittingly had played into the hands of Monk, had a narrow escape; but the astucious general who had duped him stepped in considerately, and saved his life. Whitelock, that easy-tempered vassal of circumstances, was aimed at by the fanatic Presbyterians, who detested him because he had been active under Oliver Cromwell in promoting toleration; but it was found, on a vote, that he had more friends than enemies; and he, too, escaped.

As the principle that vengeance should be taken only upon the late king's judges was departed from, it was but natural to expect that they should fall upon him who had been the bosom friend of Cromwell, and who had defended, in the eyes of all Europe, the proceedings of the High Court of Justice. And the immortal John Milton was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and threatened with destruction, for having written his *Defence of the English People*, and his *Eikonoclastes*. His glorious friend Andrew Marvel, and two other admirers of genius (*and no more*), raised their voices in the poet's favour. They were told that he had

[1] Kennet, *Register*.

[2] *Ludlow*. For the infamous vote, see also the *Lords' Journal*.

been Latin secretary to Cromwell, and so deserved to be hanged; but in the end, after he had been plundered by the serjeant-at-arms, who called his robberies *fees*, Milton escaped with no other punishment than a general disqualification for the public service, the public burning of his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* and *Eikonoclastes*, and the spectacle of the moral decline and political degradation of his country, under the misrule of the restored Stuart. Prynne, who had many of the properties of the bloodhound, would have hunted down the weak, inoffensive, and amiable Richard Cromwell, but no one would join him in that chase; and the son of a great man, after travelling for some time on the Continent, was allowed to live quietly in the pleasant retirement of Cheshunt. In the end, twenty-nine victims were given over to the vengeance, rather than to the justice of the courts of law, with a mocking proviso in favour of such as had surrendered, that sentence should not be executed without special act of parliament.

A number of other bills were hurried through the houses, and presented to the king at the same time with this indemnity bill. The duty of tonnage and poundage, one of the great starting points in the late revolution, was voted to Charles *for life;* the king's birth-day and glorious restoration—the 29th of May—was made a perpetual anniversary, to be observed with thanksgiving to God for his miraculous deliverance of this poor nation; and another bill enacted that a speedy provision of money should be made, to disband the old army and navy. In giving his assent to these bills, which were presented with every possible prostration, Charles told the speaker that he willingly pardoned all such as the parliament had pardoned, and that he was much in want of money, not having wherewith to keep house at Whitehall. Presently after, a committee was appointed to consider of settling a suitable revenue on his sacred majesty. This committee reported that it appeared that the revenue of Charles I., from the year 1637 to 1641, had amounted, on an average, to about £900,000, of which £200,000 flowed from sources that were either not warranted by law, or now no longer available. Calculating the difference in the value of money, and contenting themselves with the vague promises of a faithless prince, the commons proposed raising the royal income to £1,200,000 per annum; but the means of providing this money were reserved for consideration in another session.

But there remained something more difficult to settle than indemnity or revenue; and this was the great question of religion. Charles, in the declaration from Breda, had most distinctly promised toleration. But this "Convention Parliament" was incapable of any such act, and the nation at large was incapable of a generous toleration, which had only been upheld for a time by the sword of the Independents and the wonderful management of Oliver Cromwell. Charles himself, notwithstanding the recent declaration of Clarendon, that he was the best Protestant in the kingdom, was, if he were anything in religion, a Catholic, even now; but he was certainly no bigot, and, if he had been left to his own indolence and indifference, he would probably have tolerated all sects alike: but the high churchmen wanted back all their old pre-eminence—their property and their old power of persecuting, undiminished; and if the Presbyterians, or the trimming portion of them, who had considered themselves the national church under the Commonwealth, were disposed to tolerate and coalesce with a modified prelacy, they were resolved not to tolerate any of the sects which had been known under the general denomination of Independents. On the 9th of July there was a stormy debate in a grand committee of the commons upon the Thirty-nine Articles; and then Sir Heneage Finch, as a leader of the high-church and court party, declared that the government of the church by bishops had never been legally altered; and that as for liberty for tender consciences, no man knew what it was. After seven hours of very unchristian-like contention, and a blowing-out and re-lighting of candles, it was carried by a slight majority that the settlement of religion should be left to the king, who "should be petitioned to convene a select number of divines to treat concerning the matter."[1] It was voted that whatever had belonged to the king and queen, or all the crown lands, should be restored forthwith; but the question of the church lands was left in abeyance for the present. The ministers' bill, which aimed at the immediate restoration of all the clergy who had been expelled, and the expulsion of all who had been inducted by the Commonwealth men or by Cromwell, was carried, but with a large proviso—that the intrusive churchmen should not be bound to give back those livings which were legally vacant when they obtained them. But there was another proviso which, however harmless to the mass of the Presbyterians, was fatal to all such Independent ministers as Cromwell had put into the church, for it excluded every incumbent that had not been ordained by an ecclesiastic, or had renounced his ordination, or had petitioned for bringing the late king to trial, or had justified that trial and execution in preaching or in writing, or had committed himself in the vexed question of infant baptism. These bills satisfied no party and no sect. The royalists complained

[1] *Parl. Hist.*

CHARLES II.

Charles II., King of England, son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France, was born in 1630. When his father was executed at Whitehall the youth was a refugee at the Hague, but in the following year (1650) he passed over to Scotland and was crowned at Scone. Cromwell's approach with an army, however, caused him to take refuge among the English royalists, and after the decisive defeat of his army at Worcester, Charles escaped to France with difficulty. On the death of Cromwell the young king secured the support of General Monk and returned to England (1660), where he was received with almost universal acclamations. In reference to this enthusiastic reception at the Restoration, he wittily remarked that it "must have been his own fault he had been so long absent, as everybody seemed anxious to promote his return". Yet the enthusiasm did not endure, for it was soon found that this grim-faced, swarthy cynic of a king was capable of involving the nation in ruinous courses by his indolence, extravagance, and licentious habits. Accordingly, when he died in February, 1685, from an apoplectic fit, the mourning of the nation was not excessive.

CHARLES·II

of their being left to suffer the consequences of their forfeitures, sequestrations, and compositions for delinquency, under the Long Parliament and Cromwell; and they called the first great bill "a bill of indemnity for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends."

On the 13th of September Charles made a very short, and Clarendon a very long speech to the two houses. The chancellor thought it expedient to speak to the suspicions already entertained of the king's desire of keeping up a strong standing army, and of governing absolutely, and to defend the court against the popular and well-founded charges of profligacy and irreligion.[1] And, at the close of this long speech, parliament adjourned to the 6th of November.

During the recess "the healing question" of religion was discussed, and ten of the regicides were butchered.

The learned Archbishop Usher, who was a Calvinist in doctrinal creed, and whose Episcopalianism was very moderate, had left, as a legacy to the Protestant world, a scheme of union and a plan of church government (by suffragan bishops and synods or presbyteries conjointly) which, he had fondly hoped, might reconcile the two great sects. The Presbyterians, in their hopelessness of obtaining an entire supremacy, professed their willingness to make this scheme the basis of an agreement and concord; and they delivered the paper to the king with an humble address concerning godly preaching, the strict observance of the Sabbath, &c. They were promised a meeting with some Episcopal divines before the king; but none of that persuasion deigned to attend; and, instead of a meeting, the Presbyterian ministers received a paper, written in the old and bitter spirit of controversy, rejecting their proposals; insisting that the Anglican hierarchy was the true, ancient, primitive Episcopacy, and that the ancient apostolical bishops had their courts, their prerogatives, their chancellors, officials, proctors, paritors, and powers; declaring that they could not grant that the extent of any diocese should be altered or anything reformed; and affirming that the laying aside of the Book of Common Prayer was one of the greatest causes of the misfortunes of the nation, &c. But the Presbyterians were told that his majesty would adjust all these differences; and they, together with the Episcopalians, were invited to attend him, on the 22d of October, at the house of the chancellor. There the Presbyterians found assembled his majesty, Monk, Duke of Albemarle (who was a Presbyterian through his wife), the Earl of Manchester, Denzil Hollis (the most fiery of Presbyterians), the Duke of Ormond (a high churchman), and one or two other noblemen of the same persuasion, together with Dr. Sheldon (Bishop of London), Dr. Morley (Bishop of Worcester), Dr. Henchman (Bishop of Salisbury), the famous Dr. Cosens (who had been one of the most active coadjutors of Laud, who had been prosecuted by the Long Parliament, and who was promoted to the bishopric of Durham a few weeks after this meeting), Dr. Gauden (Bishop of Exeter), Dr. Hacket (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), the Episcopalian Dr. Gunning, the Presbyterian Drs. Spurstow and Wallis, and some two or three others. The Presbyterians intrusted their cause to the eloquence and learning of Calamy and Baxter. The debate could scarcely be otherwise than hot: on both sides the *odium theologicum* was intense: on both sides there was a conviction that the business had been settled before by irrefragable arguments. The Presbyterians said that the *Eikon Basilikê* showed that his late majesty had approved of Archbishop Usher's scheme; but the king, who knew very well that his father had not written it, said that all in that book was not gospel. The Chancellor Clarendon told the controversialists that it was proposed to add the following clause to the declaration for religious liberty:—"That *others* shall also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be they do it not to the disturbance of the peace, and that no justice of the peace or officer shall disturb

EDWARD HYDE, Earl of Clarendon.[2]

[1] A few days after this date Pepys notes in his diary that the two royal brothers, the king and the Duke of York, were both making love to the same court-woman, the infamous Mrs. Palmer; that the Duke of York got my lord-chancellor's daughter with child; that high gambling was becoming common at court; and that people were beginning to open their eyes with astonishment.

[2] From the statue by William Calder Marshall, R.A., in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.

them." The Presbyterians saw at once that under this word *others* there was an intention to include the Papists. They, however, were silent until Baxter, fearing that silence might be interpreted into consent, said that Papists and Socinians had been expressly excepted or excluded from toleration; and he called for the rigid execution of the penal laws. Here Charles interfered, and the assembly was presently broken up.

The royal declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, commonly called the "Healing Declaration," was published a few days after, being dated Whitehall, October the 25th, 1660. It contained many large concessions to the most powerful of the sects, which the Presbyterian leaders accepted with enthusiastic gratitude, not foreseeing that neither the king nor his ministers would consider themselves bound by this declaration when the army should be completely disbanded, and the present Convention Parliament dissolved. The death of the regicides had been pre-determined. It was now resolved that the prisoners should be tried at Newgate by a commission of jail delivery; that all the prisoners should be arraigned at once; that the indictment should be for compassing and imagining the death of the late king, &c. It appears that proceedings were delayed until the appointment of new sheriffs, it being apprehended that the old sheriffs would not permit juries to be packed. But at length the bills were sent up and found against twenty-nine persons:—Sir Hardress Waller, Harrison, Carew, Cook, Hugh Peters, Scott, Gregory Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, Axtell, Hevening-ham, Martin, Millington, Tichburn, Roe, Kilburn, Harvey, Pennington, Smith, Downs, Potter, Garland, Fleetwood, Meyn, J. Temple, P. Temple, Hewlet, and Waite; and on the 9th of October their trial was begun at the Old Bailey, before thirty-four commissioners appointed by the crown. These commissioners were—Sir Thomas Alleyn (lord-mayor elect), the Chancellor Clarendon, the Earl of Southampton (lord-treasurer), the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Albemarle (Monk), the Marquis of Ormond (steward of his majesty's household), the Earl of Lindsay (great chamberlain of England), the Earl of Manchester (chamberlain of his majesty's household), the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Berkshire, the Earl of Sandwich (late Admiral Montague), Viscount Say and Sele, the Lord Roberts, the Lord Finch, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Frederick Cornwallis (treasurer of his majesty's household), Sir Charles Berkeley (comptroller of his majesty's household), Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morrice, Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, Arthur Annesley, Esq. (the lord chief-baron), Mr. Justice Foster, Mr. Justice Mallet, Mr. Justice Hyde, Mr. Baron Atkins, Mr. Justice Twisden, Mr. Justice Tyrrel, Mr. Baron Turner, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir William Wild (recorder of London), Mr. Serjeant Brown, Mr. Serjeant Hale, and Mr. John Howel. The counsel for the crown were Sir Geoffrey Palmer (attorney-general), Sir Heneage Finch (solicitor-general), Sir Edward Turner (attorney to the Duke of York), Serjeant Keiling, and Mr. Wadham Windham. All these men, whether humiliated Presbyterians and Long Parliament men, or old royalists, were deadly and personal enemies to the prisoners, though many of them had been in the van of the late revolution, and had drawn others into courses of which no man could calculate the end. Fifteen of the commissioners who now, notwithstanding all the care taken to draw a line between those that began the Civil war and those that ended it, were bound to assent to the proposition that all war waged against a king, whatever the provocation, was high treason, had actually been engaged for the parliament, against Charles I., as members of that parliament, as judges, or as officers of the army; and most, if not all of them, had enjoyed places of trust and profit under the revolutionary parliament.

Before the court, the first on the list of regicides, Sir Hardress Waller, pleaded guilty, and so saved his life. But when Harrison, the second on the list, was brought to the bar, there was no sign of penitence or submission. The republican major-general, the enthusiastic Fifth Monarchy Man, looked calmly on the tribunal, where every man was his personal enemy, and said, "My lords, the matter that hath been offered to you was not a thing done in a corner. I believe the sound of it hath been in most nations. I believe the hearts of some have felt the terrors of that presence of God that was with his servants in those days, and are still witnesses that the thing was not done in a corner. I do profess that I would not offer, of myself, the least injury to the poorest man or woman that goeth upon the earth. But in the late king's death I was led by Heaven: I followed not mine own simple judgment. I did what I did as out of conscience to the Lord! And when I found that Cromwell—that those who were as the apple of mine eye were turning aside, I did loathe them, and suffered imprisonment divers years rather than turn, as so many did that had put their hands to this plough. I chose rather to be separated from wife and family than to have compliance with them, or with *him*, though it was said to me, 'Sit thou on my right hand!' May be I have been in some things a little mistaken; but I did it all according to the best of my understanding, desiring to make the revealed will of God in his Holy Scriptures my sole guide. I humbly conceive that what was done was done in the name of the parliament of England; that

what was done was done by their power and authority; and that it is my duty to suggest unto you in the beginning, that neither this court, nor any court below the high court of parliament, hath a jurisdiction of their actions." When he asserted that all he had done had been done for the service of the Lord, the court interrupted him, as they had done several times before, and told him that he must not run into these damnable excursions, or attempt to make God the author of the damnable treason committed. Yet Harrison sincerely believed (as many others did)

MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON.—From a rare print.

that in putting Charles to death, he did that which was not only essential to the well-being of his country, but also acceptable to heaven, which, according to his heated imagination, had not spared its special inspiration and command. And yet, at the moment of crisis, the natural tenderness of his heart had struggled hard with his enthusiasm; and he had wept as well as prayed before he could bring himself to vote the king's death. He now heard his own sentence of death for treason without emotion, saying, as he was withdrawn from the bar, that he had no reason to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged.

Colonel Carew, who entertained the same notions both in politics and religion as Harrison, made the same sort of defence, and displayed the same enthusiasm, courage, and fortitude. He exclaimed, "I can say in the presence of the Lord, who is the searcher of all hearts, that what I did was in his fear; and that I did it in obedience to his holy and righteous laws!" He gave a striking epitome of the history of the late troubles from their beginning, showing the causes and provocations which had led to the Civil war, and the unanimity which had for so long a time existed between lords and commons. "I say," he exclaimed, "that the lords and commons, by their joint declaration" . . . . "Hold! hold!" shouted one of the judges who had repeatedly interrupted him before. "You go to raise up those differences which are asleep, to make new troubles, to revive those things which, by the grace of God, are extinct. . . The commons tried the king. Did you ever hear of an act of parliament made by the House of Commons alone? You have no precedent." To this Carew replied in two or three words, which embraced the whole difficulty of the case: "Neither was there ever such a war or such a precedent." Arthur Annesley, a Presbyterian member of the Long Parliament, who was created Earl of Anglesey soon after these state trials, and who is described by Bishop Burnet as "a man of a grave deportment, but that stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing," reproached the prisoner with the forcible exclusion of all the Presbyterian members in 1648. "I was a stranger," said Carew, "to many of those things which you charge against me; but this is strange—*you give evidence as a witness, though sitting here as a judge!*" When he attempted to address the jury he was brutally interrupted. "I have desired," said he, "to speak the words of truth and soberness, but have been hindered." Then, with the air of a martyr glorying in his cause, he listened to the hurried verdict and the atrocious sentence.

Colonel Scrope, an accomplished and amiable man, who had surrendered under the royal proclamation, and who had been regularly admitted to the king's pardon upon penalty of a year's value of his estate, as a fine to the crown, was condemned upon the evidence of the Presbyterian Major-general Brown, who deposed, that in a private conversation in the speaker's chamber, Scrope had said to him that there would still be a difference of opinion among men touching the execution of the late king.

Harry Martin, the wit of the House of Commons, and one of the stanchest republicans that ever sat in it, demanded the benefit of the act of oblivion. He was told that he must plead guilty or not guilty. He attempted to speak as to his conception of that act; but he was again coarsely interrupted, and told that he must plead. "If I plead," said Martin, "I lose the benefit of the act." He was told that he was totally excepted out of the act. "No," said he, "my name is not in the act." "Show him the act of indemnity," said the solicitor-general. The act was shown. "Here," said the droll, "it is Henry Martin. My name is not so; it is Harry Martin." The court told him that the difference of the *sound* was very little. "I humbly conceive," rejoined he, "that

all penal statutes ought to be correctly worded." As he was not permitted to stand on the misnomer, he pleaded not guilty. He said he did not decline a confession as to matter of fact, provided the *malice* were set aside, as he had done nothing maliciously or murderously and traitorously. The counsel for the crown laughed in his face. The solicitor-general said sarcastically, "My lord, he

Harry Martin.
After an original in possession of Charles Lewis, Esq.

does think a man may sit upon the death of a king, sentence him to death, sign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably, and honestly." "We shall prove," said the crown counsel, "we shall then prove against the prisoner—because he would wipe off malice—that he did all very merrily, and was in great sport at the time of signing the warrant for the king's execution." "Then, surely, that does not imply malice," said the ready-witted Martin. Here a serving man, of the name of Ewer, who had "sometime served him" (the prisoner), was put into the witness-box. After being brow-beaten by the counsel, this man said, "My lord, I did see a pen in Mr. Cromwell's hand, and he marked Mr. Martin in the face with it, and Mr. Martin did the like to him; but I did not see any one set his hand (to the king's sentence), though I did see parchment there with a great many seals on it." [And this is all the evidence we possess for a story which is constantly quoted to prove the barbarous and rustical buffoonery of Oliver Cromwell.] After this Ewer had spoken to prove "how merry Martin was at the sport," Sir Purbeck Temple spoke to prove "how serious he was at it," and how he had been the first to propose that the late king should be prosecuted in the name of the commons in parliament assembled, and of all the good people of England. After a little consultation the jury returned a verdict of guilty; but the near prospect of a horrible death could not abate the courage of the witty Harry Martin, who left the court with a light heart and steady step.

The court had resolved to fix the act of beheading the late king upon William Hewlet. The evidence produced in this case for the prosecution ought not to have been considered sufficient to hang a dog. The greatest weight of testimony went to prove that it was not Captain Hewlet, but the common hangman, that cut off the king's head for a reward of £30. Yet a verdict of guilty was returned against Hewlet. There was, however, some sense of shame left in this restored government; and, as people began to talk loudly of the insufficiency of the proofs against him, Hewlet was not executed.

Garland, another of the selected victims, said that he had come into court with the intention of submitting to the king's mercy; but that, having heard some fresh scandal cast upon him which he had never heard before, he must desire to be put upon his trial. The scandal was that he, on the day of sentence, did spit in the king's face. "I am willing to confess this," said the prisoner—"I sat in the high court, and I signed the warrant for his execution." "And we will prove," said the solicitor-general, "that he did spit in the king's face." "I pray you," said Garland earnestly, "I pray you let me hear that. But for that false scandal, I would not have put you to any trouble at all." Here one Clench, a low and needy person, was produced to swear that he saw Garland spit, and the king put his hand in his left pocket, though whether his majesty wiped it off or not he could not say. "The king wiped it off," said the solicitor-general, pretending to know more than this the sole witness did; "but he will never wipe it off so long as he lives." "I am afraid," said Garland, "this witness is an indigent person. If I was guilty of this inhumanity, I desire no favour from Almighty God. . . . You cannot be satisfied that I did such an inhuman act. I dare appeal to all the gentlemen here, or any others, whether they ever heard of such a thing; nor was I ever accused of it till now." He appealed to all that knew him to say whether he had ever shown any malignity, any disrespect; whether, instead of ever doing any wrong to any of the king's party when in distress, he had not helped them as much as he was able. He was condemned with the rest, but sentence was never executed—a pretty plain proof that the story about the spitting was even then discredited.

John Coke, the able lawyer who had conducted the prosecution against the king as solicitor

for the Commonwealth and people of England, pleaded that he could not be said to have contrived or counselled the death of Charles, because the proclamation for the trial, even by the confession of his accusers, was published the day before he was appointed solicitor to the High Court of Justice; that he who had neither been accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treason, &c. But this reasoning was not likely to be of any avail; and it was settled that Coke should be one of the first to suffer.

Hugh Peters, the celebrated preacher, who was not so directly implicated in the king's death as many who were allowed to escape, was charged with encouraging the soldiery to cry out for justice—with comparing the king to Barabbas—with preaching upon the texts, "They shall bind their kings in chains," "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," and the like. Peters, whose fanaticism has been exaggerated, and whose merits have been overlooked, pleaded that he had been living fourteen years out of England; that when he came home he found the Civil wars begun; that he had begun no war, nor had been the trumpeter of any; that he had fled from the war into Ireland; that he was neither at Edgehill nor Naseby; that he had looked after three things—that there might be sound religion, that learning and laws might be maintained, and that the suffering poor might be cared for—and that he had spent most of his time in these things; that, upon being summoned into England, he considered it his duty to side with the parliament for the good of his country, and that in so doing he had acted without malice, avarice, or ambition, being respectful to his majesty, and kind and merciful to the royalist sufferers whenever he was able. The jury, after very little consultation, returned a verdict of guilty.

Colonels Axtell and Hacker, who had assisted at the trial and execution, pleaded that, as military men, they were bound, under pain of death by martial law, to obey the orders of their superiors; that the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and even Monk (who sat upon the bench as one of their judges), had set them an example; that whatever they had done had been by an authority that was not only owned and obeyed at home, but also acknowledged by princes and states abroad to be the chief authority of the nation; and that the judges of England, who ought to be the eye and guide of the people, had acted under that authority, divers of them publicly declaring that it was lawful to obey it. But the jury returned a hasty verdict of guilty against them.

The first that suffered was Major-general Harrison—Harrison, whose honest, soldier-like appearance and gallant bearing had removed the suspicions and excited the involuntary admiration of the captive Charles.[1] On the 13th of October he was drawn upon a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross, within sight of Whitehall,

Bird's-eye View of Charing Cross.—From Aggas's Plan of London (1560).

where the late king had suffered. His most sincere enthusiasm, political as well as religious, glowed more warmly than ever at the close approach of torture and death. As he was dragged along, his countenance being placid and even cheerful, a low wretch in the crowd called after him in derision, and said, "Where is your good old cause now?" Harrison, with a smile, clapped his hand on his heart, and said, "Here it is; and I am going to seal it with my blood!" and several times on his way he said aloud, "I go to suffer upon the account of the most glorious cause that ever was in the world." He ascended the scaffold under the tall gibbet with an undaunted countenance; and thence he made a speech of some length to the multitude, telling them that they themselves had been witnesses of the finger of God in the deliverance of the people from their oppressors, and in bringing to judgment those that were guilty of blood; that many of the enemies of the Commonwealth were forced to confess that God was with it. The courtly crew that gained most by the event, that were inconceivably vain of a few insignificant graces they had borrowed from the French during their compulsory travels, made it their boast

[1] See vol. ii. p. 571.

that the Restoration was the bright dawn of civilization to this gross and benighted island; but in truth the best parts of civilization were darkened and not brightened, and humanity and decency, which had been advancing, were made to retrograde with giant strides. The revolting indecencies, the atrocious cruelties which had been awarded in the dark ages in cases of treason, but from which the Commonwealth men and Cromwell had turned with horror and disgust, were all revived; the sentence was executed upon Harrison to the very letter; and the second Charles, whose vices have been varnished by certain writers till they look almost like virtues, and till he appears in the light of an easy, good-natured, and debonnair prince, a little dissipated and nothing worse, witnessed at a short distance the detestable scene. Harrison was cut down alive, and saw his own bowels thrown into the fire, and then he was quartered, and his heart, yet palpitating, was torn out and shown to the people. The following day was a Sunday, but on the day after, the 15th of October, John Carew suffered the same pains in the like manner, declaring with his last breath, that if it were to be done again he would do it, and that the blessed cause would not be lost. The day following, Coke and Hugh Peters were drawn to the same shambles. In the hurdle which carried Coke was placed the ghastly head of Harrison, with the face uncovered and turned towards Coke, who was, however, animated by the sight with fresh courage instead of being overpowered with fear and horror. The people expressed their detestation of such usage. On the scaffold Coke declared, among other things, that he had been earnest for the reform of the laws and for the expeditious and cheap administration of justice;[1] and that, as for the part he had borne in the action with which he was charged, he was far from repenting what he had done, and most ready to seal it with his blood. Hugh Peters was made to witness all the horrible details of Coke's execution, sitting within the rails which surrounded the scaffold. While there, a man upbraided him with the king's death, using opprobrious language. "Friend," said Peters, "you do not well to trample upon a dying man; you are greatly mistaken; I had nothing to do in the death of the king." And the old preacher, who had lived in storms and whirlwinds, died with a quiet smile on his countenance. On the next day Scott, Clement, Scrope, and Jones suffered; and, on the day after that, Hacker and Axtell. Some of these ten men were oppressed with age and sickness, but there was not one of them that betrayed either fear or repentance. Notwithstanding the great pains taken at different periods to brutalize them, the English people have never been able to tolerate any very prolonged exhibition of this kind. "Though the regicides," says Burnet, "were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crowds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and by most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and show of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the king was advised not to proceed farther; or, at least, *not to have the scene so near the court as Charing Cross.*"[2] The processes of hanging, drawing, and quartering were therefore suspended for the present, but with the evident intention of renewing them at some future time; and though in the end none of the other nineteen victims now condemned suffered death, other victims did, and the fate of nearly all of the nineteen that were sentenced and spared was as hard as perpetual imprisonment, dungeons, and beggary could make it. Harry Martin lay in prison expecting death, but some of the royalists visited him, and advised him to petition parliament. In his petition the witty republican said that he had surrendered in reliance upon the king's declaration of Breda, and that he hoped that he who had never obeyed any royal proclamation before should not be hanged for taking the king's word now. The commons took no step on the side of mercy; and those members who prided themselves on their gravity and godliness opined that the wit ought to die. But the lords were more merciful; the Lord Falkland and other peers spoke warmly in his behalf, and, after four months of doubt, Martin got the sentence of death remitted.[3]

About a month before the execution of Harrison the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox. And about a fortnight after the executions, the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, with the princess royal and a numerous train of French nobles, arrived, and was received with great state and triumph. To prepare the way for the widow of the "glorious martyr," a lying life of her had been published;[4] but the Londoners could not altogether forget facts or overcome their old an-

[1] "For which," adds Ludlow, "he had suffered a more than ordinary persecution from those of his own profession."—*Memoirs.*

[2] *Own Times.*

[3] *State Trials; An Exact and most Impartial Account, &c.*; Noble, *Lives of the Regicides; Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn; Memoirs of Ludlow and Mrs. Hutchinson;* Burnet, *History of his Own Times: Trials of Charles I. and of some of the Regicides;* Forster, *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen; Memoir of Martin.*

[4] Pepys says, sarcastically, that this "sillily writ" book was "dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle"—*i.e.* Monk's wife.

tipathies, and, in spite of the pageant got up by authority, they showed rather plainly that her coming was not welcome. A few days before her arrival, Lord-chancellor Clarendon's daughter, Anne Hyde, had been delivered of a son, only about six weeks after her marriage to the Duke of York; who, however, was said to have owned a private marriage, or contract of marriage, with her about a year before.[1] The pride of the queen-mother was greatly irritated by the thought of this "debasing alliance;" and her daughters, the Princess of Orange and the Princess Henrietta, were equally violent against it. The king had also felt, or pretended, strong objections; but from various accounts, we are disposed to believe that he was all along jealous of his brother, and not very sorry to see him take a step which would lessen him in the eyes of the world. Clarendon, the father of the stray lady—the model and idol of politicians of a certain class — professed the greatest horror and abhorrence of the mischiefs which such a *mésalliance* would produce on royalty; and he informs us himself that he told his master Charles "that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife;" that if the marriage had really taken place, he would give a positive judgment "that the king should immediately cause the *woman* to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living should be permitted to come to her, and then, that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man to propose it."[2] But, notwithstanding this mock Virginius-*ism* on the wrong side, the great chancellor is said by others to have laboured in secret to promote the marriage, and to have at last removed the queen-mother's strong objections by engaging to get parliament to pay her great debts.[3] And about six weeks after Henrietta Maria's arrival at court the marriage was publicly owned, and the nobility and gentry paid their respects to her highness the Duchess of York, who was still at her father's, in Worcester House, in the Strand, where the marriage had been performed, and all kissed her hand.[4]

Worcester House.[5]—From a drawing by Hollar, in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.

A few days after, the Princess of Orange, who had come over to salute the king, her brother, died of the small-pox; but these melancholy events scarcely checked for a moment the immorality of Charles's court.[6] A marriage was proposed between the Princess Henrietta and Philip, Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV., which took place soon after.

The Convention Parliament had met again on the 6th of November. The commons announced that they had prepared a bill for giving the king's "healing declaration" about religion the force of law; and the Presbyterian ministers presented an address to his majesty, thanking

[1] Pepys, *Diary*. Clarendon says that the queen-mother was furious that her friend, Sir Charles Berkeley, then captain of the duke's guard, in order to prevent the marriage, solemnly swore that he "had lain with her," *i.e.* with Anne Hyde. In the end Berkeley ate his words, and said that he had only lied for the good and honour of the royal family. Such a scoundrel was sure of promotion in a court like this—he became privy purse and Earl of Falmouth!

[2] *Continuation of the Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, written by himself.

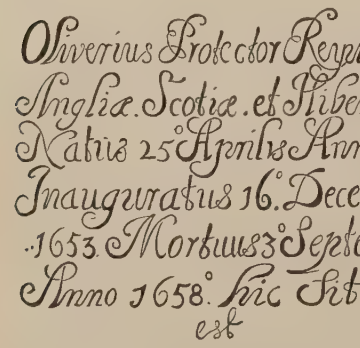
[3] "The queen would fain have undone it, but it seems matters were reconciled on great offers of the chancellor's to befriend the queen, who was much in debt, and was now to have the settlement of her affairs go through his hands."—*Evelyn*.

[4] "This," continues Evelyn, who had just been performing the ceremony, "was a strange change—can it succeed well?"

[5] Worcester House, the London residence of the Earls of Worcester, was originally a town-house of the Bishops of Carlisle. It was situated between Durham Place and the Savoy, and had gardens extending to the water side. The great Earl of Clarendon occupied this house before his own mansion was built, and paid for it the large annual rent of £500. This house was pulled down by the Duke of Beaufort, and the present Beaufort buildings rose on its site. The building adjoining Salisbury House gave place to the present street of that name which leads to Salisbury Stairs.

[6] "At court," says Pepys, in one of his honest bursts of indignation, "things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it but confusion. And the clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practices"

him for that grateful act. But Charles, Clarendon, and the bishops had fully arranged measures for converting this healing declaration into a piece of waste paper. The bill for making it law was lost in the House of Commons by a majority of 183 to 157, and the duped Presbyterians were whistled down the wind. Conformity to the Church of England was now the law; and the Presbyterians, instead of having part in persecuting the Catholics and sectarians, had a share in their sufferings. Having made this arrangement to please the court, the Convention Parliament proceeded with other gratifying bills; and, on the 8th of December, they attainted Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw. This vote had another meaning besides that of the forfeiture of the property of the dead, which was too insignificant to excite the cupidity of the wasteful and needy Charles, or the selfish mean-souled courtiers: on the 30th of January of the following year, the anniversary of the death of Charles I., the solemn recesses of Westminster Abbey were invaded by a brutal crew, acting by authority of the restored king and clergy; the graves were broken open, the coffins of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were put upon hurdles and dragged to Tyburn; there, being pulled out of their coffins, their mouldering bodies were hanged "at the several angles of the triple tree" till sunset, when they were taken down and beheaded. Their bodies, or, as the court chronicler calls them, "their loathsome carcasses," were thrown into a deep hole under the gallows; their heads were



FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION FOUND IN CROMWELL'S COFFIN.[1]

set upon poles on the top of Westminster Hall.[2] With the same decent loyalty the dean and chapter of Westminster, acting under his majesty's warrant and their own zeal, afterwards exhumed the bodies of all who had been buried in the Abbey since the beginning of the Civil wars, and threw them in a heap into a deep pit dug in St. Margaret's Churchyard. Among others the inoffensive remains of Oliver Cromwell's mother and daughter, who had both been models of domestic virtue; of Dorislaus, one of the lawyers employed on the trial of the late king, who had been basely murdered in Holland by the retainers of the present king; of May, the accomplished translator of the *Pharsalia* and historian of the Long Parliament, whose mild and comprehensive language we have so frequently quoted; of Pym, that great and learned champion of English liberty; and of Blake, the renowned and honest-hearted, the first of naval heroes, were torn from the sacred asylum of the tomb, and cast like dogs into that foul pit.

Notwithstanding its base compliances, Charles was anxious to be rid of the Convention Parliament, of the legality of whose first assembling and constitution some doubts were entertained by lawyers. His ministers hastened the progress of the money bills, and agreed to accept half of the revenue derived from the excise, in lieu of the profits formerly drawn from the Court of Wards, which the Commonwealth men had abolished; and the chancellor told them that King Charles, whose time was notoriously spent with mistresses and profligates in theatres and midnight revels, was, like another Constantine, constantly employing himself in conferences with learned men for the settlement of the "languishing church."[3]

Clarendon assured them, moreover, that a desperate plot had been discovered to rescue the condemned regicides, seize the Tower, Whitehall, and Windsor Castle, and, by means of an insurrection in the counties, headed by General Ludlow, to restore the Commonwealth. General Ludlow was at this moment as far off as Switzerland, trembling for his own life, which was threatened many times by royalist assassins. It is true that there was an insane riot in London a few days after the delivery of the chancellor's speech in parliament; but the number of the rioters was so insignificant, and the whole thing so unconcerted and hopeless, that it could not have been either foreseen or dreaded when it actually occurred. On the night of the 6th of January, Venner, a wine-cooper and Fifth Monarchy Man, who had been in trouble for similar outbreaks in Cromwell's time, and who was decidedly mad, inflamed some fifty or sixty visionaries by vehement preaching; and these men

[1] This inscription is copied from an impression taken from a gilt copper plate, found lying on the breast of the corpse, when the grave and coffin of Cromwell were desecrated. The impression was taken from the plate in 1792.

[2] *Gesta Britannorum*, at the end of Wharton's *Almanac*, as quoted in Harris' *Life of Cromwell*. It appears that ladies went to see this precious specimen of *Gesta Britannorum*.

[3] Clarendon told them at the same time that his majesty was not wholly successful—that some men would still preach and write improperly—but that these should soon be reduced by law to obedience

rushed from his conventicle in the city, and proclaimed "King Jesus!" They broke the heads of some incredulous watchmen and city guards, but fled before the lord-mayor and the people who took up arms. They concealed themselves for two days in Caen Wood, between the villages of Highgate and Hampstead, during which time the lord-mayor pulled down their meeting-house in the city. On the 9th of January they returned, in the belief that neither bullets nor sharp steel could hurt them—broke through the city gates—routed all the train-bands they met—put the king's life-guards to the run; "and all this in the day-time, when all the city was in arms, and they not in all above thirty-one!"[1] At last they were hemmed in, but they cut their way into a house, which they defended for some time against thousands. They all refused quarter, but about sixteen were taken by force and kept alive for a worse death: the rest fell with arms in their hands, "shouting that Christ was coming presently to reign on earth." Among the prisoners, who were all tried and executed, was the mad wine-cooper himself.

In dissolving the army, care had been taken to keep on foot Monk's regiment and a regiment of cavalry; and now, under colour of necessity and of apprehension of the great insurrection, announced by Clarendon, some new troops were raised, and many more officers of the old army put under arrest. The Earl of Southampton, who is generally considered as the most virtuous of Charles's ministers, took alarm at a scheme which was then seriously entertained of raising such a standing army as should put down all opposition to the royal will; and he waited upon the chancellor to expostulate. He said they had felt the effects of a military government, though the men were sober and religious, in Cromwell's time; that he believed vicious and dissolute troops would be much worse; that the king would grow fond of them: that they would become insolent and ungovernable, and that then ministers must be converted into mere tools; he said that he would not look on, and see the ruin of his country begun, and be silent; a white staff should not bribe him. Clarendon admitted that he was in the right, and promised to divert the king from any other force than what might be proper to make a show with and capable of dispersing unruly multitudes. Southampton said that if the standing army went no farther than that, he could bear it; but that it would not be easy to fix such a number as would please the princes and not give jealousy to the people. Clarendon, however, went to the king, and his representations (but no doubt still more the poverty of the court) set aside the grand project for the present.[2] The guards and the new troops that were raised were made up of men recommended by Monk.

"Every one," says a bitter writer, "was now everywhere putting in for the merit of restoration, for no other reason, certainly, but that they might have the reward."[3] The Protestants in Ireland, whether high-church or Presbyterian, laid claim to Charles's gratitude for having been the first of all his subjects to invite him back, which they had done in a convention, almost immediately after the expulsion of Henry Cromwell. But, on the other side, the Irish Papists claimed a reward for their old loyalty and long sufferings under "the late usurpers;" and they humbly prayed for relief as to their forfeited estates, their religion, and liberties.

In Scotland, the Presbyterians, who composed nearly the entire nation, flattered themselves that they had peculiar claims upon the restored king's gratitude. They had repeatedly taken up arms for monarchy; and, though they had been reduced to a quiescent state by the vigour of Cromwell, they had begun to move again as soon as death had relieved them from the domination of that wonderful man. And was it not from Scotland that Monk, the restorer, had proceeded to execute the great plan? The king, too, had been among them; had taken their Covenant; had solemnly sworn to defend their kirk; and he had granted an "act of approbation" to indemnify all of them for earlier occurrences. But Charles, who had no scruples of conscience whatever, held that these oaths and engagements had been made under compulsion; that the Covenanters, while he was among them, had treated him with harshness and indignity; and, if he had any one strong feeling about religions or sects, it was hatred of the strict and formal Kirk of Scotland.[4] The Marquis of Argyle, the great chief of the Covenanters, was not without his misgivings, and, on the return of Charles to England, he retired for a time to the Highlands; but his son, the Lord Lorn, who claimed the merit of a constant opposition to the Commonwealth men and Cromwell, hastened to congratulate the sovereign; and the marquis himself wrote to the king, to ask leave to come and wait upon him. To seize this victim among his mountains, and the clans devoted to him, would have been a work of diffi-

[1] Pepys, *Diary*.

[2] *Burnet*. Pepys says, a little later: "The lord-chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York general thereof. But the house did, in very open terms, say they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the command of an army is not beholden to anybody to make him king."

[3] Oldmixon, *History of the House of Stuart*.

[4] According to Burnet, he was accustomed to say that the Presbyterian was a religion quite unfit for a gentleman!

culty, and therefore Charles replied in a seeming friendly manner. Upon that Argyle posted up to Whitehall, where, being denied admittance, he was seized and sent to the Tower as a traitor and regicide, it being asserted that he had encouraged the Commonwealth men to put the late king to death. The Earl of Glencairn, a leader of the Scottish Cavalier party, was sent to Edinburgh to restore the Committee of Estates as it existed in 1650, when Charles was in the country, which Oliver Cromwell had not as yet reduced to a dependency of the English Commonwealth. General Middleton, who had been so very unsuccessful in his attempts at shaking off Cromwell's yoke, was elevated to the Scottish peerage, and appointed general of the forces and king's commissioner for holding the parliament; Glencairn was made chancellor, and the Earl of Lauderdale (afterwards the ill-famed and bloody Duke Lauderdale) secretary of state. The chief power was divided for a time between Middleton and Lauderdale, who were fiercely jealous of each other. These two selfish, unprincipled, and violent men, sometimes with the consent of the Scottish parliament, and more frequently in spite of that disjointed and always ill-constructed legislature, soon erected one of the worst tyrannies that ever cursed a country. The Marquis of Argyle, after being basely trepanned at Whitehall, was sent down to Edinburgh, to be tried by the men that were thirsting for his blood and hungering for his estates. The old marquis, who was assisted by the notoriety of the facts, made an admirable defence. The state trials were just so much worse in Scotland than in England, as the Scottish civilization fell short of the English. Fletcher, the lord-advocate, called the noble prisoner at the bar an impudent villain! Argyle gravely said, that he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches. While the trial was in progress before the Scottish parliament, his son, the Lord Lorn, obtained a letter from the king, ordering that the lord-advocate should not insist upon any offences committed by the marquis previously to the year 1651, when the present king had given his indemnity; and that when the trial was ended, the whole process should be submitted to his majesty before the parliament gave sentence. But the king's commissioner, Middleton, who expected to be enriched by Argyle's forfeiture, induced the king to revoke one part of his letter, and took it upon himself to disregard the other. Middleton also made a search for precedents of men who had been condemned in Scotland upon presumptive evidence, and argued the matter in person, hoping that the weight of his authority would bear down all opposition. But Gilmore, though recently promoted to be president of the Court of Session, had the honesty to say that to attaint Argyle upon such evidence would be more unjust than the much-decried attainder of the Earl of Strafford; and, after a fierce debate, in which Middleton stormed, and swore, and blasphemed —as was his wont—Gilmore carried a majority, and the prisoner was acquitted on that count. Argyle now thought that he was safe; but Middleton resolved to make his compliance with Cromwell high treason. Even here the lord-commissioner would have been defeated, had it not been for the villainous offices of his friend Monk, Duke of Albemarle. Monk, the restorer —a servant worthy of the prince he had restored —searched among his papers, and found some private letters which Argyle had written to him when he (Monk) was the sworn friend of Cromwell, and the general of the Commonwealth, and in which the marquis expressed his zeal for the maintenance of that system of government. These private letters Monk sent down to Scotland by an express, and Middleton ordered them to be read in parliament at a stage when the production of further evidence was strictly illegal. The effect was instantaneous and fatal; all the friends of the marquis ran out of the parliament house as if a bomb had fallen among them; the rest agreed that these letters sufficiently proved that the prisoner's compliance with the usurper was not feigned and compulsory, but sincere and voluntary; and they condemned him as guilty of treason. Argyle begged for ten days' respite, in order that the king's pleasure might be known; but when this was refused he understood the intention of the court, and exclaimed, "I placed the crown upon his head, and this is my reward." [When Charles was crowned at Scone, in 1651, Argyle really placed the crown upon his head, and at that time it was very generally believed that he would soon be the king's father-in-law.] He was beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh, only two days after receiving sentence, and his head was set up over the jail where the Covenanters had exposed the head of Montrose. Other trials ensued, in which still less attention was paid to the forms of law. Twelve eminent Presbyterian preachers, who came to Edinburgh with a petition, were seized and cast into prison: Guthrie, one of them, who, ten years ago, "had let fly at the king in his sermons," was hanged, for example's sake, a few days after the execution of Argyle. With him was hung one Gowan, who had deserted to Cromwell while the king was in Scotland. "The man," says Bishop Burnet, "was inconsiderable, till they made him more considered by putting him to death on such an account, at so great a distance of time." The fourth victim was Bishop Burnet's own uncle, Johnstone of Warriston, one of the greatest and most eloquent assertors of the Covenant. This aged man fled

to the Continent; but some time after, the French government gave him up to Charles, and he was sent back to Scotland, and tried and hanged. It had been assumed as a principle that the destroyers of Montrose, the idol of the Cavalier party, should feel the full weight of retaliation; and yet Macleod of Assynt, the false friend who had so infamously betrayed Montrose to his enemies, "was let go without any censure." Burnet attributes this impunity to habits of debauchery in Macleod, which were largely sympathized with by the now dominant faction; but possibly Macleod's purse and estates told another story. Vengeance was often defeated by the love of lucre, or by personal jealousies among the new great men. Swinton, who had been attainted, and who had been the man of all Scotland most trusted and employed by Cromwell, was admitted to mercy, *because* Middleton, in hatred to Lauderdale, who had got the gift of his estate, recommended him to the king. Many others suffered in liberty and estate; but as open bribery was a rule of government, and as money bought pardons, no more executions took place for the present. Middleton and Lauderdale continued to quarrel with one another, to accuse one another in an underhand way, and to plot against one another. At one time Middleton wanted to impeach his rival, but Clarendon told him that impeachments were dangerous things—that "the assaulting of a minister, as long as he had *an interest in the king*, was a practice that never could be approved; it was one of the *uneasy things that a House of Commons of England sometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the court.*" Thus the matter dropped; and the two rivals, reconciled in appearance, went on in amicable unison to ride roughshod over the kirk and the laws and liberties of Scotland. "This," says Burnet, who was living in the midst of it, "was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." In spite of the alarming warning held out by the past, it was resolved to set up Episcopacy; and Sharp, a minister who was to the Kirk of Scotland what Monk had been to the Commonwealth, pressed Middleton to take advantage of the present general consternation, and establish bishops. At the same time he duped his brethren with professions of an ardent zeal for the kirk, and persuaded them to send him up to court as their delegate. Sharp soon returned from London Archbishop of St. Andrews! Other men "were sought out to be bishops," and these men, after receiving consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury, hurried down to Scotland, "all in one coach," to take possession of their sees. Forthwith bishops again appeared among the lords of parliament. The power in the church of this restored hierarchy was made very absolute by royal proclamation; and presently all men were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, acknowledging the right of the king to settle religion and the church. In the midst of a general subservience in parliament, two noble Scotsmen, the Earl of Cassilis, and Dr. Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, had the courage to resist. Leighton said that the land mourned already by reason of the many compulsory oaths that had been taken. Archbishop Sharp, who had so recently worn the Genevan gown himself, replied with great bitterness and insolence, flying out against the Presbyterian stiffness. The enlightened Leighton said that it ill became the very same persons who had complained of the rigour of the Covenanters to practise a like rigour themselves, "for thus it would be said that the world goes mad by turns." Middleton, who wanted the oath as a trap for scrupulous consciences, was furious at this opposition; but in the end the odious act was passed, and made as trenchant as Archbishop Sharp and the king's commissioner desired. Not satisfied with this, they brought forward another oath, abjuring formally both the League and Covenant, and the National Covenant; and between these two oaths they drove the Presbyterians from all offices in the church, the state, or magistracy, and not a few of them into perpetual banishment.[1]

A.D. 1661. The new English parliament met on the 8th of May. The elections had gone greatly in favour of the royalist and high-church party, and not more than fifty or sixty of the Presbyterian party found their way into the House of Commons. This parliament—for the disgrace of the country—lasted much longer than that which is distinguished in history by the name of the Long Parliament; but a distinctive epithet was not wanting—it was called the "Pension Parliament." The House of Commons began with voting that all their members should receive the sacrament by a certain day, according to the rights of the Church of England, under pain of exclusion. Then, in concert with the lords, the commons condemned "that great instrument of mischief, the Solemn League and Covenant," to be burned by the common hangman. The acts establishing the Commonwealth, and the chief ordinances of the Long Parliament, were treated in the same manner. They then passed a number of bills, which all had for their object the strengthening of the monarchical power. They imposed a fresh oath, importing that neither house could lawfully take up arms against the king, in any case whatsoever. They restored the bishops to their seats in the House of Peers;

[1] Burnet, *Own Times;* Clarendon, *Life; State Trials; Miscellanea Aulica;* Malcolm Laing, *Hist. Scot.*

they increased the rigour of the law of treason; they declared it to be a high misdemeanour to call the king a Papist; and they materially curtailed one of the most important of the popular rights—the right of petitioning the king or parliament, by enacting that no petition should have more than twenty signatures, unless by permission of three justices of the peace, or the majority of a grand jury. The Cavaliers would also gladly have struck at the bill of indemnity, in order to wrench from the adherents of the Commonwealth all the property they had acquired; but Clarendon felt that any such invasion of that act would be too dangerous, and the Cavaliers were obliged to content themselves with a vote of £60,000 to be distributed among themselves, and to confirm the said indemnity act.

When this parliament re-assembled at the end of November, there was no visible diminution of its loyalty or orthodoxy; and Clarendon excited its zeal by disclosing a pretended conspiracy, which was said to extend all over the country. The king confirmed the awful disclosures made by the chancellor; but perhaps at that moment the indolent Charles may have been made to believe that the airy conspiracy really existed. The commons, in a paroxysm of rage and terror, called for more blood—for the execution of such of the condemned regicides as had hitherto been spared—and especially demanded the trial of Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert, who had both been excepted from the act of oblivion, but recommended by the Convention Parliament to the king, who had promised to spare their lives. But Charles, who never respected a promise, lent a ready ear to the recommendation of the Pension Parliament, and it was arranged that Vane and Lambert should suffer during the next recess. In the meantime, to stay the appetite of vengeance, three distinguished Commonwealth men, the Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Sir Robert Wallop, were drawn upon sledges, with ropes round their necks, from the Tower to the gallows at Tyburn, and then back to the Tower, there to remain prisoners for life. In this session a conformity bill, recommended, if not actually drawn up by Clarendon, was debated and passed in all its intolerant rigour, the lords having vainly attempted to soften some of its clauses. It enacted that every parson, vicar, or other minister, should publicly declare before his congregation, his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; and that every preacher that had not received ordination from the hands of a bishop must submit to that process before the next feast of St. Bartholomew. A few new collects, added by the bishops to the Prayer Book, did not tend to make this act more palatable. In one of these collects a new epithet was added to the title of the openly profane and immoral Charles, he being styled "our most religious king;" and the Dissenters "could not down with" the story of Bel and the Dragon, introduced from the Apocrypha; nor with the new holidays, such as St. Barnabas, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the 30th of January, now dedicated to King Charles the Martyr. When the commons had done with this conformity bill, they voted the king a subsidy of £1,200,000, and a hearth or chimney tax *for ever:*[1] and the parliament was prorogued on the 19th of May with a flattering speech from Charles, who promised to take better care both of his money and his morals.

It was high time, for he was on the eve of marriage. Nearly all the courts of Europe had struggled for the honour of giving a wife to this dissolute prince, for whatever contempt Charles had excited on the Continent as an exiled, errant king *de jure*, he became one of the most important of crowned heads as *de facto* King of England. Charles held himself at auction, and Portugal became the highest bidder, offering with the Princess Catherine, Tangiers, Bombay, the advantages of a free trade, and half a million sterling; and it was resolved that the offer should be accepted, notwithstanding the religion of the princess, and the opposition of Spain, which still claimed the Portuguese kingdom, and treated the house of Braganza as rebels and usurpers. The orthodox Clarendon decided Charles in this resolution, in spite of the representations of many of his own party, who rationally feared that the king, already suspected of Popery, would be still more mistrusted when he should have a Catholic wife and a mass-chapel in his own house. After some necessary delays that were irksome to the king, not because he longed for the royal bride, but because he was greatly in need of the dower, the treaty was concluded, and Lord Sandwich was despatched with a small fleet to take possession of Tangiers and bring home the bride and the money. Catherine of Braganza arrived at Portsmouth on the 20th of May, and was there met by her husband, who conducted her in state to Hampton Court. At this time Charles's mistress, *en titre*, was "one of the race of the Villiers," married to Mr. Palmer, who, on her account, and for his base connivance, was taken into the diplomatic service and raised to the Irish peerage as Earl of Castlemaine. People expected that he would now break with the mistress, or at least manage his intercourse with her as privately as possible. But he was not prepared to make any, the least sacrifice, either to duty or decency: he dined and supped with Lady Castlemaine every day and night of the week that

[1] Every house rated above 20*s.* was to pay 2*s.*

preceded the queen's arrival; he was there on the night that bonfires were lit in the street for that event;[1] he left her to go to his bride; and, when Catherine was established at Hampton Court, he not only presented her himself, but also insisted that she should be one of the queen's ladies of the bedchamber. Clarendon, who worshipped the proprieties and outward appearances, according to his own account, spoke with great boldness to the king on the subject of this scandalous appointment, telling him "of the hard-heartedness and cruelty in laying such a command upon the queen which flesh and blood could not comply with. The king," says he, "heard him with patience enough, yet with those little interruptions which were natural to him, especially to that part where he had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before him by those who would have them looked upon above any other men's wives." But, according to the historian's own account, the moral conversation ended by the king's "requiring him to use all those arguments to the queen which were necessary *to induce her to a full compliance with what the king desired.*" And the Lord High-chancellor of England—the model Clarendon—who is still styled, *by some*, one of the most illustrious of Englishmen, one that through all circumstances maintained the innate dignity of his character—the upright minister, the true patriot, and the honest man—undertook the office, and waited several times on the forlorn young queen to prove to her the suitableness of submission and resignation "to whatsoever his majesty should desire of her," and to *insinuate* (his own words!) "what would be acceptable with reference to the lady." Catherine, who had told this hoary-headed mediator for royal profligacy that she had to struggle with more difficulties than ever woman of her condition had known—that at times she was forced "to give vent to that passion that was ready to break her heart"—now assured him "that the king's insisting upon that particular could proceed from no other ground but his hatred of her person, and to expose her to the contempt of the world, who would think her worthy of such an affront if she submitted to it, which before she would do, she would put herself on board any little vessel, and so be transported to Lisbon." The chancellor upon this reminded her "that she had not the disposal of her own person, nor could go out of the house where she was without the king's leave;" and, therefore, advised her "not to speak any more of Portugal, where there were enough who would wish her to be." The chancellor then made haste to inform his employer of all that had passed, and to request, not that he would give up his design of fixing his mistress constantly in court as the servant of his wife, but that he would forbear pressing the queen in that matter for a day or two, till he had once more waited upon her. But, according to his narrative, the king listened to other counsellors, and resolved to make his wife submit at once. "The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the king reproached the queen with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection: he used threats and menaces which he never intended to put in execution, and she talked loudly how ill she was treated, and that she would return again to Portugal. He replied, that she should do well first to know whether her mother would receive her; and he would give her a fit opportunity to know that, by sending to their home all her Portuguese servants; and that he would forthwith give order for the discharge of them all." What the threats and menaces were which Charles never intended to put in execution we know not, but he forthwith executed his cruel threat of depriving his wife of her servants—her countrymen and countrywomen, the friends of her childhood. After an interview with the chancellor, who had been again with the queen, using arguments and cajolery to overcome her natural repugnance, "he persevered in all his resolutions without any remorse—directed a day for all the Portugueses to be embarked without assigning any considerable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any letter to the King or Queen of Portugal of the cause of the dismission of them. And this rigour prevailed upon the great heart of the queen, who had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to any of those who had attended her out of their own country, and promised themselves places of great advantage in her family; and she earnestly desired the king that she might retain some few of those who were known to her, and of most use, that she might not be wholly left in the hands of strangers; and employed others to make the same suit to the king on her behalf. Whereupon the Countess of Penalva, who had been bred with her from a child, and who, by the infirmity of her eyes and other indisposition of health, scarce stirred out of her chamber, was permitted to remain in the court; and some few inferior servants in her kitchen and in the lowest offices, besides those who were necessary to her devotions, were left here. All the rest were transported to Portugal." Nor did Catherine's trials end here. "In all this time," continues Clarendon, "the king pursued his point: the lady came to the court—was lodged there—was every day in the queen's presence—and the king in con-

[1] Pepy's, *Diary*.

tinual conference with her, whilst the queen sat untaken notice of; and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. . . . . All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne; so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and, even in the same instant, to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and, in private, used nobody more friendly."[1]

On the 2d of June, a few days after the king's marriage, the republican Sir Harry Vane was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench.

Sir Harry Vane.
From a print by Houbraken, after Sir P. Lely.

Upon the Restoration, Vane, knowing that he had taken no share in the trial or death of Charles I., and that the new king, in his declaration from Breda, had promised a wide indemnity, continued at his house in Hampstead, near London.[2] He was allowed to remain undisturbed for about five weeks, when he was arrested and sent to the Tower, whence he had been carried from one prison to another for the space of two years. He had now been brought up from a lone castle or block-house on one of the Scilly Islands. The indictment charged him with compassing and imagining the death of Charles II., and conspiring to subvert the ancient frame of the kingly government of the realm. Vane objected that the offences charged against him were committed either in his capacity as a member of parliament, or as a servant of government acting under the commission of parliament; and he maintained that he could be tried only by parliament, and not by any inferior tribunal. His judges, who were met to condemn, not to try him, overruled these objections, and bade him plead guilty or not guilty. Vane represented that he could not expect justice from judges who, in another place, had prejudged him and recorded their votes against him; that the length of time taken to search out matters against him, and the undue practices and courses to find out witnesses against him, were further proofs that he could not have an equal and impartial trial; that, during all that time, he had been kept in close imprisonment without being once examined, or having any question put to him whereby he might conjecture what would be charged against him; that he had been treated as a great delinquent—his rents stopped, his tenants forbidden to pay them, his very courts prohibited by officers of great personages claiming the grant of his estates; that, by these undue proceedings, he had not wherewithal to maintain himself in prison, and his debts, to the amount of above £10,000, were undischarged, either principal or interest; and that the hopes of private lucre and profit were such in his tenants and other persons, sought out for far and near to be witnesses against him, that it would be no wonder if, at last, some charges should be exhibited; but these charges were so general and vague, that nothing certain, or that applied peculiarly to himself, could be gathered out of them. After expressing his faith and reliance on God, who now called him to *suffer*, as he had formerly called him to *act*, for the good of his country—after expressing his consciousness that for himself the issue would be good, whatever this court might make it—he continued: "Far be it from me to have knowingly, maliciously, or wittingly offended the law, rightly understood and asserted; much less, to have done anything that is *malum per se*, or that is morally evil. This is what I allow not, as I am a man, and what I desire with steadfastness to resist, as I am a Christian. If I can judge anything of my own case, the true reason of the present difficulties and straits I am in is because I have desired to walk by a just and righteous rule in all my actions, and not to serve the lusts and passions of men, but rather to die than wittingly and deliberately sin against God and transgress his holy laws, or prefer my own private interest before the good of the whole community I relate unto, in the kingdom where the lot of my residence is cast." The counsel for the prosecution were reduced to silence; but the Chief-justice Foster muttered—"Though we know not what to say to him, we know what to do with him." Vane

[1] *Life.* [2] *Ludlow.*

claimed the benefit of counsel, which had been denied to Harrison and the other regicides, and which it was not usual to grant in cases of treason. The court, impatient to make him plead, promised him that if he would put himself on the issue he should have counsel. He then pleaded not guilty, and was sent back to the Tower for four days. When he re-appeared he claimed the promise which had been given him; on which his judges, who had received fresh instructions to condemn him, told him that *they* would be his counsel. The attorney-general, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, a fanatic royalist, produced his evidence. Vane combated the charges with great learning and eloquence. He maintained that the word *king* in the statute of treasons meant only a king regnant, a king in actual possession of the crown, and not a king merely *de jure*, who was not in possession. He justified the conduct of the Commonwealth by the inevitable necessity of the case. "This matter," said he, "was not done in a corner. The appeals were solemn, and the decision by the sword was given by God! . . . . . When new and never-heard-of changes do fall out in the kingdom, it is not like that the known and written laws of the land should be the exact rule, but the grounds and rules of justice, contained and declared in the law of nature, are and ought to be a sanctuary in such cases, even by the very common law of England: for thence originally spring the unerring rules that are set by the Divine and eternal law for rule and subjection in all states and kingdoms." In the course of his defence he called attention to the facts that the resolutions and votes for changing the government of England into a Commonwealth were all passed before he was returned to parliament; that he was bound to obey the powers then regnant; that he had done nothing for any private or gainful ends, to profit himself or enrich his relations, as well appeared by the great debts he had contracted, and the destitute condition in which he should now leave his family. But the court was not to be moved by such appeals as these, and they determined that the evidence against the prisoner was good, and that the acts imputed to him amounted to high treason. Vane then offered a bill of exceptions, and claimed the benefit of the promise which the king had made to the Convention Parliament—that, if Vane should be attainted by law, he would not suffer the sentence to be executed. The solicitor-general openly declared that "the prisoner must be made a public sacrifice;" and, alluding to Vane's urgent and repeated demands for the benefit of counsel, he brutally exclaimed —"What counsel does he think would dare speak for him in such a manifest case of treason, unless he could call down the heads of his fellow-traitors, Bradshaw or Coke, from the top of Westminster Hall?" With these words thundering in their ears, the jury retired, and in half an hour returned into court with a verdict of guilty.[1]

On the morrow, Charles thus wrote from Hampton Court to Clarendon:—"The relation that hath been made to me of Sir H. Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter; which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and, if he has given new occasion to be hanged, *certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way.* Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow; till when, I have no more to say to you." What Clarendon's account was, we may easily divine,[2] for, on that day week (June 14), a scaffold was prepared on Tower-hill, on the very spot where the Earl of Strafford had suffered so many years before. At an early hour Vane took leave of his wife and children, and of a few generous friends that were not afraid of incurring the hatred of government by showing a deep sympathy. He entreated them not to mourn for him. His religious enthusiasm blended itself, as it had ever done, with his republicanism and passionate love of liberty. "I know," said he, "that a day of deliverance for Sion will come. Some may think the manner of it may be as before, with confused noise of the warrior, and garments rolled in blood; but I rather think it will be with burning and fuel of fire. . . . I die in the certain faith and foresight that this cause shall have its resurrection in my death. My blood will be the seed sown, by which this glorious cause will spring up, which God will speedily raise. . . . . As a testimony and seal to the justness of that quarrel, I leave now my life upon it, as a legacy to all the honest interest in these three nations. Ten thousand deaths rather than defile my conscience, the chastity and purity of which I value beyond all this world!" He was dragged on a sledge from the Tower to the scaffold, looking so cheerful that it was difficult to convince many of the spectators that he was the prisoner about to die. The government had been alarmed by the impression made by the dying words of Harrison, Scott, and Peters; and so they had resolved to interrupt, at all critical passages, the more dangerous eloquence of Vane. When he at-

[1] The attorney-general, who had the last word, was even permitted to hold a secret consultation with the foreman as the jury were leaving the box.—See Foster's Life of Sir Henry Vane, in *Lives of Eminent Statesmen.*

[2] Clarendon, in his *Life*, avoids saying a single word about the trial and execution of Vane.

tempted to describe the conduct of his judges, Sir John Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower, interrupted him, saying, in a furious manner, "It is a lie; I am here to testify that it is a lie. Sir, you must not rail at the judges." Vane replied, "God will judge between you and me in this matter. I speak but matter of fact, and cannot you bear that? It is evident the judges refused to sign my bill of exceptions." . . . Here the drummers and trumpeters were ordered to come close under the scaffold, and the trumpeters blew in his face to prevent his being heard. Sir Harry lifted up his hand, laid it on his breast, and, after a mild remonstrance, silence being restored, he proceeded to detail to his fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians some circumstances of his life and of the late Civil wars. Upon this, the trumpeters again sounded, the sheriff snatched at the paper he held in his hand,[1] and the lieutenant of the Tower furiously called out for the books of some that were taking notes of Vane's solemn and last discourse. "He treats of rebellion," said the lieutenant, "and you write it." And thereupon six note books were delivered up. Vane said, meekly, that it was hard that he might not be permitted to speak, but that this was what all upright men might now expect from the worldly spirit. Here fresh blasts were blown upon the trumpets, and fresh efforts made by the lieutenant of the Tower and two or three others to snatch the paper out of his hand, "and they put their hands into his pockets for papers, as was pretended, which bred great confusion and dissatisfaction to the spectators, seeing a prisoner so strangely handled in his dying words." At last Vane gave up all hope of being allowed to explain himself to the people, and, turning away from the front of the scaffold, he knelt in prayer for a few minutes by the side of the block, then laid his head upon that sharp pillow, and stretched out his arm as a signal to the executioner, who struck a good blow, which severed his neck at once. His magnanimity on the scaffold made a wonderful and lasting impression, which became the deeper when men saw more and more of the ways of the restored government and of the universal corruption, immorality, irreligion, and indecency, that obtained among public men. General Lambert was tried and condemned at the same time; but by his timid proceedings after the death of the protector, he had given very evident proofs that he was *not* a dangerous man; he pleaded guilty, threw himself abjectly upon the royal mercy, and was suffered to wear out the remainder of his days in an unhonoured prison in the island of Guernsey. Other blood, however, was shed. Colonels Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead, who had been concerned in the execution of the late king, had fled to Holland, but they were hunted out by Downing, who had once been chaplain in Okey's regiment; the States gave them up, and they were brought to the gibbet and the knife. They died glorying in the good old cause, and Downing was held up to detestation.[2] General Ludlow, Mr. Lisle, and a few other Commonwealth men, who either had taken a part in the trial of Charles I., or had otherwise incurred the hatred of the royalists, had found an asylum among the republicans of Switzerland—a sacred asylum, which was not suffered to be invaded either by the threats or promises that were repeatedly held out through a series of years by the government and family of Charles II. Not being able to obtain their expulsion or their surrender by the Swiss, the royalists had recourse to assassination in a private way. Lisle was shot in the back in the month of August, 1664, on the Lord's-day, as he was going into a church at Lausanne. He fell dead on the spot in the churchyard, and close to the church-porch; and his murderer mounted a swift horse that was held for him at hand by another villain, and the two, shouting "God save the king," galloped off and crossed the Swiss frontier into France. Other less successful attempts were made in the same manner upon the life of Ludlow, who distinctly charges King Charles, his mother the queen-dowager, and his sister the Duchess of Orleans, with employing these assassins.

[1] *Burnet; Pepys.*

[2] This Downing had been Cromwell's ambassador at the Hague, but, being ready to do any kind of work, he was continued in his post by Charles. He employed a perfidious artifice to get possession of his victims, who had once been his friends and patrons. Even Pepys is indignant at this "perfidious rogue."

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1661—1675.

CHARLES II.

Act of uniformity enforced upon the Presbyterians—Ejection of their ministers on the anniversary of St. Bartholomew—Declaration of indulgence in behalf of Papists—Sale of Dunkirk—Opposition of Charles to the triennial act—The conventicle act passed—Its oppressions—It is turned in Scotland against the national church—Scottish persecutions by Lauderdale and Sharp—War with Holland—Naval engagements with the Dutch—Further oppressive acts of the high-church party—Fresh naval encounters with the Dutch—The fire of London—Opposition to the court commenced—Insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland—Their defeat at the Pentland Hills—The Dutch block up the Medway and the Thames—Peace concluded with Holland—Plot against the Earl of Clarendon—He is deprived of the chancellorship—His impeachment in parliament—He secretly withdraws to France—The council called the Cabal formed—Its proceedings—Secret and treacherous treaties of Charles with Louis XIV.—Charles obliged to relinquish his scheme of toleration—His mistresses—His design to change the national religion and government—His combination for that purpose with Louis XIV.—Infamous treatment of Sir John Coventry—The bill called the "Coventry Act"—Account of Colonel Blood—His attempt to hang the Duke of Ormond—His behaviour before the king—Charles and Louis XIV. go to war with Holland—Nefarious attempt to capture the Dutch Smyrna fleet—Its failure—Indecisive naval battle with the Dutch at Solebay—The Dutch assailed by the French by land—William, Prince of Orange—His character and abilities—He obtains the chief command in Holland—His able resistance to the French invasion—Meeting of parliament—Unsuccessful attempts of the court to win over the Nonconformists—Bill to suppress Popery called the "Test Act" passed—Parliament prorogued—The Cabal succeeded by the Danby administration—Peace between England and Holland—Court and cabinet intrigues—Debates in parliament upon the bill to prevent the danger which may arise from persons disaffected to the government—Troubles in Scotland—Attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp—Slavish conduct of the Scottish parliament.

AS the anniversary of St. Bartholomew approached, the Presbyterian ministers, threatened with deprivation, reminded the king of all they and their party had done for his restoration, and then implored his majesty to suspend the execution of the act of uniformity for three months longer, by his letters to the bishops, by proclamation, by an act of council, or in any other way his majesty should think fit. Charles made them a positive promise that he would do what they desired; and this promise was solemnly given to them in the presence of Monk, who was still considered as leaning towards the Presbyterians through his wife. But Clarendon stepped in and urged the absolute necessity of enforcing obedience to the act of uniformity without delay or connivance; and he told the king that it would not be in his power to preserve from deprivation those ministers that would not submit to it. This is Clarendon's account, almost in his own words. He tells us, indeed, that he was very tender of the king's honour, and told his majesty that, having engaged his word, he ought to perform what he had promised. But Clarendon knew that Charles never regarded his word, and he had given him a strong inducement to break it. Some of the bishops were then summoned to Hampton Court, and the question was debated in the presence of the king, the chancellor, the lord-general (Monk), the Duke of Ormond, the chief-justice, the attorney-general, and the secretaries of state. "The bishops," says Clarendon, "were very much troubled that *those fellows* should still presume to give his majesty so much vexation, and that they should have such access to him. They gave such arguments against the doing what was desired as could not be answered; and, for themselves, they desired to be excused for not conniving in any degree at the breach of the act of parliament, and that his majesty's giving such a declaration or recommendation (*for the three months' respite*) would be the greatest wound to the church, and to the government thereof, that it could receive."[1] As a matter of course, the crown lawyers sided with the bishops; and so, "upon the whole matter, the king was converted; and, with great bitterness against that people in general, and against the particular persons, whom he had always received too graciously, concluded that he would not do what was desired, and that the connivance should not be given to any of them. The bishops departed full of satisfaction with the king's resolution."[2] Accordingly, upon the day prescribed, which the suffering Presbyterians compared to the great St. Bartholomew Massacre of the French, the act of uniformity was enforced in all its rigour. Some complied with the terms for the sake of their families; but upwards of 2000 ministers refused, and were thrust

[1] *Life.* [2] Ibid.

out of their livings. The Long Parliament had assigned a fifth of the revenues of the church for the support of the Episcopalian clergy whom they dispossessed; but now the Episcopalians allowed nothing of the sort. "This," says Burnet, "raised a grievous outcry over the nation. . . . . Some few, and but few, of the Episcopal party, were troubled at this severity, or apprehensive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were very many men, much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices that both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify." But it was not merely the Presbyterian ministers and their flocks that suffered; all the Nonconformists (which now had become the general term, as that of Puritans had been formerly) were visited by a sharp persecution, their conventicles being everywhere suppressed, and their preachers and many of themselves cast into prison as men guilty of the double sin of heresy and disloyalty. Hoping nothing from the laws or the parliament of their country, these men projected extensive emigrations to Holland, to New England, to other plantations beyond the Atlantic—to any spot where they might be safe from the "prelates' rage." Upon this, the Earl of Bristol, the rash and eccentric Lord Digby of the Civil wars, and as rash and eccentric now as ever, conceived a plan into which the leading Catholics entered very readily. This plan was to procure, under cover of indulgence to the Protestant Nonconformists, whose departure from the country would be most mischievous to trade and industry, a wide and liberal toleration, which should include all that did not conform—and themselves, as Papists, with the rest. The project pleased the king, and did not displease the minor sects; but the Presbyterians were averse to sharing in a toleration with the Papists; and the bishops and the high-church party, who were for a strict conformity on the part of all sects whatsoever, had abated none of their old dread or detestation of the Roman church. Charles, however, influenced by his brother the Duke of York, by Bristol, by Secretary Bennet, and by other avowed or concealed Papists, put forth a declaration of indulgence.[1] Whatever were his motives, this was indisputably Charles's best act; but we shall presently see that the bigotry of part of his subjects did not allow him to maintain it.

Nearly at the same time, the whole English nation, without any distinction as to sects or parties, was disgusted by the sale of Dunkirk—that place which had been acquired by Oliver Cromwell, and which had been held of such importance even by the Convention Parliament who called home Charles, that, several months after his arrival, they had passed a bill annexing it to the imperial crown of this realm, being encouraged thereto by Clarendon, who, on several public occasions, both before and after the vote, dwelt with pompous rhetoric on the subject.[2] When Charles made up his mind to "chaffer away" the conquest of the "magnanimous usurper," there were three bidders in the market—Spain, from whom the place had been taken; Holland, that wished to secure it as a bulwark against the now encroaching and powerful French; and France, that longed for it as an extension of frontier, and a beginning to the occupation of all Belgium, and Holland to boot. All three bid high; but Charles expected more services from the growing power of France than he could hope for from the fast-declining power of Spain, or from the cautious government of Holland (he and Clarendon were actually engaged in a secret negotiation with Louis XIV. for a French force of 10,000 foot and some cavalry to subdue what remained of the liberties of England), and, after driving a long and hard bargain, Dunkirk was given up to France for 5,000,000 livres, payable in three years by bills of different dates.[3]

A.D. 1663. The parliament re-assembled on the 18th of February, and presently fell with exalted zeal upon the king's declaration of

[1] It is dated the 26th of December, 1662. Clarendon attributes the *blame* of it to Ashley Cooper (Shaftesbury), who had passed, by turns, for Presbyterian and Independent, but who, like his master King Charles, had neither bigotry nor any strong attachment to any religion. The chancellor also informs us that, to crown all the hopes of the Papists "the lady"—that is, Castlemaine, the king's mistress, in whose apartment half the business of government was transacted—"declared herself of that faith, and inveighed sharply against the church she had been bred in."—*Life*. But he says nothing about the conversion of his own daughter, the Duchess of York, which took place soon after.

[2] "Whether it would really have been of great advantage to England, had it been preserved, may be doubted; as, though, from its situation, it might have afforded a shelter for our privateers instead of those of the enemy, a retreat for our fleets if beaten, or a safe landing-place for our armies; all these advantages would apparently have been fully balanced by the very large expense attending its preservation. These, however, are the views which a more enlightened system of policy has taught the world. In the days of Clarendon they were very much unknown. It was then thought that establishments on the Continent of Europe were of the greatest importance to England, and were to be preserved as the most valuable appendages of the British crown. Hence the despair of Mary at the loss of Calais: hence the anxiety of Cromwell to obtain Dunkirk as an equivalent for that loss: and hence the universal cry of reprobation through the country when the latter place was lost to us for ever."—*Historical Inquiries respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, by the Hon. George Agar Ellis (the late Lord Dover).

[3] See *Mémoires d'Estrades*, the French diplomatist who negotiated the sale; *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*; Clarendon's *State Papers and Life*. A recent writer, of strong opinions, seems to think that the sale was very justifiable, and that it was justified by the long acquiescence of the parliament. But if that parliament, which was as base as the king, said nothing of the subject for several years, its calculated silence was not imitated by the nation. Everywhere the people denounced the sale; and the

indulgence; and the bill to give the crown a dispensing power without consent of parliament was abandoned in the lords, where the bishops were vehement against it; and it was deprecated in both houses, which joined in representing to Charles the alarming growth and increase of Popery and of Jesuits in the kingdom. The commons, however, voted him a grant of four subsidies; and then, their best work being done, he was about to prorogue the parliament, when the Earl of Bristol delayed that measure by suddenly impeaching the lord-chancellor. But, with the help of the judges, who declared against the legality of the charges, the matter soon fell to the ground. Bristol absconded; and the prorogation took place on the 27th of July. During the long holiday which followed, the court pursued their old course of revelry and riot; and a very insignificant insurrection took place at Farnley Wood, in Yorkshire. It appears that the government, if it did not actually foment it, was perfectly well aware of the existence of this ephemeral plot, which was promoted by religious persecution, but which did not include a single person of any rank or consequence.

A.D. 1664. On the re-assembling of parliament, on the 16th of March, Charles made a great deal of the affair of Farnley Wood. He told the two houses that that plot was extensive and dangerous; that some of those conspirators maintained that the authority of the Long Parliament still existed in the surviving members; and that others computed that, by a clause in the triennial act, the present parliament was, by lapse of time, at an end several months since, and that, therefore, as the court issued no new writs, the people might themselves choose members for a new parliament. He said that he had often read over that bill; and though there was no colour (as, indeed, there was not) for the fancy of the determination of the parliament (that is, its ending in three years), yet he would not deny that he had always expected them to reconsider "the wonderful clauses"[1] in that bill, which had passed in a time "very uncareful for the dignity of the crown." He now requested them to look again at that triennial bill. He said that he loved parliaments—that he was much beholden to parliaments—that he did not think the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments; "but assure yourselves," said he, in conclusion, "if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill." Charles was aware that the Hampdens and the Pyms were no more. He knew the baseness of the present parliament, which had been already nibbling at the triennial act more than once,[2] and which now, without a murmur, annihilated that bulwark of liberty. This was so grateful to Charles, that he went in person to the House of Lords to pass the repealing bill, and to thank them. He told them that every good Englishman would thank them for it; for the triennial act could only have served to discredit parliaments—to make the crown jealous of parliaments, and parliaments jealous of the crown—and persuade neighbour princes that England *was not governed by a monarch*.[3] Such is the account of this momentous transaction as given by Clarendon, who, in his tenderness to royalty, forgets to mention that the king assured them he would not be a day more without a parliament on this account, and that the repealing bill contained a provision that parliaments should not, in future, be intermitted for above three years at the most. But, as an eminent modern writer has observed, the necessity of the securities in the triennial act, and the mischief of that servile loyalty which now abrogated those securities, became manifest at the close of the present reign, nearly four years having elapsed between the dissolution of Charles's last parliament and his death.[4] In this same session was passed the infamous bill called the "Conventicle Act." It forbade the Nonconformists to frequent any conventicles or places of worship not of the Establishment; and it imposed a scale of punishments, ranging from three months' imprisonment to seven years' transportation. The execution of the act was not only committed to the civil authorities, but to militia officers and the king's forces, who broke open every house where they knew, or fancied there were, a few Nonconformists gathered together to worship God in their own way. The close, unwholesome prisons were soon crammed with conscientious victims—with men and women, with old and young—while others were ruined in their estates by bribing and purchasing the insecure connivance of the most corrupt and rapacious of the myrmidons of the court. And when (as now and then happened) a few enthusiasts were driven to madness and insurrection, they were strung up on the

merchants of London offered, through the lord-mayor, any sum of money to the king so that Dunkirk might not be alienated. And we are disposed to believe that, but for the hopes he entertained that Louis would afford him the means of making himself as absolute as his most Christian majesty, Charles would have turned aside from the unpopular measure, and contented himself with some large annual allowance from the merchants.

[1] These wonderful clauses, that were wormwood to the king and all the absolutists, were to the effect that, if the king did not summon a fresh parliament within three years after a dissolution, the peers were to meet and issue writs of their own accord; if they did not within a certain time perform this duty, the sheriffs of every county were to take it on themselves; and in default of all constituted authorities, the electors might assemble, without any regular summons, to choose representatives.

[2] Bills had been brought in for the repeal of the triennial act on the 3d of April, 1662, and the 10th of March, 1663.

[3] Clarendon, *Life*.

[4] Hallam, *Const. Hist.*

gallows a dozen or more at a time—this good-natured king rarely or never exercising the prerogative of mercy in their behalf. In the middle of the month of May, Charles, "after giving such thanks to them as they deserved," prorogued parliament till November.[1]

In Scotland, where there were few or no conventicles or sects, the whole force of this conventicle act was turned against the Presbyterians, whose faith was decidedly the national religion. "All people," says Burnet, "were amazed at the severity of the English act; but the bishops in Scotland took heart upon it, and resolved to copy from it: so an act passed there almost in the same terms."[2] Lord Lauderdale, who had supplanted Middleton, and made himself supreme in Scotland, which he governed for many years like a Turkish pachalic, forgetting his old Presbyterianism, at the passing of the bill expressed great zeal for Episcopacy and the church; and the voice of the Earl of Kincardine, an enemy to all persecution, was drowned in the plaudits of the time-serving majority. By another act, the Scottish parliament made an offer to the king of an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, to be ready, upon summons, to march with forty days' provision into any part of his majesty's dominions, to oppose invasions, to suppress insurrections, or to do any other duty for the authority or greatness of the crown. The Earl of Lauderdale wished by this to let the king see what use he might make of Scotland, if he should attempt to set up arbitrary government in England by force of arms. The Scots, according to the reasoning of this able and resolute but unprincipled minister, had not much money to offer, but they could send him good and hardy soldiers. Invigorated by the Scotch conventicle act, Archbishop Sharp "drove very violently," establishing what proved to be a high commission court—one of the worst tyrannies cast down by the Civil war—and persecuting his former brethren of the kirk without pity, and without calculation of the personal danger he was thereby incurring. The prisons in Scotland were soon crammed like those of England, the prisoners meeting with still worse usage. Sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipped about the streets. Troops were quartered throughout the country to force the people to respect the bishops, the Liturgy, and the new-imposed Episcopalian preachers. These troops were commanded by Sir James Turner, "who was naturally fierce, but he was mad when he was drunk, and that was very often."[3] The proceedings in the law-courts, and in all the departments of government, resembled those of an inquisition; and yet Archbishop Sharp was never satisfied, but complained, like Clarendon, that there was not vigour enough. He accused Lauderdale to the king; he intrigued to bring Middleton into business again; and when he found that he could not succeed, that his plot was discovered, he fell a trembling and weeping before the mighty and choleric pacha, protesting that he meant no harm, that he was only sorry that Lauderdale's friends were, upon all occasions, pleading for favour to the *fanatics*.

The English parliament re-assembled on the 24th of November, with cries of foreign war, and anticipations of victory and plunder. The Duke of York, as lord high-admiral and governor of the African Company, had ordered the seizure of some Dutch settlements on the coast of Guinea; the Dutch had retaliated, and captured a number of English merchantmen. The king, hoping to appropriate to himself a good part of the war-money that should be voted, fell in with the popular humour; peaceful negotiations were broken off, and both countries prepared their fleets. The commons, by a large majority, voted a supply of £2,000,000, the king protesting that he was compelled to enter into this war for the protection, honour, and benefit of his subjects. The city of London furnished several sums of money.[4]

A.D. 1665. As soon as the war broke out, a most terrible plague broke out also in the city of London, and in the course of five months it swept away about 100,000 souls. The anguish and despair, the wild recklessness and profligacy which characterized the progress of the plague in ancient Athens, as recorded in the pages of Thucydides, were upon this occasion repeated in the metropolis of Christian England, and the loud wail and lamentation over the whole of London was strangely mingled with shouts of jollity and madness. In many cases, it seemed as if men had set themselves in earnest to "curse God and die!" When the visitation approached its height, those who could escape fled from the city, leaving their all behind them, while those who were unable or unwilling to flee, remained as the certain victims of the evil. At length, the public haunts, whether for business, religion, or pleasure, were deserted; the lonely streets were covered with grass; and not a sound was heard but the warning bell that accompanied the death-cart in its visits from house to house, and the cry of the undertakers, "Bring out your dead!" answered by the melancholy cry from the opened windows, "Pray for us!" In the more

[1] *Parl. Hist.*: Clarendon. *Life.* [2] *Own Times.*

[3] "He told me," says Burnet, "he had no regard to any law, but acted as he was commanded, in a military way; he confessed it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company as the clergy generally were; and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders, for which he was often chid both by Lord Rothes and Sharp, but was never checked for his illegal and violent proceedings."

[4] *Parl. Hist.*: *Clarendon*; *Burnet.*

crowded parts of the city, also, almost every house was visited with destruction, and had the warning plague-spot marked upon its door in the form of a red cross, with the accompanying inscription, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" "All the king's enemies," says Burnet, "and all the enemies of monarchy, said, here was a manifest character of God's heavy displeasure upon the nation; as, indeed, the ill life the king led, and the viciousness of the whole court, gave but a melancholy prospect."

On the 3d of June, off Lowestoft, the Duke of York encountered the Dutch fleet under the command of Admiral Opdam. The battle was terrible: Opdam was blown up with his ship and crew, three other Dutch admirals and an immense number of men perished, and, in all, eighteen Dutch ships were either sunk or blown up; the English lost Rear-admiral Sansum, Vice-admiral Lawson, three captains, the Earl of Falmouth, and some other volunteers of rank; but their loss in seamen was comparatively inconsiderable, and they decidedly had the advantage. But in the evening, instead of attending to the pursuit of the retiring Dutch, the Duke of York went to bed, and Lord Brounker, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, went upon deck and told Penn, the commanding officer, "as if from the duke," that he must slacken sail. To the amazement of the fleet this order was obeyed, and all chance of overtaking the Dutch was lost. The duke and his courtiers returned from sea, "all fat and lusty and ruddy by being in the sun;"[2] and these gentlemen gave out that the victory was a great victory—that a greater had never been known in the world; but the English people had not forgotten Blake, and they were very critical upon the whole affair. The duke was rewarded by a grant of £120,000; yet it was thought expedient to remove him from the fleet, and to intrust the command to the Earl of Sandwich. This earl got scent of a Dutch fleet from the West Indies very richly laden, which had taken refuge in the neutral port of Bergen in Norway. The King of Denmark, the sovereign of the country, having some grounds of complaint against the Dutch government, and being tempted by the value of the fleet, agreed to allow Sandwich to capture it in his port, upon condition that he should have half of the rich prize. But Sandwich wanted the whole of the spoil; and in spite of the warning of the governor of Bergen, who said that he could not let him enter without an express order from his court, ordered Captain Teddiman to dash into the port with twenty-two ships and cut out all the Dutchmen. Teddiman encountered a tremendous fire, not only from the Dutch ships, but also from the Danish castle and land batteries: five of his commanders were killed, and he was obliged to retreat with disgrace and loss.

Ships of the time of Charles II.[1]

As the plague still raged in London, the court had removed to Oxford, and there parliament re-assembled on the 9th of October to vote a fresh war supply. The high-church party that now controlled the cabinet, and that were all-powerful in the House of Commons, continued to insist that the king would never be able to establish a truly regal authority unless he permitted the clergy to coerce the consciences of his subjects; and at Oxford they introduced and carried the memorable "Five-mile Act," which rendered it penal for any Nonconformist minister to teach in a school or come within five miles of any city, borough, or corporate town, or any place whatever in which he had preached or taught since the passing of the act of uniformity, unless he had previously taken the *oath of non-resistance*. Next, this high-church party brought a bill into the commons for imposing the oath of non-resistance, not merely upon ministers and schoolmasters, but upon the whole nation. This bill they lost, yet only through a majority of three. Though the bill was lost, the bishops and clergy preached and acted as if it had been passed, and

[1] The larger figure exhibits a first-rate ship of war, as delineated on the seal of the lord high-admiral, James, Duke of York. The figure on the right, showing the stern of a smaller war-vessel, is from a print of the period.

[2] Pepys, *Diary*.

General View of London before the Great Fire, taken from the Tower of St. Mary Overies, Southwark. Carefully copied from Hollar's large engraving, dated 1649.

as if the people of England were slaves both by act of parliament and by the Word of God. Their pastoral charges and their sermons rolled in louder thunder than that of Laud and Mainwaring upon the Divine right of kings, the duty of passive obedience, and the eternal damnation provided for those who resisted the Lord's anointed and the ministers of the only true church upon earth. Meanwhile the debauchery of the court continued on the increase, and Oxford became the scene of scandalous intrigues, drinking, gaming, duelling, and ruffianly quarrels. "The lady," though allowed to dictate to chancellors and secretaries of state, and to dispose of benefices and promotion in this loyal church, was obliged to share the king's affections with various other women; the Duke of York in these respects closely copied his elder brother; and at Oxford the duchess (Clarendon's daughter) began to retaliate in kind.[1]

A.D. 1666. The great plague which had converted a large part of London into a wilderness disappeared altogether in the month of February, after a tremendous hurricane. The court ventured as far as Hampton Court, and at last, when all danger was over, the king returned to Whitehall. During his absence the seamen of the royal navy, upon whose bravery and conduct the honour and safety of the nation depended, had been left to lie starving and moaning in the streets for lack of money to pay their arrears. And now the war threatened to be more formidable; for the French king, by a sudden turn in his politics, made common cause with the Dutch. The English fleet, commanded by Monk and Prince Rupert, had been divided at sea. Early in the morning of the 1st of June Monk unexpectedly discovered De Ruyter and his fleet lying at anchor half-channel over. Seeing the great inferiority of their force, an English council of war urged that it would be rash to begin a fight; but his Grace of Albemarle, who had taken to drinking to excess, and who was probably then drunk, resolved to wait neither for better weather nor for Prince Rupert, and he gave the signal for attack. He had only sixty ships to oppose to eighty-four, and most of these ships were badly officered. The old officers who had served under the great Blake had been nearly all dismissed on account of their republicanism or their nonconformity; and the Duke of York had filled up their places with a set of lordlings, courtiers, and pages. In this day's "mad fight" the English suffered severely; a ship

[1] *Burnet; Pepys.*

and a frigate were taken, and all their ships that came really into action were ruined in their masts and rigging by the chain-shot—a new invention attributed to the great De Witt. In the course of the night the Dutch received some reinforcements, yet, on the morrow Monk renewed the combat, and all that day, however ill commanded, the English mariners vindicated their old reputation. Night again separated the combatants; and again the dawn of day—the third day of carnage—saw the fight renewed. But now Monk fought retreating, and, after taking out the men, he burned several of his most disabled ships. Towards evening he saw the whole squadron under Prince Rupert making towards him. Nearly at the same moment the *Prince Royal*—esteemed the best man-of-war in the world—struck on a sand-bank and was taken by the Dutch. Next day the battle was renewed, both sides fighting more desperately than ever, until a thick fog interrupted the slaughter. When the fog dispersed De Ruyter was seen in retreat, but Monk and Prince Rupert were in no condition to follow him. By the month of July the Dutch admiral was again at sea with a still stronger fleet; but now Monk and Rupert gave him a decided defeat, and drove him back in rage and despair to the Texel. They then detached Sir Robert Holmes with a considerable force, which scoured the Dutch coast, burning two ships of war, 150 unprotected merchantmen and shipping craft, and one or two defenceless villages.

But a mightier conflagration was at hand. The summer had been the hottest and driest that had been known for many years; London, being then for the most part built of timber filled up with plaster, was as dry and combustible as fire-wood; and in the middle of the night between the 2d and 3d of September a fire broke out, "that raged for three days, as if it had a commission to devour everything that was in its way." It began at a baker's house near London bridge, on the spot where the obelisk called the Monument now stands, and it was not stopped until it had reduced nearly the whole of the city from the Tower to Temple Bar to a sightless heap of cinders and ashes. In the midst of this terrific conflagration a report was raised and spread that it was the effect of a conspiracy of the French and Dutch with the Papists. A stupified and desperate mob ran up and down seizing all the foreigners and English Catholics they could find; but, to the lasting honour of the London populace, desperate and bewildered as they were, they shed no blood, leaving such iniquities to be perpetrated by the fabricators of Popish plots, the parliament and the judges. A mad Frenchman, of the name of Hubert, who had been for many years looked upon as insane, accused himself of having been in a plot with two other poor Frenchmen, and of having set fire to the first house. His confession plainly indicated the state of his intellect, and the chief-justice told the king that all his discourse was so disjointed that he could not believe him guilty. No one appeared to prosecute or accuse Hubert; yet the jury found him guilty, and the king and the judges allowed the poor insane creature to be hanged.

On the 21st of September, while the citizens were yet bivouacking on the ruins of London, the parliament re-assembled after nearly a year's recess, and voted £1,800,000 for prosecuting the ill-managed war. A regular opposition to the court was, however, now gaining some ground in both houses. Although it included some *few* honest and patriotic men, it was chiefly directed by the passions and interests of a selfish crew, that were not a whit more honest or virtuous than the court, and it was headed by the profligate Duke of Buckingham, who had "a mortal quarrel with the lady." These men courted the Presbyterians and Nonconformists, got up a fresh cry against Popery, and brought about the appointing a committee to examine and report on the alarming growth of that proscribed religion. Having thus disturbed the court in its faith, they proceeded to touch it in the purse; and they introduced a bill for appointing commissioners to examine the accounts of those who had received and issued the money for this war. Mistresses and ministers, and all men holding public employments, were thrown into consternation: they declared that this would be touching the royal prerogative in its most vital parts; and Clarendon opposed the proceedings with all his might, exhorting the king to prevent these "excesses in parliament"—not "to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they had nothing to do with"—and to "restrain them within their proper bounds and limits." In the lords an attempt was made to defeat the bill. The commons hotly resented this interference with their privileges, and threatened to impeach the chancellor and the Lady Castlemaine. Hereupon Charles, in spite of Clarendon's advice "to be firm in the resolution he had taken," ordered the lords to submit, and so the bill was allowed to pass. But the party who had won this victory knew not how to use it, or could not agree among themselves as to the division of the personal profit to be derived from it; and, in the end, it was turned into a mockery by the king's being allowed to appoint a commission of his own for auditing the accounts. Charles told the commons that they had dealt unkindly with him in manifesting a greater distrust than he merited, and parliament was prorogued with

evident ill-humour on both sides. The Duke of Buckingham was for a time deprived of all his places.

During the session an insurrection, provoked by the tyranny of Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp, broke out in the west of Scotland, the stronghold of the Covenanters. The people, after being ridden over by the dragoons of Turner, were excited by Sempil, Maxwell, Welsh, Guthrie, and other ministers. On the 13th of November, they rose in a mass, seized Turner, and appointed a solemn fast-day to be held at Lanark. Lauderdale was at court, and so Sharp managed this bishops' war with two troops of horse and a regiment of foot-guards. Dalziel, a military man of some reputation, commanded under the archbishop in the field. The insurgents, who now began to be called Whigamores or Whigs, had few gentlemen with them, for all the suspected had been "clapped up" long before. On the 28th of November, they were attacked by Dalziel on the Pentland Hills, and after a brave resistance, forty were killed on the spot, and 130 were taken prisoners. Even in their first fury they had been merciful—they had respected the life of their prisoner the lawless Turner; but no mercy was shown to them in return; ten were hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five more were sent back to the west, and there hanged up before their own doors. Archbishop Sharp made a keen search for all who had been in any way concerned in the rising; and, to extort confession, he employed a new instrument of torture, for ever infamous under the name of "the boots." Though for the most part poor and obscure men, the victims bore their sufferings with heroic constancy, preferring death to the betraying of their friends. M'Kail, a young preacher, was atrociously tortured and then executed under an unproved suspicion. Dalziel, a wild drunkard, hanged a man because he would not tell where his father was concealed, and killed many others without any form of trial. When he heard of any that would not go to church, he quartered soldiers upon them to eat them up.

Louis XIV., who had now other projects in hand, wished to creep out of the war; and Charles, being sorely disappointed in his expectations of plunder and prize-money, was well disposed to peace. Negotiations between the three powers of France, Holland, and England were opened at Breda. But hostilities were not suspended; and De Witt, being well aware of the condition of the English fleet, resolved to avenge his country for the injury it had sustained at the hands of Sir Robert Holmes. To save the money which parliament had voted, and to apply it to his own pleasures, Charles had neglected to pay the seamen and to fit out the fleet. The streets of London were again full of starving sailors; and only a few second and third rate ships were in commission. In the beginning of June, De Ruyter dashed into the Downs with eighty sail and many fire-ships, blocked up the mouths of the Medway and the Thames, destroyed the fortifications at Sheerness, cut away the paltry defences of bombs and chains drawn across the rivers, and got to Chatham on the one side, and nearly to Gravesend on the other. In the Medway the *Royal Charles*, one of the best of our ships, was taken; the *Royal James*, the *Oak*, and *London*, were burned. Upnor Castle had been left without gunpowder; and there was scarcely any gunpowder or shot in any of the ships. There were many desperate English sailors serving on board the Dutch ships; and they shouted to one another, and to the people on shore, that they were now fighting for dollars instead of fighting for navy-tickets that were never paid.[1] If De Ruyter had made for London at once, he might have burned all the shipping in the Thames; but, while he was in the Medway, Prince Rupert threw up some strong batteries at Woolwich, and sank a number of vessels to block up the passage. After doing a vast deal of mischief, and inflicting still more disgrace, the Dutch, towards the end of June, sailed from the Downs, scoured our coast, and then returned in triumph to the Texel. In the month of August a treaty of peace was concluded at Breda.

Charles had no great anxiety to redeem the honour of his arms; but he had entered into a secret treaty with Louis XIV. for the conquest of Spanish Flanders,[2] which was to be followed, at some not distant time, by the subversion of

[1] Pepys, *Diary*.

[2] To this they were tempted by the rapid decline of Spain. Lord Bolingbroke, in his *Letters on the Study of History*, gives a striking summary of that decline down to 1660. "As to Spain, the Spanish branch (of the house of Austria) was fallen as low twelve years afterwards, that is, in the year 1660. Philip II. left his successors a ruined monarchy. He left them something worse; he left them his example and principles of government, founded in ambition, in pride, in ignorance, in bigotry, and all the pedantry of state. I have read somewhere or other, that the war of the Low Countries alone cost him, by his own confession, five hundred and sixty-four millions, a prodigious sum, in what specie soever he reckoned. Philip III. and Philip IV. followed his example and his principles of government at home and abroad. At home, there was much form, but no good order, no economy, nor wisdom of policy in the state. The church continued to devour the state; and that monster, the Inquisition, to dispeople the country, even more than perpetual war, and all the numerous colonies that Spain had sent to the West Indies: for your lordship will find that Philip III. drove more than 900,000 Moriscoes out of his dominions by one edict, with such circumstances of inhumanity in the execution of it as Spaniards alone could exercise, and that tribunal who had provoked this unhappy race to revolt, could alone approve. Abroad, the conduct of these princes was directed by the same wild spirit of ambition; rash in undertaking though slow to execute,

the Dutch republic, and a partition of territory between France and England. While smarting under disgrace and loss, the people of London had clamoured for a new parliament. The king, who had raised an army of 10,000 men without their consent, called his old parliament together on the 25th of July; but without allowing them to proceed to any business, he dismissed them till the month of October. In the interval Clarendon was ruined by a cabal whose proceedings were so illegal, and whose motives were so base, as almost to conceal the real transgressions of that despotic minister. The Duke of Buckingham, who had made his peace with Lady Castlemaine, and recovered the king's favour, united with Shaftesbury, Clifford, Lauderdale, Monk, Sir William Coventry, and others, in a concentrated attack upon the chancellor. The king himself had no affection for his old servant, and Lady Castlemaine, the other mistresses, and the queen, were all his declared enemies. Even his own son-in-law, the Duke of York, was inimical to his interests, or lukewarm in regard to them; and *he* undertook the task of intimating to him that the king thought it best and safest for himself that he should resign the great seal. Clarendon declared that there was a conspiracy against him, and that he would speak with the king before he returned any answer. The king promised to go to him at his own house on the morrow, as the chancellor was sick of the gout; but several days passed, and he went not. The Duchess of York pleaded for her father, but Charles told her that what he intended was for the chancellor's good, and the only way to preserve him from the vengeance of parliament. Monk went with a delusive message from the king to the chancellor. Clarendon then went to Whitehall, and made a desperate struggle for the preservation of his posts. Charles told him that he was assured that the parliament would impeach him as soon as they came together, and that if he did not resign and withdraw himself he would perish on the block like Strafford. The chancellor pleaded his long and faithful services to his father and himself; the king replied that he was not strong enough to protect him, that the power of parliament was great, and that he was in no condition to resist it. As the chancellor returned from Whitehall, "the lady," the Lord Arlington, and Mr. May, looked together at him out of the lady's open window, "with great gaiety."[1] After four days Charles sent Secretary Morrice with a warrant, under the sign manual, to require and receive the great seal. Clarendon, unable to help himself, delivered the symbol, which was presently transferred to Bridgman, who had proved his loyalty in the trials of the regicides. Clarendon believed that the storm was now blown over; but he had offended too many parties, besides the king and "the lady," to be allowed to escape so easily.

On the 10th of October the session was opened; and the commons soon voted an address of thanks to the king for all his acts of grace, and particularly for his removal of Clarendon. The lords joined with the commons, and Charles assured them both that he had removed the late chancellor from his service and from his counsels for ever. If this royal declaration were intended to cover Clarendon from further attack, it was a failure. The commons proceeded to impeach him of treason. They inserted, without evidence, some charges that were false, and some that had nothing treasonable in them; but Clarendon, however faithful to the king, had, in many instances, been unfaithful to his country, and the whole tenor and spirit of his political life were adverse to liberty. He had long maintained a secret correspondence with the French court; and although the fact was not so well known then as now, he had been guilty of the capital misdemeanour of clandestinely soliciting pecuniary aid for his own sovereign from the King of France. Clarendon, indeed, first taught a lavish prince to seek the wages of dependence from a foreign power, and to elude the control of parliament by the help of French money.[2] It should seem, too, that Clarendon's pride and austerity had alienated nearly all his friends; and that his grasping, money-getting propensity was sufficiently notorious among all classes of men. Evelyn, who was personally a friend to Clarendon, assured Pepys that my lord-chancellor was very open to corruption, or that he never did nor ever would do anything but for money.[3] And, as Clarendon was ostentatious, he built such a house, and collected such pictures and furniture, as excited the surprise of all who knew the poverty in which he had returned to his own

and obstinate in pursuing though unable to succeed, they opened a new sluice to let out the little life and vigour that remained in their monarchy. Philip II. is said to have been piqued against his uncle Ferdinand, for refusing to yield the empire to him on the abdication of Charles V. Certain it is that as much as he loved to disturb the peace of mankind, and to meddle in every quarrel that had the appearance of supporting the Roman, and oppressing every other church, he meddled little in the affairs of Germany. . . . What completed their ruin was, they knew not how to lose, nor when to yield. They acknowledged the independency of the Dutch commonwealth, and became the allies of their ancient subjects, at the treaty of Munster; but they would not forego their usurped claim on Portugal, and they persisted in carrying on singly the war against France. Thus they were reduced to such a lowness of power as can hardly be paralleled in any other case; and Philip IV. was obliged at last to conclude a peace on terms repugnant to his inclination, to that of his people, to the interest of Spain, and to that of all Europe, in the Pyrenean treaty."

[1] Clarendon, *Life*.

[2] Hallam, *Const. Hist. Eng.*

[3] For other particulars relating to Clarendon at this time, see the invaluable *Diaries* of Evelyn and Pepys.

country only a few years before. It suited not his prosecutors to charge him home with his constant approbation of despotic principles, his fierce intolerance, and his persecution of the Nonconformists.

On the 12th of November Mr. Edward Seymour presented the impeachment at the bar of the lords, and, in the name of the commons, demanded that the Earl of Clarendon should be committed as a traitor. The lords received the impeachment, but refused to commit the earl, "because the House of Commons only accused him of treason in general, and did not assign or specify any particular treason." The Duke of Buckingham, Bristol, Arlington, and others of that party, including Monk and three bishops, entered a protest against the refusal of their house to commit upon the general charge. The lower house was thrown into a fury, and demanded a conference with the lords. Here Charles set some of the bishops to work to persuade the chancellor to be gone in order to save his own life and preserve his majesty's peace of mind. According to Clarendon's account, he resisted till the 29th of November, when the king told his son-in-law, the Duke of York, that *he* "must advise him to be gone," his majesty much blaming him for not putting trust in the bishops and in his own royal word. "The king," continues Clarendon, "had no sooner left the duke, but his highness sent for the Bishop of Winchester, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone, and that he had the king's word for all that had been undertaken by the Bishop of Hereford." And that same rough November night, as soon as it was dark, the infirm old chancellor fled with two servants to Erith, and there embarked for France. When his departure and safe arrival at Calais were known to his friend the Earl of Denbigh, that peer rose in his seat and said he had an address to the house from the Earl of Clarendon, which he desired might be read. This was an apology, under the name of an humble petition and address, in which the ex-chancellor defended himself against some of the imputations, or, as he called them, "foul aspersions," of his accusers. After the paper had been read in the lords it was sent to the commons, who voted that it contained much untruth, and scandal, and sedition, and that it should be publicly burned by the hand of the hangman. The lords concurred in this sentence, and the paper was burned accordingly. A bill for banishing and disenabling the fugitive was soon passed by both houses. By this bill, unless he surrendered himself before the 1st of February, he was to be banished for life; disabled from ever again holding any office; subjected, if he afterwards returned to England, to the penalties of high treason; and rendered incapable of pardon without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament. Only Hollis and a few others of no name protested against this bill. The proud old man bore his misfortunes with little dignity, and he died an exile in France about seven years after his flight.

Sir Thomas Clifford, first commissioner of the treasury, afterwards Lord Clifford and high-treasurer, the Earl of Arlington, secretary of state, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, chancellor of the exchequer, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury and lord-chancellor, and the Duke of Lauderdale, now divided among them the authority and profits of government. The five initial letters of their names, put together, spelled the word CABAL, and their doings answered to this title, by which their worthless ministry is commonly designated.

A.D. 1668. Some of the acts of the Cabal ministry were, however, such as might meet the approval of better and purer politicians than the members of the parliament of that time. They took alarm at the daring ambition of Louis XIV., who had invaded Spanish Flanders with three armies, and was threatening the independence of the United Provinces, and, by means of that able diplomatist Sir William Temple, they opened negotiations with the great De Witt, who was still at the head of the Dutch republic. The speedy result was, the formation of the famed triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, with the object of mediating a peace between France and Spain, and checking the schemes of Louis.[1] The French monarch knew that a league where Charles was concerned could not be lasting; and, setting on foot new intrigues, he, for the present, made a show of moderation, and in the month of April concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, retaining Lille, Tournai, Douai, Charleroi, and other places of great strength and importance in Flanders, and giving back to Spain the whole of Franche-Comté, which he had overrun. As a sample of his public honesty, it may be mentioned, that while his minister was actually negotiating the triple alliance at the Hague, Charles was maintaining a close correspondence at Paris, and, through his sister the Duchess of Orleans, the Duke of Buckingham, and Rouvigny, was making overtures for a clandestine treaty with Louis. The Duke of York also was bent upon this union with the despotic court of France, declaring that nothing else could re-establish the English court.[2]

[1] In relinquishing the pay of the French king, Charles tried to get supplies for his pleasures from the now humbled and impoverished court of Spain; and Temple was instructed to ask from the Spanish ambassador "as much money as he could spare."

[2] *Mem. of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Sir John Dalrymple.

In fact, it was already the cherished project of both brothers to make the power of the English crown absolute by the aid of Louis XIV. Parliament had met on the 10th of February. It was charmed with the triple league—with its essentially Protestant character, and with the recognition by Spain of the independence of Portugal. By his marriage treaty Charles had engaged to support the interests of the house of Braganza, and he had even sent a small body of English troops into Portugal, where, though left in a miserable, payless condition,[1] they had behaved very gallantly at the great battle of Evora, in which the Spaniards, under Don John of Austria, had been completely defeated. The parliament was further gratified by a treaty of commerce which had been concluded with Spain. But all their good humour disappeared at the first blush of a project of religious toleration. The king, in his speech, had recommended "some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion;" and it became known that Bridgman, now lord-keeper, the chief-baron, Sir Matthew Hale, Bishop Wilkins, Ashley, and Buckingham, had laid the foundations of a treaty with the Nonconformists, on the basis of a comprehension for the Presbyterians and a toleration for the minor Protestant sects. The orthodoxy of the House of Commons was as powerful and as intolerant as it had been in 1662. Members could not speak fast enough or loud enough. They declared that the only true Protestant religion and monarchy would be subverted; they kept back the supplies; they spoke of making a searching inquiry into the miscarriages of the late Dutch war, and into the corruptions and peculations of ministers and other servants of government. Charles wanted the money, was alarmed at their fury, and gave up the scheme of toleration. It was said at the time, that whoever proposed new laws about religion must do it with a rope about his neck! The commons finished by continuing the conventicle act and increasing its rigour. They adjourned on the 8th of May to the 11th of August, at the desire of the king, who wisely interrupted a struggle which had arisen between the two houses, touching a question of privilege, and a bold attempt of the lords to extend their jurisdiction at the expense of the commons. They had voted a supply of £310,000.

My Lady Castlemaine was now "mightily out of request, the king going little to her." He had been captivated by Mary Davies, who danced a jig marvellously, and by Nell Gwyn, another public actress, both of whom he was accustomed to introduce at court. Lady Castlemaine retaliated; but, in spite of the king's inconstancies and her own, she retained for many years a great influence.[2] There were royal projects of abduction and divorce, adulterous if not incestuous intrigues, which might figure in the Satires of Juvenal, but which can find no place in our pages.

Parliament re-assembled in October to vote the king more money, to strengthen the coercive powers of the church, and to do nothing else; for they were abruptly dissolved after a short session. They were not so liberal as was desired, and Charles was now completing his arrangements with Louis, which he hoped would render him for ever independent of parliaments.[3]

A.D. 1670. When the houses met again (on the 14th of February), Charles, contrary to English usage, and in imitation of Louis XIV., went to open the session with an escort of his guards. His whole tone, too, was changed, and he seemed to threaten where he used to cajole. Nor was there any increase of spirit on the part of the commons to meet this absolute bearing. They allowed the king to speak contemptuously of the commission for auditing the public accounts; and, after voting some supplies, they separated like a set of venal cowards. Charles and his brother, whose religious zeal was different, but whose love of absolute power was pretty equal, though James was the steadier despot, and Charles chiefly loved absolutism for the command it would give him over the purses, pens, and tongues[4] of his people, conceived that it would now be an easy task to change both the religion and government of the nation. They proposed to fortify Plymouth, Hull, and Portsmouth. The fleet was under the duke, who was still the lord-admiral; the guards had been increased, and it was calculated—rather rashly, no doubt—that both the army and navy would stand by the king in any attempt. Louis stepped in with offers of assistance in men and money; but he drove a hard bargain, and involved

[1] *Mem. of Lady Fanshawe*, wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe, ambassador from Charles II. to the courts of Portugal and Madrid.

[2] As the king had two actresses, so "the lady" took to herself two actors—or, rather, one stage player and a rope-dancer! She also gambled outrageously.

In the following year (1670), by which time she had had four or five children, which the king owned, he elevated her to be Duchess of Cleveland, with remainder to her natural sons. "She was," says Burnet, "a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish, but imperious; very uneasy to the king; and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her, and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business." This account is more than borne out by a variety of authorities.

[3] *Dalrymple.*

[4] According to Burnet, Charles once told Lord Essex that he did not wish to sit like a Turkish sultan, and sentence his subjects to the bow-string; but he could not bear that a set of fellows should inquire into his conduct.

his secret ally in a foreign scheme of gigantic iniquity. The French monarch panted to crush the independent republic of Holland, and to grasp the entire Spanish monarchy, which was then feebly held by a boy, the sickly and imbecile Charles II., who was not expected to live. He therefore proposed:—1. That he and Charles should declare and make war with their united forces by land and sea upon the United Provinces, and never make peace or truce until they had completely conquered that ungrateful and insolent republic: then Louis was to give the King of England a part of Zeeland, to provide, if possible, a territory or an indemnity for Charles's young nephew, William, Prince of Orange. 2. That in the event of any new rights or titles accruing to his most Christian majesty (that is, on the death of the young King of Spain), Charles should assist him with all his force by sea and land, the expense of that war to be borne by Louis, and Charles to have, as his share of the spoil, Ostend and Minorca, and such parts of Spanish South America as he might choose to conquer for himself at his own expense and risk. And then came the more immediate, or most tempting part of the bargain, which was, that Charles was to have an annual pension of £200,000, to be paid quarterly by the King of France, and the aid of 6000 French infantry. With this assistance he was to make a public declaration of *Catholicity*. Louis wished to begin with a declaration of war against Holland; Charles, with his profession of the Roman Catholic religion—or so at least he pretended.[1] He also wanted money from France before he did anything. To remove these difficulties, Louis employed Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, Charles's sister, who came over to Dover with the fascinating Mademoiselle Kerouaille in her train. Charles wavered in his resolutions, and, with Clifford, Arundel, and Arlington, all Catholics (Arundel not being of the cabinet), fully concluded the treaty on this footing on the 22d of May, 1670.[2] The Duchess of Orleans returned with the treaty to France, where she died very shortly after, not without unusually strong suspicions of being poisoned by her husband. Mademoiselle Kerouaille became mistress to Charles, Duchess of Portsmouth, &c.; and, as she served his interests well in many ways, Louis XIV., in 1673, gave her a French title and estate. When parliament re-assembled in the month of October, the badge of corruption and slavery was still more conspicuous on the majority in the commons. They voted an extraordinary supply for the navy, because they were told by the court that the French king was enlarging his fleet and required looking after. Sir John Coventry put a question, which was taken as a gross reflection on the king's amours, and the unlucky member was denounced with fury at court. It was said that, if this were allowed to pass, worse disloyalty would follow; that it would grow into a fashion, and that it was therefore fit to take such severe notice of this slip as should stop people's mouths for the future.[3] "The Duke of York," says Burnet, "told me he said all he could to the king to divert him from the resolution he took, which was to send some of the guards, and watch in the streets where Sir John lodged, and leave a mark upon him. Sands and Obrian, and some others, went thither, and, as Coventry was going home, they drew about him. He stood up to the wall and snatched the flambeau out of his servant's hand, and, with that in one hand and his sword in the other, he defended himself so well that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded some of them, but was soon disarmed, and then they cut his nose to the bone, to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the king; and so they left him, and went back to the Duke of Monmouth's, where Obrian's arm was dressed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of Monmouth, for which he was severely censured, because he lived then in professions of friendship with Coventry, so that his subjection to the king was not thought an excuse for directing so vile an attempt on his friend, without sending him secret notice of what was designed. Coventry had his nose so well sewed up, that the scar was scarce to be discerned." This outrage was so atrocious, that even that parliament could not overlook it. They passed a bill, known by the name of the "Coventry Act," making cutting and maiming a capital offence; but they had not courage sufficient to bring the king's bastard or any of his bravoes to trial. "Lords' noses," said Sir Robert Holt, in the course of the debate, "are even as our noses, and not of steel: it concerns the lords as well as us, as in Lord Ormond's case." Here allusion was made to out-

[1] Despatches, Memorials, &c., in Appendix to *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Sir John Dalrymple, who had the merit of first producing many of them from the friendly obscurity of the Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères at Versailles.

[2] The treaty, as finally concluded at Dover, is given at length by Dr. Lingard (*Hist. Eng.*), from the original, in possession of Lord Clifford.

[3] Very severe notice had been taken of other slips before this. In 1668 the Puritans and apprentices about Moorfields took the liberty to pull down certain brothels, and then to say that "they did ill in contenting themselves with pulling down the little brothels and did not go and pull down the great one at Whitehall." *Eight* of the ringleaders were condemned to die; but this did not prevent the composition and circulation of a bitter satire, in the shape of a petition to the king's mistress, from the poor prostitutes whose houses had been pulled down. "This," adds Pepys, "shows that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the king, or court, or government."

rages committed the same year by a very conspicuous villain—the noted Colonel Blood. This desperado, with five other ruffians, had seized the Duke of Ormond as he was returning from a public dinner in the city, dragged him out of his coach, mounted him behind one of the gang on horseback, to whom they bound him fast, and rode off with him towards Tyburn with a design to hang him there, to revenge the deaths of Blood's fellow-conspirators, who were executed for a plot to surprise the castle of Dublin in 1663: but, in the way thither, his grace made a shift to dismount his man, and while they lay struggling together on the ground, his domestics, who had been alarmed by his coachman and some people living in the neighbourhood, came up to his assistance. Blood then let go his hold, and made off, firing a pistol at the duke. So villainous an attempt excited the indignation of the whole kingdom, and a proclamation was issued offering £1000 reward to any man who should discover any one of the assassins; and the like sum and a free pardon to any one of the band who should betray the rest. But no discovery was made till Blood himself was taken the next year in a most daring attempt to carry off the crown of England out of the Tower. "The king," says Ralph, "had the curiosity to see a villain of a size and complexion so extraordinary; and the Duke of Ormond remarked upon it, that the man need not despair, for surely no king should wish to see a malefactor but with intention to pardon him." Blood's behaviour before the king is described as being as extraordinary as his exploits. It is said that he not only avowed his crimes, but seemed to glory in them — observing that his attempt on the crown he could not deny, and that on the Duke of Ormond he would not; that upon being asked who were his associates, he replied that he never would betray a friend's life, nor ever deny a guilt in defence of his own; that he even confessed that he had once been engaged in a plot to shoot the king with a carabine, for his severities to the *godly*, when his majesty went to swim the Thames above Battersea; but that struck by an awe of majesty his heart failed him, and he not only gave over the design, but obliged his confederates to do the same. It is added that he boasted of his indifference to life or death, but said that the matter was of more consequence to his majesty, inasmuch as there were hundreds of his friends, yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other by the strongest of oaths to revenge the death of any of the fraternity. Charles, it is said, was touched pleasantly in his vanity and very unpleasantly in his fears, and thought it most advisable to be friends with such a desperado. Blood was not only pardoned, but his pardon was accompanied with the grant of an estate in Ireland worth £500 a-year. Nor was this all: he was admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of the court—became a personal favourite of the king[1]—was constantly seen about Whitehall—"and, by a particular affectation, oftenest in the very room where the Duke of Ormond was."[2] "All the world," says Carte, "stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour showed to so atrocious a malefactor, *the reasons and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend.* The general opinion, at the time, was, that Blood was put upon the assassination by the Duke of Buckingham and the Duchess of Cleveland (late Lady Castlemaine), who both hated the Duke of Ormond mortally."[3] And it is considered probable that the ruffian acted from a double motive, and not simply out of revenge for Ormond's having hanged some of his friends seven years before.

The chief state performances of the next year (1671) were a cruel persecution of the Nonconformists, "to the end that these might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed;"[4] a public proclamation made by Charles, that as he had always adhered to the true religion established, so he would still employ his utmost care and zeal in its maintenance; and hurried preparations for that joint war with Louis, who was bound to make England a Catholic and an absolute monarchy. De Witt, who suspected from the beginning where the first blow would fall, who had certainly more than an inkling of the Dover treaty, and who felt that the vaunted triple alliance was now a mockery, concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the bewildered and insulted court of Spain. Louis imperiously demanded from that court a free passage through the Spanish Netherlands, in order to humble the Hollanders; and told them that if they refused he would force his way with 60,000 men.

[1] Blood was immediately admitted into what is called the very best society! On the 10th of May, 1671, when his exploits were fresh, Evelyn mentions—"Dined at my lord-treasurer's, where dined Mons. de Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent, bold fellow, who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower, pretending curiosity of seeing the regalia there, when, stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it through all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received in favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring both in *Ireland* and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the sectaries and enthusiasts, and did his majesty service that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly, as the boldest attempt, so the only treason of this sort that was ever pardoned. The man had not only a daring but a villainous, unmerciful look—a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating."

[2] *Ralph.*

[3] *Life of the Duke of Ormond.*

[4] *Life of James.*

A.D. 1672. Charles attempted to keep on the mask to the last moment. He offered himself as a mediator, and he probably imposed for some time both upon the Spaniards and the Dutch. But Louis was now ready, and his satellite rushed into the war like a robber and a pirate. During one of those long prorogations of parliament, which were now becoming so frequent, he, with the advice of the Cabal ministers, and without the least opposition from any one member of his council, on the 2d of January suddenly shut up the exchequer; an act which amounted to an avowed national bankruptcy, and which had the immediate effect of spreading ruin far and wide, and of entirely uprooting credit. This was the robbery; now for the piracy. Before any declaration of war, and while, as he thought, the Dutch were relying upon him as a mediator and friend, he detached Sir Robert Holmes to capture the homeward bound Smyrna fleet of Dutch merchantmen, whose freight was supposed to be worth £1,500,000 sterling. Holmes, afterwards styled "the cursed beginner of the two Dutch wars," fell in with this rich fleet and attacked it, but he found it so well prepared that he was beaten off, and, after two days' hard fighting, he got little or nothing save the eternal disgrace of the attempt. Then Charles, sorely disappointed of his expected prey, declared war; and his ally, Louis, put forth his ordinance, and proclaimed his intention of "running down" the Dutch. De Witt was well prepared at sea: and, on the 28th of May, the brave De Ruyter attacked the combined English and French fleets at Solebay. The English were commanded by the Duke of York and Lord Sandwich; the French by D'Estrées, La Rabinière, and Du Quesne. The battle was terrible, as never failed to be the case when Dutch met English. But the French, whose navy was in its infancy, were very careful of their ships and men, as they were afterwards in other sea-fights. There appears, indeed, to have been a standing order to the French admirals that they should risk as little as possible, and promote all occasions for the Dutch and English navies to destroy each other. The Dutch vice-admiral, Van Ghent, was killed—the Earl of Sandwich was blown up by a fire-ship and perished, with nearly all his crew—and the Duke of York was well nigh sharing the same fate.[1] After fighting from morning to evening, the fleets separated, miserably shattered, and with no very apparent advantage on either side. Meanwhile Louis, threatening to drown those shopkeepers in their own ditches, was marching to the Rhine with 100,000 men, commanded by those great and experienced generals, Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg, and with money-chests filled with gold, to bribe and to buy. He crossed the Rhine almost without a show of opposition, overran three of the seven United Provinces, and spread such consternation in the great trading city of Amsterdam that the municipal authorities proposed sending their keys to the conqueror. Even the great De Witt despaired, and suggested the inevitable necessity of submission. But behind the river Maas and the broad dikes of South Holland there lay a phlegmatic youth who never knew despair, and who was destined to check the proud monarch of France in his prime, to oppose him with marvellous perseverance through thirty years, and to organize a system which triumphed over him in his old age. This was William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who was then in his twenty-first year, of a sickly habit of body, and, as yet, of no experience. He was the posthumous child (by the daughter of our Charles I.) of William, Prince of Orange, who had rendered the stadtholderate, which had become almost hereditary in his house, so odious by his tyranny, and close imitations of the proceedings of absolute monarchs, that, upon his premature death in the year 1650, the States had abolished for ever that supreme magistracy, and created a sort of president in the person of the pensionary John de Witt, who not only administered the affairs of government, but took charge of the education of the young prince. At the present terrible crisis the Dutch remembered that it was the Princes of Orange that had first made them an independent people by rescuing them from the atrocious tyranny of the Spaniards; and as, besides the prestige of his name, young William had given indications of unusual prudence and conduct, they resolved to intrust him with the supreme command of all their forces. De Witt, who could not prevent this appointment, induced the republican party to bind the prince by an oath to observe the edict of the abolition of the stadtholderate, and never advance himself to that office. But now, the people seeing their towns and garrisons fall daily into the hands of the enemy, began to suspect the fidelity of De Witt, who, unfortunately for himself, had contracted an alliance with the French in the course of the preceding war between Holland and England, and, still more unfortunately, had now recommended treating with the haughty and ungenerous Louis. The two parties had always been inveterate against each other; and now, while the republicans blundered, the Orangeists—the quasi-royalists—who had long been deprived of the honour and emoluments of office, intrigued, and, without doubt, fanned the popular fury into a flame. At Dort, at Rotterdam, at Amsterdam, and Middelburg, the people rose and called

[1] La Rabinière, the rear-admiral of the French, died of his wounds, and was buried at Rochester.

for a stadtholder; the pensionary De Witt and his brother were barbarously murdered at the Hague; and the Prince of Orange, being absolved from his oath, both civilly and canonically, took the reins of government into his own hands. William rewarded the assassins; and then, with an undivided command, and all the resources of the country at his disposal, he made head against the French. Amsterdam was saved by inundating the surrounding country; and wherever the enemy attempted an advance, the dikes were cut and the country laid under water. The warlike Bishop of Münster, an ally of King Louis, was foiled at the siege of Gröningen; and William beat the French in several smart attacks. He already showed all the coolness and closeness, and invincible taciturnity of his great ancestor, the founder of the Batavian independence, whom the Spaniards had used to call "Silence." His plans were never known till they were put into execution; and so close was he that, when he had done one thing, no one knew what he would attempt next. One of his colonels, after the affair of Woerden, asked him what was his next great design. "Can you keep a secret?" said the prince. "I can," said the colonel. "And so can I," said William. As the war was no longer a pleasant promenade, Louis returned to his capital, leaving Turenne to manage it. Charles sent over 6000 English auxiliaries, under the command of his son, the Duke of Monmouth. These troops did very little to assist the French, who paid them; and an attempt made upon the coast of Zeeland, by the united fleet of France and England, failed altogether. Turenne remained master of many important places; but, at the end of this campaign, he was convinced that the conquest of Holland would be no easy matter.

A.D. 1673. After a recess of nearly a year and a half, parliament met in the month of February. Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, the most crafty of the Cabal, and now Earl of Shaftesbury and lord-chancellor, undertook to justify the shutting of the exchequer, and to prove that the war with Holland was a national war, which ought to be prosecuted with vigour, and never ended till the Dutch were ruined. The commons (some of the leaders of the opposition had been bribed highly) voted £1,200,000, the sum proposed by the court; but they fell with violence upon a declaration of indulgence which the king, by the advice of Shaftesbury, had thought fit to issue during the recess. The minister saw the mighty benefit that would accrue to himself and party if he could win over the Nonconformists, and the court calculated that the Papists should partake largely in the indulgence. The Duke of York, blinded by his religious zeal, was for a plain declaration of conversion to the Roman church, but Charles, infinitely less zealous, was alive to all the danger of such a step. Bound, however, as he was to France, it was necessary to do something; and he fancied that, by suspending all the penal laws in matters of religion, he was giving the Papists an opportunity of recovering by degrees all that they had lost since the Reformation. The commons, after a stormy debate, passed a resolution, "That penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of parliament, and that an address and petition, for satisfaction, should be presented to the king." At first Charles made a show of resistance, and was supported by the House of Lords; but his resolution soon gave way, and he not only recalled his declaration, but also assented to a bill to check the growth of Popery, which was passed under the name of the "Test Act." By this law, which remained in the statute-book even to our own days, all who refused to take the oaths and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, formally renouncing the fundamental Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, were debarred from all public employments. The great question of the eucharist apart, the Protestant Dissenters rejected the Anglican sacrament, and therefore this test excluded them as well as the Papists. Upon the passing of the test act, Clifford, the Popish lord-treasurer, resigned his staff; and the Duke of York, whose religion was equally well known, gave up his office of lord high-admiral. His first wife, Anne Hyde, the daughter of the ultra-Anglican Clarendon, had died with a public and ostentatious profession of Popery; and he was now, contrary to the advice of parliament, on the point of marrying an Italian princess of the very Catholic house of Este. It was during a most violent debate upon the subject of this marriage that Charles suddenly prorogued parliament, on the 4th of November. Soon after the prorogation, the king took the great seal from Shaftesbury and gave it to Sir Heneage Finch, as lord-keéper. The other members of the Cabal ministry, Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, were in seeming odium at court; and Clifford, who had resigned on account of the test, was unexpectedly succeeded by Sir Thomas Osborne, "a gentleman of Yorkshire, whose estate was much sunk," but who was "a positive, undertaking man." Osborne, created lord-treasurer and Earl of Danby, became, in effect, prime minister; and we now enter upon the Danby administration, which was, in many respects, more iniquitous than the Cabal. Shaftesbury at once carried his splendid abilities, his cunning and remorselessness, into the service of opposition, and became a patriot because he could not be the supreme minister of an absolute king.[1]

[1] "The reaction which followed the popular victory over

A.D. 1674. The parliament re-assembled on the 7th of January. The king, alarmed at the reports which had got abroad touching the Dover treaty, solemnly declared

Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby.—From a fine print after Sir P. Lely.

that he had been very strangely misrepresented—that he had no secret or dangerous agreement whatever with France. The commons thanked him for his care of the Protestant religion, but spoke ominously of Popish plots and desperate designs, and called for a day of fasting and prayer. Then, guided by Shaftesbury, they hurled their thunders at a part of the late Cabal ministry. Clifford was out of their reach, for he died soon after resigning the treasurer's staff; but Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale were denounced as dangerous ministers and counsellors that ought to be removed for ever from the king's presence. But, in part through the favour of the new French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, in part through Charles's aversion to impeachments, and his congeniality with the debauched Buckingham, he was brought to take them all three under his protection, and to enable them to retain their places. In the meantime the war with Holland was becoming more odious than ever to the nation, which saw the immense sums it cost, and the slight probability there was of bringing it to an honourable issue by force of arms. In three naval engagements De Ruyter had repulsed or baffled the combined fleets of England and France; the King of Spain, the emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg, and some other German princes, had taken up arms against Louis; and, with their assistance, the Prince of Orange had driven the French out of the United Provinces. In this state of affairs abroad, and of the public mind at home, Charles durst not reject proposals that were tendered by the Dutch for a peace, of which the treaty of Breda was the basis; and, after some shuffling, a separate peace between England and Holland was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people, on the 28th of February. In the month of June, Charles, who was still receiving money from France, offered his mediation anew; but the French arms were again victorious upon the Rhine; the Prince of Orange would make no disgraceful concessions, and the negotiations of Sir William Temple, at the Hague, came to nothing. The war continued to rage: the great Turenne defeated the badly-amalgamated armies of the empire, and Condé gained a somewhat questionable victory over the Prince of Orange at Seneffe, near Mons. Notwithstanding the

Charles I. had produced a hurtful effect on the national character; and this effect was most discernible in the classes and in the places which had been most strongly excited by the recent revolution. The deterioration was greater in London than in the country, and was greatest of all in the courtly and official circles. Almost all that remained of what had been good and noble in the Cavaliers and Roundheads of 1642, was now to be found in the middling orders. The principles and feelings which prompted the Grand Remonstrance were still strong among the sturdy yeomen and the decent God-fearing merchants. The spirit of Derby and Capel still glowed in many sequestered manor-houses; but among those political leaders who, at the time of the Restoration, were still young or in the vigour of manhood, there was neither a Southampton nor a Vane, neither a Falkland nor a Hampden. The pure, fervent, and constant loyalty which, in the preceding reign, had remained unshaken on fields of disastrous battle, in foreign garrets and cellars, and at the bar of the High Court of Justice, was scarcely to be found among the rising courtiers. As little, or still less, could the new chiefs of parties lay claim to the great qualities of the statesmen who had stood at the head of the Long Parliament. Hampden, Pym, Vane, Cromwell, are discriminated from the ablest politicians of the succeeding generation, by all the strong lineaments which distinguish the men who produce revolutions from the men whom revolutions produce. The leader in a great change—the man who stirs up a reposing community, and overthrows a deep-rooted system—may be a very depraved man, but he can scarcely be destitute of some moral qualities—which extort, even from enemies, a reluctant admiration—fixedness of purpose, intensity of will, enthusiasm, which is not the less fierce or persevering because it is sometimes disguised under the semblance of composure, and which bears down before it the force of circumstances and the opposition of reluctant minds. These qualities, variously combined with all sorts of virtues and vices, may be found, we think, in most of the authors of great civil and religious movements—in Cæsar, in Mahomet, in Hildebrand, in Dominic, in Luther, in Robespierre; and these qualities were found, in no scanty measure, among the chiefs of the party which opposed Charles I. The character of the men whose minds are formed in the midst of the confusion which follows a great revolution, is generally very different. Heat, the natural philosophers tell us, produces rarefaction of the air, and rarefaction of the air produces cold. So zeal makes revolutions, and revolutions make men zealous for nothing. The politicians of whom we speak, whatever may be their natural capacity or courage, are almost always characterized by a peculiar levity—a peculiar inconstancy—an easy apathetic way of looking at the most solemn questions—a willingness to leave the direction of their course to fortune and popular opinion—a notion that one public cause is nearly as good as another—and a firm conviction that it is much better to be the hireling of the worst cause than to be a martyr to the best."—*T. B. Macaulay* (Sir William Temple).

popularity of the recent peace with Holland, the court, and above all the Duke of York, dreaded the meeting of parliament; but Charles wanted money, and it was not until he had received 500,000 crowns from France—a sum granted at the earnest prayer of his brother—that he consented to put off the session five months longer.[1]

A.D. 1675. In the meantime, the profligate Buckingham, having quarrelled with the French mistress, had gone to join Shaftesbury in the ranks of opposition; and a regular system of attack had been organized under the management of those two pseudo-patriots. The session opened on the 13th of April. The commons then demanded that the English auxiliaries under the Duke of Monmouth should be recalled from the Continent; for, notwithstanding his peace with the Dutch, Charles had left these troops to assist the French. The king returned an evasive answer. The house resolved itself into a committee, and the debate became so high that many members were near drawing their swords on one another. But to this great heat, which is said to have been increased by Dutch money, there suddenly succeeded a cool quiet, which is attributed to a timely distribution of money made by Danby.[2] Monmouth and the troops remained where they were; and the patriots turned the artillery of their tongues against the Duke of Lauderdale. The king again sheltered this pernicious minister, who was equally abhorred by Scots and English. The House of Lords was the scene of a much more dangerous tempest. Danby had resolved to take the no-popery cry into his own mouth; he had conferred with the bishops, and had made sure of them and their party by promising measures of increased severity, which should be applied alike to the Papists and to all classes of Protestant Nonconformists; and the bill which he now brought into the House of Lords was supported by the bench of prelates—Bishops Morley and Ward speaking vigorously in its favour. It was entitled "A Bill to Prevent the Danger which may Arise from Persons Disaffected to the Government;" and it proposed to extend to all officers of state, privy counsellors, members of parliament, &c., the passive obedience oath already required to be taken by all magistrates in corporations. When Clarendon had attempted to do the same thing, Danby (then Sir Thomas Osborne) and Lord Lindsey were two of the three persons that defeated him by their votes in the commons; but now this very Lindsey brought in the bill into the lords, and Danby seconded him. The king himself attended every day, to encourage, by his presence, the champions of absolutism. These unworthy Englishmen represented the measure as a moderate security to the church and crown; and insisted that, after admitting the principle of the test in corporations, the militia, &c., they could not reject its application to members of parliament, and that none could refuse it unless they entertained anti-monarchical sentiments. The opposition, which included all the Catholic peers, and Shaftesbury and Buckingham, and some few lords who were neither *Catholics* nor friends to those two unprincipled drivers,[3] insisted, that while the test was limited, there remained the high court of parliament to define and control it; but that, by this bill, it was intended to silence and bind the parliament itself, and undo the whole birthright of Englishmen. As to imposing the oath on peers, they urged that every peer was born to the right of sitting in that house. And here the minister gave way; and, at the instigation of the Duke of York, adopted, as a standing order, that "no oath should ever be imposed, by bill or otherwise, the refusal of which should deprive any peer of his place or vote in parliament, or of liberty of debate therein." The debates lasted seventeen long days. At last the bill was passed by the lords, with the oath somewhat amended. When the test, in this form, was sent down to the House of Commons, parties seemed so nearly balanced there as to make the opposition fear it might pass; but Shaftesbury adroitly got up a quarrel with the lords about privilege, arising out of a question that, in itself, had nothing to do with the test. The king detected the adroit hand of his former minister, and denounced the check upon the bill as a malicious contrivance of some that were enemies to himself and to the church; but he failed in his endeavours to make up the quarrel between the two houses; and thereupon (on the 9th of June) he prorogued parliament. When they met again, in the month of October, the commons did not seem very ready to gratify the king's earnest longings for more money. They, however, voted £300,000 for building ships of war, perceiving with alarm that even the infant navy of the French king was exceeding our own. An attempt was made to check bribery and corruption, and even to put an end to this parliament, which had already lasted nearly fifteen years, but it failed; and, on the 22d of November, the king prorogued it for fifteen months!

Affairs had not improved in Scotland. Archbishop Sharp still tyrannized over the consciences of men, and Lauderdale and his duchess sold the honours and employments of the state. But at length the persecutions of the primate seemed to threaten so much danger, that the indolent Charles roused himself for a moment, and commanded Sharp to hold his hand. In the year 1668, a young Covenanter, named James Mitchell,

[1] *Dalrymple.* [2] Ibid. [3] But most of these peers were Dissenters.

who had fought in the battle on the Pentlands, and who had witnessed the horrid executions which followed it, fired a pistol into the prelate's carriage. A cry was raised of murder, but some one said it was only a bishop; and so universally was Sharp hated that nobody offered to seize the assassin. He had, however, missed his aim; for though the Bishop of Orkney, who was in the same carriage, was wounded in the wrist, Sharp was not touched. Proclamations were issued offering great rewards, but not one would inform against Mitchell. In the month of October, 1669, Lauderdale held a parliament, in which the project of a union between the two kingdoms was again agitated, to be again cast aside as impracticable. But Lauderdale carried measures which he had at least as much at heart. The parliament, by one slavish vote, transferred the whole government of the church from themselves, and vested it in the king alone, who was declared to have an inherent right to it, and to an absolute and uncontrolled supremacy; and by another act they settled that the considerable Scottish army which had been raised should be kept up, and that these troops should be ready to march into any part of the king's dominions for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness might be concerned, upon orders transmitted to them from the council-board. By these two votes Scotland was thrown prostrate, and her sons were marked out for the service of making the English as much slaves as themselves. But a little later, the parliament that made these dangerous concessions took fire at monopolies, and taxes upon brandy and tobacco; and they became so unruly that Lauderdale hastened to a dissolution. After this check, it was considered prudent to have recourse to measures of gentleness and conciliation. In 1673, Lauderdale followed up some minor indulgences to the Covenanters by the publication of an act of grace, pardoning all offences against the conventicle act. But this lenity was correctly attributed to weakness; it gained no hearts; and in the increasing and multiplying conventicles, the preachers taught their hearers to hate Episcopacy more than ever, and to abhor the court and government which had forced bishops upon them at such an expense of blood and suffering.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1676—1681.

CHARLES II.

State of the continental war—Charles II. again a pensioner of France—Contentions in parliament—Bribery among its different parties—The Prince of Orange marries the Duke of York's daughter—Preparations for a war with France—Alarm at the prospect of a standing army—Jealousy of the commons about the king's sincerity—His venality with the warring powers on the Continent—Negotiations for peace between France and Holland—The Prince of Orange defeats the French at Mons—The peace concluded—Report of a conspiracy against the life of Charles—Its particulars detailed to him—Titus Oates summoned to warrant its truth—His account of a plot for the establishment of Popery in England—Previous history of Titus Oates—Inconsistency of his statements—Mysterious murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey—The confirmation it imparts to the charge of the Popish plot—Arrests of the Papists accused by Oates—Bills passed in parliament against Papists—William Bedloe takes up the trade of informer—Additions to the plot given by Oates and Bedloe—The queen accused as an accomplice of the Popish conspirators—Execution of Stayley, Coleman, and others—Prance, a new informer—His declarations about Godfrey's murder—More executions on the testimony of the informers—Intrigues to supplant Lord Danby—Parliament dissolved—Its unstable and corrupt character—Purchase of its best members by Louis XIV.—Meeting of a new parliament—Its resolutions against the Duke of York and the Papists—Debates on a Protestant succession—The habeas corpus bill passed—Affairs in Scotland—Persecution of the Covenanters—Archbishop Sharp assassinated—Defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge—More executions in England through the Popish plot—Charles disappointed of French money—Dangerfield, a new informer—He changes his revelation from a Presbyterian to a Popish conspiracy—Rivalry between the Dukes of York and Monmouth—Trial of Lord Stafford on the accusations of Oates and others—He is executed—The commons demand the Duke of York's exclusion from the royal succession—The parliament hastily dissolved—The new parliament held at Oxford, and also dissolved—Execution of Stephen College, the "Protestant joiner"—Arrival of the Prince of Orange in England.

THE war which Louis had kindled, by his violent attack on the Dutch commonwealth, was now become general in the Low Countries, in Spain, in Sicily, on the Upper and Lower Rhine, in Denmark, in Sweden, in the German provinces, and it was carried on at one and the same time in the Mediterranean, the ocean, and the Baltic. France supported this war with seeming honour and advantage on nearly every side, but at a ruinous expense. She fought almost single-handed, for, of her three allies, Bavaria, Hanover, and Sweden, only the last made a diversion in her favour. De Ruyter, who was

despatched by the Prince of Orange to assist the Spaniards in Sicily, died of a wound he received off Messina. On the other hand, Louis's great general, Turenne, was killed near the village of Saltzbach, on the Rhine; and after his death, the Imperialist general, Montecuculi, defeated the French in several encounters, crossed the Rhine, and recovered Alsace. Directed by the genius of Vauban, who revolutionized the science of fortification, and the art of defending and attacking places of military strength, the French continued to be rather successful in their sieges. The Prince of Orange was compelled to raise the siege of Maestricht, and, in attempting to relieve St. Omer, he was defeated with great loss. Under the very impartial auspices of the English court, an interminable treaty had been transferred from Cologne to Nimeguen, where a sort of congress was opened in the summer of the preceding year. But the hollow talk of diplomatists did not interrupt the roar of cannon. The war went on; and, during its vicissitudes, Charles again sold himself to Louis, who engaged to pay him an annual pension of £100,000, and to send over French troops if required. Charles wrote this secret treaty with his own hand, and signed it with his private seal, while his brother James, Danby, and Lauderdale all knew of the transaction. Chiffinch, the valet and back-stairs man, received the monies from the French minister, and Charles signed the receipts.[1]

A.D. 1677. On the 5th of February, parliament met in the midst of great popular excitement; for men had begun to believe that the king had made up his mind to do without parliaments. In the lords, as well as in the commons, the opposition began the session by questioning the legality of the long prorogation. The Duke of Buckingham maintained that, by the very length of the prorogation, this parliament had ceased to exist, and Shaftesbury and Wharton supported him. But Danby was too strong for them; and not only were they out-voted, but they were, in an arbitrary manner, committed to the Tower. In the House of Commons there were too many members that gained by keeping their seats, and too much French money had just been shared among them,[2] to allow that house to pronounce its own dissolution; and the country party were left in a minority of 142 to 193. The lords now brought in a bill for the security of the church in case of the succession of a Catholic prince; for Charles, though well provided with illegitimate sons and daughters, had no children by the queen, and his brother James, the declared Papist, remained heir to the crown. By this bill, an immense power was to be given to the bishops.[3] The commons, however, were indignant at its encroachments. They asserted, with some reason, that it would vest the sovereign power in the bench; and, after two readings, they allowed the bill to sleep. The lords originated a bill for the more effectual conviction and prosecution of Popish recusants, but doing away with the awful punishment of death. The commons threw this out in a rage, and drew up and passed a merciless bill of their own to prevent the growth of Popery, and keep up hanging. The lords refused to give it a single reading. Both houses, however, agreed in the abolition of the detestable writ *de hæretico comburendo*.

Still alarmed at the growing navy of the French, the commons voted £600,000 for building new ships; but they took care to provide securities for the proper employment of this money. Fresh successes and conquests on the part of Louis created fresh alarms. They saw that the French were securing themselves in the Spanish Netherlands; that the Prince of Orange was being again driven behind his dikes; and by means of some, who are said to have "touched *the monies of Spain*," the commons voted an address, praying the king to take such steps as might be necessary to check the rapacity of the French monarch, and preserve the Netherlands.[4] If Charles could have gained by it, he would have broken his secret bargain with Louis; but the commons had bound him more and more to the French interests by tying up the £600,000, and betraying, on other occasions, a great shyness of trusting him with money. After some parliamentary manœuvres, when the whole nation began to cry for war with France, the commons pledged themselves to supply the necessary funds. Thereupon the king demanded an immediate grant of £600,000 at the least. To forward this grant, the emperor's ambassador, and the ambassador of the King of Spain, distributed £22,000 among the *patriots* in the House of Commons; while, to prevent it, the envoy of the King of France spent probably a larger sum in the same manner. In the end, the commons refused the £600,000; upon which Charles refused to declare war without it, adjourned parliament from the 28th of May to the 16th of July, and applied to the King of France for an increase of his pension. Louis offered 2,000,000 livres, making about £150,000. Charles demanded

[1] *Dalrymple; Mazure.*

[2] *Dalrymple.*

[3] The lords' bill, which Danby is said to have concerted with the bishops themselves, provided, among other things, that on the demise of the king the bishops should tender a declaration against transubstantiation to the successor, and certify into Chancery whether he had subscribed the declaration or not. If he had not subscribed, then they were empowered to appoint to all bishoprics, and to present to all benefices in the gift of the crown, and they were to take charge of the education of the children of the king.

[4] Dalrymple shows that Spanish money, Dutch money, and even German money, as well as French money, was distributed in this pensioned parliament.

£200,000; and, after a good deal of chaffering, obtained the latter sum—in return for which he kept off the meeting of parliament for nearly a whole year. This was done, not by prorogation, but by adjournment, in order to keep the four lords in the Tower. Ill brooking so long a confinement, the Duke of Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton made their humble submission, and were released; but Shaftesbury would not submit. He appealed to the law, and was heard in the King's Bench; but the judges refused to admit him to bail. And then, having made a noise by his long holding out, Shaftesbury submitted, and was liberated some six or seven months after Buckingham and the rest.[1]

During the long recess, Charles not only permitted his nephew, the Prince of Orange, to come over to England, but hastily made up a marriage between the prince and his niece, Mary, the elder daughter of the Duke of York by Anne Hyde.[2] James afterwards made a merit to himself of this Protestant marriage, and expressed his hopes that now none would suspect him of any intolerance, or of any design to change the religion of the country. So essential was the neutrality of England to Louis, that he was obliged to conceal his resentment lest his unsteady pensioner should go further; and he condescended to listen patiently to terms of peace, which Charles proposed in the interest of his nephew. But, at the same time, Louis poured fresh troops into Flanders, and invested Guislain. The excitement produced in England seemed dangerous; and Charles and his brother, who seldom agreed except in leaning to the French king, now went together into a treaty with the Prince of Orange and the States-General, and the English troops under the command of young Monmouth were recalled from the service of France. Then Louis stopped Charles's pension, and employed his money in bribing the leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons, who undertook so to limit the grants of public money as to make a war impracticable, or little dangerous to the French king. These intrigues, however, would have failed, or could never have existed, but for the instinctive hatred of the English people to a standing army; and the suspicions spread far and wide, that Charles and his brother intended to employ any army that might be raised, not in curbing the ambition of the French, but in destroying the liberties of the English people, and altering their religion by force.

A.D. 1678. The English parliament met sooner than had been appointed; and the king, announcing a treaty offensive and defensive with Holland, spoke roundly of a war with France, and of the necessity of putting ninety sail of ships in commission, and raising an army of 40,000 men. The opposition, who were afraid to make a too open resistance to a grant of money for this ostensibly Protestant war, attempted to embarrass the court with conditions and restrictions; but these manœuvres failed, and a supply was voted, in general terms, for the maintenance of a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of 30,000 men. The victorious career of the French set home-jealousies to sleep for a time. Regiments were raised with alacrity; and, to prove the sincerity of the court's intentions, two or three of them were sent instantly to protect Ostend against Louis. But still Charles refused to declare war; and *a few* must have known that he continued a secret correspondence with Louis all the while.[3] The Prince of Orange had no confidence in his uncle the king, or in his uncle and father-in-law the duke; and the States-General, tired of their costly alliance with Spain and the emperor, were disposed to make a separate treaty without any very scrupulous regard for either of their allies. Still, however, Charles and his brother urged on the levies; and still the jealousies of the uses for which this army was really intended increased, and very naturally. Lord Russell, the purest of the patriots, though his patriotism was, perhaps, dimmed by religious intolerance, inveighed in the House of Commons against the dangers of Popery and of a standing army; Sir Gilbert Gerard said pretty plainly that this army would never be employed in any other work than in putting down the liberties of the country; and an address was voted, calling upon the king to declare himself. The French agents, who had paid money to some of the men who drove on these measures in the house, were astonished and irritated; but they were given to understand by the *patriots*, that if Charles could render them (the opposition) unpopular, as averse to the pretended Protestant war, he would be enabled to crush them, and command, by the help of his army, a slavish parliament to do whatever he chose; and though Rouvigny and Barillon knew that their master Louis hated parliaments in the abstract, they were perfectly well aware that he relied very little upon Charles. They therefore pretended to be satisfied, and continued their intrigues both with the king and the patriots. The lords rejected the address of the commons, which was carried up to them by Lord Russell. The French ministers, at the congress of Nimeguen, had already offered a peace upon condition of being allowed to retain two of the five towns they had taken in Flanders—Tournai and Valenciennes; and now the emperor, the court of Spain, and the Prince of Orange, inti-

[1] *Parl. Hist; Dalrymple; Burnet; Andrew Marvel; Temple.*

[2] This marriage had been proposed some time before, when the Prince of Orange was rather averse to it than otherwise.

[3] *Dalrymple; Ralph.*

mated to the King of England that they were ready to treat upon that condition. Charles made haste to communicate secretly with Louis, and to ask a pension of 6,000,000 livres for the three following years, as the price of his guaranteeing the acceptance of the treaty by the allies;[1] but Louis, flushed with his recent successes in the field, told Montague that he must have Ypres and Condé as well as Tournai and Valenciennes, and that he would satisfy his English majesty through orders he would send to Barillon; and, in effect, Barillon fully satisfied Charles with a new money-bargain. And another infamous treaty was concluded, wherein the King of England agreed, for 6,000,000 livres, to break with the States-General if they did not accept the terms offered by France; to recall his troops from Flanders; to observe a strict neutrality; to disband his army; and to prorogue, and then dissolve the present parliament. In the meantime, the commons had required that Charles should either pay off the troops that had been raised, or join the allies and declare war against France. On the 4th of June, they voted the sum of £200,000 upon condition that the troops should be paid off with it immediately. They also granted £200,000 for the navy; but they voted that no question of further supplies should be entertained that session. Charles summoned them before him in the House of Lords, and endeavoured to cajole them out of £300,000 per annum as an addition to his fixed revenue; but the commons were firm, and all that could be obtained from them was a new bill consolidating the grants they had made in a general supply. Then, on the 15th of July, he prorogued the parliament.

The diplomatists at Nimeguen had settled a peace upon the conditions offered by Louis, and an armistice for six weeks was proclaimed, to allow the reluctant government of Spain time to make up its mind. But, on a sudden, the French commissioners declared that, their master being bound to see an entire restitution made by the emperor to his ally the King of Sweden of all he had lost in the war, he could not restore the towns in Flanders to the Spaniards till his ally the Swede was satisfied. The States-General, who had driven for a separate peace, sorely against the will of the Prince of Orange, were confounded by this pretension of making their frontier answerable for places which had been taken from the Swede by the emperor, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburg; and not knowing to whom else they might address themselves, they applied to the King of England. Charles chuckled over the deepening game, fancying that he must get more money out of its difficulties. It was natural for one that associated so much with players to acquire some skill in acting. He put on a virtuous indignation at the bad faith and rapaciousness of his brother of France; while the Duke of York declared that Louis was seeking the dominion of all Europe, and that England alone could check him. More English troops were shipped for Flanders, and Sir William Temple was sent to the Hague, where, within a week, he concluded with the States a treaty binding England to enter upon the war instantly, if Louis did not give up his pretension of keeping the towns in Flanders as security for Sweden. But, while this was a-doing, Charles, in the apartments of his French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was laughing, with his brother James and Barillon, at the credulity of those who believed that he was in earnest,[2] and was telling Barillon to write for more French money; and shortly after he despatched the Earl of Sunderland to negotiate with Louis for the dissolution of the alliance just made by Temple, and for satisfaction to Sweden, *moyennant* subsidies to himself. But Louis, who was at least his match in cunning and duplicity, secretly revealed these proposals to the States-General, to show them what reliance they could place on such an ally as his English majesty; and then, impelled by the commercial impatience of Amsterdam and the other great cities, which were, moreover, jealous of the growing power of the Prince of Orange, which they fancied might subvert their liberties, the States hurried to sign a separate treaty with Louis, that completely broke the coalition. By this treaty the Spanish Netherlands—the rampart by land of Holland—were left at the mercy of the French; but the Prince of Orange boldly resolved to do something with his sword in spite of the pen of Beverning and his colleagues at Nimeguen. The treaty between the States and France was concluded on the 10th of August; and as it was known in London, it must have been known in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where the prince then lay with his army. Yet, on that day, the not over-scrupulous William fell upon the French and gave them such a beating as they had not suffered for several years. The Duke of Luxembourg was besieging Mons, a most important frontier town of Flanders, and he had not, it appears, suspended his operations very strictly during the armistice. It was of the utmost importance to preserve the place; and the

[1] In all these transactions there was complicated trickery. Secretary Coventry was instructed to write a despatch directing Montague, the ambassador at Paris, to sound the French court, and to do nothing more. This despatch was probably submitted to the whole of the council. But, in addition to the despatch, there was a secret money-letter, to which Charles put a postscript in his own hand-writing, to assure the French king that the letter was written by his own order. Danby was the penman, and the letter was not forgotten in his impeachment.—*Dalrymple.*

[2] Sir John Reresby. *Memoirs; Dalrymple.*

Prince of Orange, collecting the Spanish confederates under the Duke of Villahermosa, and some of the English auxiliaries commanded by the gallant Lord Ossory, and all very ready to fight the French, took Luxembourg by surprise, and forced him into a battle under the walls of Mons, and in the midst of his own beleaguer. After a dreadful conflict, in which 5000 brave men, of all sides, bit the dust, night separated the combatants. It was generally believed that if the Prince of Orange had been at liberty the next day to pursue his advantages, he might not only have relieved Mons, but have made a long-desired incursion into France. But on the morrow, Luxembourg, at a conference, announced the conclusion of peace between France and Holland; and William, "bound by a limited authority," was obliged to retire towards Nivelles. Charles now endeavoured to make the States-General break the treaty, and he invited his nephew to join him in a *bonâ fide* war. "Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this court of yours?" said the Prince of Orange. "Will the king never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage to England, when, in a great storm, the captain was all night crying out to the man at the helm—Steady! steady! steady? If this despatch had come twenty days ago, it had changed the face of affairs in Christendom, and the war might have been carried on till France had yielded to the treaty of the Pyrenees, and left the world in quiet for the rest of our lives: as it comes now, it will have no effect at all."[1] Charles then turned to Louis, who, for the present, suspended the wages of his infamy. The States-General stepped into his post of mediator, and, under their management, both Spain and the empire were included in the treaty, and peace was restored to the Continent in the month of October.[2]

Mons.—From a print in the British Museum.

Before this temporary settlement of the affairs of the Continent, England became involved in fresh disgrace—in a plot which has not a parallel in the annals of civilized mankind. Many adroit politicians had long been convinced that the only lever by which to raise up a stern, popular opposition to the encroachments and schemes of the court, was the old and sturdy hatred of Popery—that there would be no chance of keeping the people free, unless they could convince them that there was a design on foot to make them Catholics at all hazards, and at any cost of blood and crime. There had been one or two little preludes; but on the 12th of August, 1678, while the king was walking in St. James's Park, he was accosted by one Kirby, who told him that his enemies had a design upon his life, and that he might be shot in that very walk. Charles stepped aside, and appointed Kirby to meet him at the house of Chiffinch, where his majesty was accustomed to meet a very different kind of company—his panders and his women. There Kirby informed him that two persons named Grove and Pickering had engaged to shoot him, and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken to poison him. All this intelligence Kirby said he had received from his friend, Dr. Tonge, a divine of the church of England, who was well known to several persons about the court. Charles agreed to see the doctor, and Tonge presented him with an immense roll of papers, which contained the full particulars of the plot drawn out under forty-three heads. This was too much for the patience of the king, who referred the parson with his papers to Danby, the treasurer and prime minister. Danby asked Tonge who had written the papers? The doctor answered that they had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he guessed, he did not exactly know by whom. After a few days, however, Tonge told the treasurer that he had ascertained his suspicions as to the author to be well founded; that he had met the individual in the streets, who had given him further particulars of the horrible conspiracy, desiring that his name might be concealed, lest the Papists should murder him. Danby went to

[1] Temple's *Works*.

[2] *Temple; Bolingbroke; Dalrymple; Ralph.*

the king, and proposed the instant arrest of the alleged assassins; but Charles, who is said to have believed from the beginning that the whole thing was a gross imposture, declined taking this step, and requested that the matter should be kept secret even from the Duke of York; saying that it would only create alarm, and might perhaps put the notion of murdering him into some head that otherwise would never have thought of it. But Tonge, the chief performer in this ante-piece, soon waited upon Danby with information that there was a terrible packet going through the post-office to Bedingfield, the Duke of York's confessor, then at Windsor. The lord-treasurer posted down to Windsor to intercept this packet; but he found that the letters were already in the hands of the king. Bedingfield had shown them to his penitent, who had delivered them to his brother; and the king, the duke, and the Jesuit had examined them together, and his majesty had been convinced that they were forgeries, sent on design to be intercepted, to give credit to the revelations of Kirby and Tonge: but the duke's enemies, on the other hand, gave out that he had got some hints of the discovery of the real plot, and brought those badly forged letters as a blind to impose on the king, while the real Jesuit letters were destroyed as soon as received by his confessor and himself. Charles would still have treated the whole story as the awkward plot or intrigue of an ill-constructed comedy; but James, seeing that the Jesuits, and even his own confessor, were accused, insisted upon a searching inquiry. Kirby, who had first warned the king in the park, appeared repeatedly at court; and, failing to attract attention there, the mysterious friend of Dr. Tonge, who had written the forty-three articles, presented himself to Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a magistrate of Westminster, and not only made his affidavit to those charges, but also to thirty-eight more articles which had been added to the original list. The magistrate perceiving that Coleman, an agent and factotum of the duke's, and a personal friend of his own, was set down as a chief conspirator, immediately warned his friend, and Coleman communicated with his master, the Duke of York. It was now impossible to keep the business a secret; and Dr. Tonge, being summoned before the council, was commanded to produce his informant. Thereupon, on the 28th of September, Titus Oates appeared before that board in a new suit of clothes and a clerical gown. With the most marvellous self-possession and fluency he commenced and continued his incredible story. He stated—1. That the pope claimed possession of these kingdoms on account of the heresy of the people, and had delegated his supreme authority to the society of Jesuits. 2. That the Jesuits had undertaken to expel this heresy, and re-establish the Catholic faith. 3. That in furtherance of this plan, some of the society were employed in Ireland, some in Scotland (under the disguise of *Covenanters*), some in Holland, and some in England, where they were not only plotting the murder of the king but of the duke also, if his highness should oppose their attempt or refuse his concurrence. 4. That these Jesuits had £100,000; that they were in the receipt of £60,000 a-year in rents; and had obtained £10,000 from the confessor to the French king, and the promise of an equal sum from the provincial of New Castile. 5. That a man named Honest William and Pickering, a lay brother of the order, had been repeatedly commissioned to shoot the king, and had been punished for their neglect. 6. That, in the preceding month of April, a grand consult of Jesuits from all parts had been held at the White Horse Tavern in the Strand, and had there provided three sets of pistol-assassins; and had, besides, offered £10,000 to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, if he would do the thing quietly by poison: Oates pretended not to know how Wakeman behaved, but swore that he had often seen him with the Jesuits since that meeting at the White Horse. 7. That he had been himself urged to shoot the king. 8. That a wager was laid that the king should eat no more Christmas pies; and that, if he would not become R. C. (Rex Catholicus), he should no longer be C. R. 9. That the Jesuits had been the authors of the great fire of London, and were now concerting a plan for the burning of Westminster, Wapping, and all the shipping in the river; and that he (Oates) had a post assigned him among the incendiaries. 10. That the pope had already, by a secret bull, filled up all the bishoprics and dignities in the church, and had appointed Lord Arundel to be his chancellor, Lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy seal, Coleman secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, Lord Bellasis general of the Papal army, Lord Petre lieutenant-general, Lord Stafford paymaster; and that other well-known Catholics, of less rank, had received inferior commissions from the provincial of the Jesuits.

To account for the means by which he was let into all these dangerous secrets, Oates affirmed that, as a convert to the Catholic religion, he had been admitted into the Jesuits' houses abroad; and this part of the story was true. His real and infamous history appears to have been simply this:—Titus Oates was the son of an Anabaptist preacher; his father had been chaplain to that Colonel Pride who purged the House of Commons, but Titus, when he saw how the restored government was purging the church

and persecuting and impoverishing Nonconformists, conformed forthwith, and got himself ordained a minister of the Establishment. This was a time of sudden conversions: the timid and the unscrupulous took refuge from the tyranny of intolerance in cunning, lying, and perjury. The son was sent to Cambridge, and took orders in the Established church. Being obscure and friendless, he could obtain no living; and he pined on the scanty pay of a country curate. While in this condition he was twice convicted of perjury. He was afterwards a chaplain on board a man-of-war; and from that situation he was dismissed with an increase of infamy. According to his own account, in the year 1676, he was admitted into the service of the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, and there became acquainted with one Byng, "that was a priest in the house," and with Kemish and Singleton, who told him "that the Protestant religion was upon its last legs," and that it behoved him and all men of his coat to hasten betimes home to the Church of Rome; and thereupon, he, having had strong suspicions of the great and apparent growth of Popery, to satisfy his curiosity, pretended some doubts in his mind. But, upon conversation with these men, he found they were not men for his turn. Afterwards he met with one Hutchinson, a saint-like man, or one that was religious for religion's sake; and him he found not for his turn either, "for his design was to deal with their casuists, that is, those of the society." But after Hutchinson had introduced him to a Jesuit, he found "*they* were the men for his turn, because they were the cunning, politic men, and the men that could satisfy him." He pretended to be convinced by the Jesuit's arguments, and he was reconciled to the Church of Rome on Ash Wednesday, 1677. But Oates laid his hand upon his breast, and said God and his holy angels knew that he had never changed his religion, but that he had gone among them on purpose to betray them. After his reconciliation with the Church of Rome, he was sent, as catechumen, over to the Continent, and was admitted into the Jesuits' college at Valladolid in Spain. There Oates stayed about five months, when he was disgracefully expelled. He re-crossed the Pyrenees, and appeared as a mendicant at the gate of the Jesuits' college at St. Omer, and was not only received but entertained there for some time, during which he lived among the students and novices. But he was again expelled with shame, and then he came home without coat or cassock, and either made or renewed an acquaintance with Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, in Wood Street, a great Protestant alarmist. This Tonge and Kirby clothed and fed him while he was writing out his plot; and they bought him the clerical gown and new suit in which he appeared before the council.

The members of that board heard his revelations with silent astonishment; but the Duke of York pronounced them a most impudent imposture. There were, however, several members of the council, moved by different motives and feelings, that were resolved to proceed with the inquiry. They asked Oates for documents—for letters or papers of some kind. He, who pretended to have been the bearer of Jesuit despatches and letters innumerable, had not a scrap to produce; but he engaged to find abundance of documentary evidence, if they would assist him with warrants and proper officers; and the council agreed to let him have both. On the morrow, Oates was again brought before the council; and this time the king was there. Charles, who did not believe one word of the whole story, was afraid of opposing his ministers in such a matter as this; but on one or two occasions he could not wholly conceal his feelings. He desired that Oates might be made to describe the person of Don Juan, to whom, as he said, he had been introduced during his travels. The informer said that Don Juan was tall, thin, and swarthy. Here Charles turned to his brother, the duke, and smiled; for their old acquaintance, the Spanish bastard, showed the Austrian breed more than the Spanish, being short, fat, and fair. Charles also asked where Oates had seen the King of France's confessor pay down the £10,000? The informer replied, "In the Jesuits' house, just by the king's house." Here Charles, who knew Paris rather better than Oates, exclaimed, "Man, the Jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre." But, notwithstanding all this, Charles posted off to Newmarket races, leaving the council to make what it would of the plot, and Oates to be lodged at Whitehall under his royal protection.

It is maintained by most writers, upon a variety of contemporary authorities, that Danby, the prime minister, if he did not help to originate it, was anxious to encourage the ferment, which might absorb men's minds, and prevent or delay the impeachment with which he was threatened in the next session of parliament. In ordering the arrest of the denounced Coleman, the agent of the Duke of York, the minister gave instructions that his papers should be seized; and this measure, with a variety of additional circumstances which came out one upon the other, contributed to make up a strange body of presumptive evidence, and to convert what at first seemed a wild vision into something like a reality. Indeed, the framers of the Popish plot (supposing it to have been all an invention) must have felt, in the end, something like the conjuror, who, while attempting to delude some old women by raising a sham

devil, suddenly saw the real fiend grinning at his elbow. Coleman, who had absconded after the warning given to him by his friend Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, had destroyed or removed some of his papers; but enough were left and secured to prove that both he and his master, the duke, had been engaged in a dangerous correspondence with the French king, with that king's confessor, Father la Chaise, and with the pope's nuncio at Brussels; and that they had solicited money from La Chaise at Paris, and from the pope at Rome, for the purpose of changing religion in England. A few days after this discovery, the popular ferment was increased tenfold by the disappearance of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who had taken the deposition of Oates, and who was supposed to have received confidential communications from Coleman. This magistrate left his house at Westminster on the morning of the 12th of October, and never returned more. He had been for some time greatly depressed in spirits, and had entertained apprehensions that he would be the first martyr in this plot. As soon as he was missed, the people unanimously hurried to the conclusion that he had been trepanned and murdered by the Papists; and the Papists, in self-defence perhaps, but certainly to the injury of their own cause, gave out that he had run away for debt—that he had withdrawn to contract an indecorous marriage—that he had run away with a harlot—and, at last, that he had killed himself in an excitement, working upon an hereditary disposition to insanity. His brothers, who lived in the city, and his numerous friends, made search in all directions, but no traces of him could be found until the evening of the sixth day, when his body was discovered in a ditch by Primrose Hill, not far from Old St. Pancras Church. It was pierced through and through with his own sword, which came some inches out at the back, behind the heart. There was no blood on his clothes, or about him; his shoes were clean, as if he had not walked to that country spot; his money was in his pocket, and his rings were on his fingers. But there was nothing about his neck, and a mark was all round it an inch broad, which showed he was strangled; his breast, also, was marked all over with bruises, and his neck was broken. "All this," says Burnet, "I saw, for Dr. Lloyd and I went to view his body; and there were many drops of white wax on his breeches, which he never used himself; and since only persons of quality or priests use these lights, this made all people believe in whose hands he must have been; and it was visible he was first strangled and then carried to that place, where his sword was run through his dead body." The coroner sat for two whole days on the body; and the finding of the inquest was, that Sir Edmondbury Godfrey had been barbarously murdered by some person or persons unknown. To those who reflected coolly upon all the circumstances of the case, Godfrey's murder must have appeared then, as it has ever since remained, a perplexing mystery; but in that universal excitement few or none were cool, while there were many who, for selfish or political ends, were resolved to fasten the murder upon the Catholics, and to make it a means of revolutionizing court and government. The ghastly body was carried from Primrose Hill to the habitation of the deceased, and there exhibited to many thousands, who shuddered and wept over the Protestant martyr. The funeral was attended by an immense procession, having at their head seventy-two Protestant divines in full canonicals. Dr. Lloyd, the friend of the deceased, preached the funeral sermon, having "two other thumping divines standing upright in the pulpit, one on each side of him, to guard him from being killed while he was preaching by the Papists."[1] And, at this time, so widely and wildly had the panic spread, that all Protestants, clergy or laity, conformists or nonconformists, royalists or republicans, of the court party or of the country party, considered their lives in danger, and, in many instances, adopted the most ridiculous precautions against an unseen enemy.

It was in this state of the public mind, when "reason could no more be heard than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane,"[2] that (on the 21st of October) the parliament re-assembled. After explaining to the house why he had not yet disbanded the army, and why he was so much in debt as to require immediately fresh grants, Charles adverted to the Popish plot, stating that it was his intention to leave it to be investigated by the ordinary courts of law. Both houses, and some of his own ministers, were dissatisfied with this light mention of the plot; and they soon made up for the king's coolness by their own scorching heat. They called before them Titus Oates, who never appeared without making copious additions to his original disclosures; they committed the Catholic Lords Stafford, Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis to the Tower; they crammed the commoner prisons with Papists; they declared "that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the Popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion;" they proclaimed the great Titus the saver of the nation, and got him a pension of £1200 a-year. In these, and other proceedings of the kind, Shaftesbury was indefatigable, and his masterly hand was visible

[1] Roger North, *Examen.* [2] *Hume.*

in what followed. Yielding to the storm, and never struggling with it to the risk of his personal convenience and pleasure, Charles commanded his brother to retire from the council, and assured the commons that he would pass any bills they might present for present security against Popery, or for future security in the reign of his successor, provided only they did not impeach the regular right of succession. But this was not enough, and a bill passed in the commons, to disable Papists from sitting in either house, reached a third reading in the House of Lords. The Duke of York, who felt that the main object of this bill was to disqualify him, as a preliminary to his exclusion from the throne on account of his religion, made an earnest appeal to their lordships, shedding tears as he spoke. To save him, a proviso was introduced, that the bill should not extend, in its operation, to his royal highness;[1] but, in the House of Commons, this saving proviso was carried by a majority of only *two;* and thus, after many attempts, the Catholic peers were excluded from their seats, which their successors did not regain till the year 1829.

The trade of a Protestant witness had proved so profitable to Oates, that it was not likely he should be left in the monopoly of it. His first rival, who almost immediately became a partner with him in the business, was William Bedloe, a worse-conditioned scoundrel than the great Titus himself—a regular jail-bird, a swindler, and a convicted thief. In his origin he was a stable-boy, but he had risen to be a gentleman's courier; and, still aspiring to higher things, he had put captain before his name, and travelled on the Continent, making "a shift to live, or rather to exist, by his cheats." He had been recently liberated from Newgate, when the reward of £500 was offered for the discovery of the Primrose Hill murder. On his first appearance before the council, Bedloe pretended to no acquaintance with Oates, and to no knowledge of the main plot. All that he came to speak to was the murder; and he affirmed that he had seen the dead body of Godfrey at Somerset House, where the queen resided; that Le Fevre, a Jesuit, had told him that he and Walsh, another Jesuit, with the assistance of my Lord Bellasis' gentleman, and of a waiter in the queen's chapel, had smothered the magistrate between two pillows; and that, several nights after the horrible deed, three of the queen's retainers had removed the body from Somerset House. But as Oates, in defiance of common sense and common decency, had been allowed a regular crescendo, Bedloe proceeded to revel in the same indulgence; and on the very next morning, when introduced to the House of Lords, he recollected that the Jesuits Le Fevre and Walsh had spoken of commissions given to the Lords Powis, Bellasis, and Arundel. The king exclaimed, "Surely the man has received a new lesson during the last twenty-four hours." Bedloe again denied all acquaintance with Oates. Presently after he changed the two pillows with which he said Godfrey had been stifled, into a linen cravat, as strangling answered better with the appearances about the neck exhibited by the dead body. In this fashion he altered, as well as added, with the least possible regard to verisimilitude. His crowning revelation, which was a complicated tissue of foreign invasion, conspiracy, regicide and murder, enough to frighten the island from its propriety, was delivered on the 12th of November. Perhaps Titus Oates was afraid of being left behind—perhaps the conjecture is well founded that, on the failure to exclude the Duke of York from the House of Peers, "the drivers" considered it expedient to prompt the witnesses to lay their accusations higher than they had hitherto done, in order that the king, freed from his present unfruitful marriage, might have a chance of legitimate children by another wife. Whatever were the motives, Oates proceeded to accuse the neglected scion of the house of Braganza; he swore that he had seen a letter wherein Wakeman stated that the queen had given her assent to the murder of her husband; and that he himself had heard her exclaim, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed; I am content to join in procuring his death and the propagation of the Catholic faith." When the witness told this new tale to the king, he certainly knew that a project of dissolving the royal marriage had been entertained before by several of the king's ministers, and he imagined that the king would eagerly grasp at this fine opportunity: but Charles had still some remnant of conscience, or some lingering respect for the opinion of the world: he heard Oates with indignation; and he told Burnet that, considering his faultiness towards the queen in other things, he thought it would be a horrid thing to abandon her now. Oates, however, swore to the new story before the council, and then Bedloe came in to corroborate it. The Duke of Buckingham had once proposed to the

[1] During the furious discussions the Papist waiting-women of the queen and Duchess of York were not forgotten. A noble peer, supposed to be Lord Lucas, exclaimed—"I would not have so much as a Popish man or a Popish woman to remain here; not so much as a Popish dog or a Popish bitch; not so much as a Popish cat to pur or mew about the king.' Burnet says that the queen proposed that all her ladies should cast lots to see which should be included in a small number that she was allowed to retain; "only she named (*her husband's mistress*) the Duchess of Portsmouth as one whom she would not expose to the uncertainty of a lot, which was not thought very decent in her, though her circumstances at that time required an extraordinary submission in everything."

king something very like the murder of his wife —that is, a plan for carrying off the queen to some plantation in the West Indies; and Charles suspected that, in this particular matter, in accusing her majesty, the duke had been more busy than any one. He had not courage to declare his conviction, and to proclaim Oates an impostor and the mouthpiece of a foul cabal; but he ordered that his papers should be seized, and that no person should be admitted to communicate with him in private. But Charles could not prevent his appearing at the bar of the House of Commons, where, on the 28th of November, he raised his voice as became the solemnity of the matter, and said, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, Queen of England, of high treason." The lords, however, would not join the commons in an address for the removal of the queen, and the accusation was allowed to drop. At the same time the upper house, so far from expressing any doubt as to the main plot, voted an address for the apprehension of all Papists, and received impeachments of high treason against Stafford and the other four lords in the Tower. The king, wherever he durst venture, continued to declare that he did not believe a single word that Oates and Bedloe had advanced. One of his profligate courtiers,[1] who at times spoke unpalatable truths, said that his majesty knew a good deal more about the Popish plot than the witnesses or any one else; and Charles could scarcely have forgotten how far he had gone in plotting with the French king for the subversion of the religion and the constitution of his country. But neither these recollections and convictions, nor any others, could impel that thoroughly selfish man to make any effort to stop the shedding of blood, and cool the popular frenzy and that blood-thirstiness which happily never lasted long with the English people. The first victim was Stayley, the Catholic banker, who had not been mentioned by Oates and Bedloe, but who was denounced by a *new* witness—a destitute Scotchman—as being guilty of telling a Frenchman, in a public tavern or eating-house in Covent Garden, that the king was the greatest rogue in the world, and that he would kill him with his own hand. Burnet, who knew Carstairs, this witness from Scotland, informed the lord-chancellor and the attorney-general what a profligate wretch he was; but Jones, the attorney-general, took this in ill part, and called it disparaging the king's evidence; and the unfortunate banker was condemned and executed as a traitor at Tyburn. The case of Coleman was far more important, and admitted of better proof: and whether his offences amounted to treason or not, and whether they were or were not connected with such an extreme and horrible plot, they were misdemeanours of a deep and traitorous dye. Part of his papers he had destroyed, but enough remained to prove that he and his master (the duke) were undeserving of the name and rights of Englishmen.

It was fully proved *then* by his own letters, and admitted by his own confessions, that he had received money from France; and it is known *now*,[2] from others of his letters, that he had asked money from the pope. He said, on his trial, that the French money was to bribe members of parliament to do the will of Louis, or to reward himself for sending secret information of what was passing in England. But what was the pope's money to have been for? He maintained that the great project for which he had solicited foreign money and co-operation was nothing more than to restore the Duke of York to his post of high-admiral, and to procure a toleration for the Catholics: but he failed to convince the jury; and we confess that, without sharing in their heat and prejudices, we share in their incredulity; feeling perfectly convinced that Coleman could not have been working for less than the king, who had bargained with Louis for the forcible imposition of Popery upon an enslaved nation. The attempt to connect Coleman with the alleged design of murdering the king appears, in the cool eye of reason, to have been an absolute failure; and here, as in all the other cases, Oates and Bedloe were guilty of blundering perjury. Scroggs, the chief-justice, and a scoundrel, was as violent and partial as possible; but his summing up, in reference to the famous passage in the letters, was acute and convincing; it not only convicted Coleman, but raised a general conviction of the truth of a plot—and a plot there was, though not Oates'[3] —a plot where the king would have been the proper witness, and where the evidence would have fallen on his own head. Coleman had always passed for a busy, intriguing, vain, frivolous man; but he died like a brave man, resisting all temptations to save his life by accusing his master and his friends. Father Ireland, who was said to have signed, with fifty other Jesuits, the great resolution of killing the king, was then tried, together with Grove and Pickering, who were said to have undertaken to carry the resolution into effect. The jury, upon the perjured and contradictory evidence of Oates and Bedloe, returned a verdict of guilty against all three. "Gentlemen," said the brutal Scroggs, "you have done like very good subjects and very good Christians—that is to say, like very good Protestants; and now, much good may their thirty thousand

[1] Tom Killigrew.

[2] See letter from the Pope's nuncio, dated Rome, January 12, 1675, as deciphered by Dr. Letherland, and Coleman's reply, in Harris's *Life of Charles II.*

[3] *Hallam.*

masses do them." The victims died professing their innocence; but the received opinion about Jesuitism prevented alike any belief and any pity.

Bedloe had played second to Oates; but Oates could not or would not support Bedloe in his original part, and therefore a second witness was wanted to prove the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey. There was one Prance, a Catholic and a silversmith, who frequently worked for the queen's chapel, and who had absented himself from his house for two or three days, about the time when the murder was committed—at least so deposed a lodger in his house. Upon this information Prance was seized and carried to Westminster. Bedloe swore that he was one of those whom he had seen about Godfrey's body in Somerset House. Prance denied all knowledge of the murder, and it was proved that he had left his house, not at the time, but a week before. This, however, served him nothing; he was thrown into a dungeon and loaded with irons—some say he was tortured. In a few days he confessed he was concerned in the murder, and charged Hill, Green, and Berry, three obscure men, who were employed about Somerset House and the queen's chapel there. Prance said that they had had several meetings in a certain ale-house, where the priests persuaded them it would be a meritorious action to despatch Godfrey, who had been a busy man in taking depositions against them; and that the taking him off would terrify others. The people of the ale-house confirmed the fact of their meetings, but nothing more. Prance further stated that, the morning before they killed Godfrey, Hill went to his house to see when he was going out, and spoke there to his maid. This maid, upon being examined apart, stated that, on the morning in question, a person had really called, and, upon being conducted to Newgate, she pointed out Hill, who was mixed in a crowd of prisoners, as the person that had asked for her master the morning before he was lost. Prance gave a minute account of the manner the murder was committed, and the body afterwards conveyed to the spot where it was found.[1] Some days after this, he desired to be carried to the king. Charles would not see him alone, but assembled the council, before whom Prance denied all that he had formerly sworn, and said his whole story was a fiction. Yet, as soon as he was carried back to prison, he sent the keeper of Newgate to the king, to assure him that all he had sworn was true. But again he retracted and denied everything. Then Dr. Lloyd, who had preached the funeral sermon of the deceased magistrate, was sent to talk with him. At first Prance denied everything to the divine. "But," adds Burnet, "Dr. Lloyd said to me that he was almost dead through the disorder of his mind and with cold in his body; but, after that Dr. Lloyd had made a fire, and caused him to be put in a bed, and began to discourse the matter with him, he returned to his confession; which he did in such a manner, that Lloyd said to me it was not possible for him to doubt of his sincerity in it." Upon their trial, Green, Hill, and Berry brought witnesses to prove that they were at home by an early hour on the night when the murder and the removal of the body were alleged to have taken place; that no dead body could have been concealed in the house mentioned by Prance; and that no sedan chair had come out of Somerset House. There was, also, in favour of the prisoners, a wide and irreconcilable difference between the depositions of Prance and those of Bedloe. Hill pleaded that Prance had retracted his first story, and, being thereby perjured, was an incompetent witness; but this was explained away by Chief-justice Scroggs. Mrs. Hill, who was in court, made some spirited and able efforts to save her husband. She asked Prance whether he had not been put to the torture, and upon his answering in the negative, she said- "It was reported about the town that he was tortured. There are several about the court that heard him cry out." The three prisoners received sentence of death; and they all three died at Tyburn with solemn asseverations of their innocence. Berry, who was a Protestant and no

[1] This is the substance of Prance's deposition:—"1. The Papists, because Sir Edmondbury seemed an enemy to the queen's servants, and would not consent to discharge one Girald from parish duties (as another justice did), resolved and contrived to take away his life. 2. Pursuant to which design they hired (for what reward the deponent doth not know) Hill, Green, Kelly, the deponent, Girald, and Berry, to do the fact. 3. Accordingly, the above-named persons trepanned Sir Edmondbury into Somerset House, about eight or nine o'clock at night; but the deponent doth not well remember the day. 4. This trepan was effected thus: Green gave the deponent notice that he and Girald had set Sir Edmondbury in St. Clement's; and Hill decoyed him down to the Watergate, under pretence of parting a fray between two fellows quarrelling in the yard. 5. When they had him near the rails by the queen's stables, Green strangled him with a twisted handkerchief; then, finding him still alive, wrung his neck quite round, and punched him with his knee in the open yard; which done, they dragged him into Dr. Godwin's lodgings. 6 On the Monday following, precisely between nine and ten o'clock at night, the body was shown to the deponent by Hill, Green, and Girald, in a room in the back square court below stairs, next the garden: there it was (by the help of a dark lantern) that he, deponent, saw the body in the company of the said Hill, Green, and Girald, who were only present. 7. On the next Wednesday after, about twelve o'clock at night, the dead body was put into a sedan, and carried out by the deponent and Girald into Covent Garden, where Green and Kelly took him up, and carried him to Long Acre. There the deponent and Girald resumed their burden, and carried him to the Soho: from thence he was conveyed astride on horseback, before Hill, into the fields, where they thrust his sword through his body, and cast him into a ditch." Ralph gives in a parallel column the deposition of Bedloe. It seems to us that no inequality of memory, no fear, nor any other circumstance or accident whatsoever, can be possibly made to reconcile or explain the discrepancies between the two papers.

Catholic, was respited a week, and might have had his life if he would have confessed, or have corroborated the tale told by Prance and Bedloe. But nothing could remove the mist that hung over the eyes of the deluded Protestants. "A strong faith in the plot," says the best narrator of these disgraceful events, "was now the test of all political merit; not to believe was to be a political reprobate; and according to the zeal was the cruelty of the times. The terror excited by the plot had caused such a thirst of revenge that nothing but blood could satiate; every supposed criminal was pre-condemned."[1]

While these events were in progress, a variety of intrigues hastened the dissolution of this *longest* parliament. Shaftesbury had resolved to ruin Danby; and Danby had quarrelled with Montague, the ambassador at Paris, who knew all the dark transactions and the secret treaties between his master and Louis XIV. Accident made this Montague figure as a patriot, but he was more the slave of the court, and more meanly corrupt than the minister he attacked. "The lady," the Duchess of Cleveland, though now a cast-off mistress, retained a great power over the mind of Charles. She had removed her person and her vices to Paris, where she intrigued with various Frenchmen, amorously as well as politically. Montague, after making love to herself, made love to her daughter,[2] and then replied to her furious reproaches by threatening to disclose her intrigues to his royal master. Thereupon the duchess denounced the ambassador, telling King Charles that Montague was a great slanderer of royalty and an arrant traitor; that he called his majesty a dull, governable fool, and the Duke of York a wilful fool; that he had said that so long as his majesty was furnished with money for his pocket and his wenches he might be led by the nose; and finally, that he had bribed a conjuror or fortune-teller, in whom his majesty had great faith, in order to make the man shape his predictions according to his (Montague's) desires and schemes.[3] Montague, in spite of the express orders of his court, came over to England, placed himself in the most intimate relations with Shaftesbury and his party, and got himself returned to parliament as a patriot of the first water. Danby, the premier, anticipated his attack. On the 19th of December his chancellor of the exchequer fell upon Montague in the House of Commons, accusing him of holding private conferences with the pope's nuncio at Paris. The house, or all the patriots in it, attempted to screen Montague with the privileges of parliament, but the king had already seized upon his papers. The ex-ambassador, however, soon told the commons that, though most of the papers had been seized in an illegal manner, he had by good luck saved some very important letters. The house sent some of their members to bring the said papers before them, and they were brought in a small despatch box. Montague produced two letters written to him by Danby, soliciting money from King Louis in the name of King Charles. The house voted by a majority of sixty-three that these letters contained sufficient matter for an impeachment of the prime minister; and they immediately appointed a committee, of which Montague was one, to draw up

[1] Ralph, *History of England*.

"The year 1678, and the last session of the parliament that had continued since 1661, were memorable for the great national delusion of the Popish Plot. For national it was undoubtedly to be called, and by no means confined to the Whig or opposition party, either in or out of parliament, though it gave them much temporary strength. And though it were a most unhappy instance of the credulity begotten by heated passions and mistaken reasoning, yet there were circumstances, and some of them very singular in their nature, which explain and furnish an apology for the public error, and which it is more important to point out and keep in mind, than to inveigh, as is the custom in modern times, against the factiousness and bigotry of our ancestors. For I am persuaded that we are far from being secure from similar public delusions, whenever such a concurrence of coincidences and seeming probabilities shall again arise, as misled nearly the whole people of England in the Popish Plot.

"It is first to be remembered that there was really and truly a Popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal—not merely in the sense of Hume, who, arguing from the general spirit of proselytism in that religion, says there is a perpetual conspiracy against all governments, Protestant, Mahometan, and Pagan—but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established Protestant religion in England. In this plot the king, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators—the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators. Their machinations and their hopes, long suspected, and in a general sense known, were divulged by the seizure and publication of Coleman's letters. 'We have here,' he says in one of these, 'a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over this northern world. There were never such hopes since the death of our Queen Mary as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great; so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can.' These letters were addressed to Father la Chaise, confessor of Louis XIV., and displayed an intimate connection with France for the great purpose of restoring Popery. They came to light at the very period of Oates' discovery; and though giving it much real confirmation, could hardly fail to make a powerful impression on men unaccustomed to estimate the value and bearings of evidence. . . . .

"The popular ferment which this (Oates') tale, however undeserving of credit, excited in a predisposed multitude, was naturally wrought to a higher pitch by the very extraordinary circumstances of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's death. Even at this time, although we reject the imputation thrown on the Catholics, and especially on those who suffered death for that murder, it seems impossible to frame any hypothesis which can better account for the facts that seem to be authenticated."—Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii p. 115.

[2] Anne Palmer, Lady Sussex, one of her children by, or assumed to be by King Charles.

[3] *Harris; Life of Charles II.*, Appendix. Men, when they have no religion, believe most in conjurors. Bishop Burnet, who had no knowledge of this letter, tells the story of the quarrel between Montague and the Duchess of Cleveland in very nearly the same manner. All the leading facts were notorious.

the articles. These articles were presently drawn and carried up to the lords, and the Earl of Danby was impeached in the usual forms. Danby pleaded the duty of obedience to the king, who had dictated the letters. The question whether he should be committed to the Tower as a traitor was rejected by the lords, but only by a very narrow majority. Besides this troublesome impeachment, Charles had many other reasons for dissolving this parliament, which he could no longer manage. He therefore prorogued it on the 30th of December, and dissolved it by proclamation on the 24th of January [1679]. This Pension Parliament had sat more than seventeen years. Shaftesbury had called it the king's wife, and the dissolution was called a divorce. Charles had tried to do without it by French means, but the price of his baseness did not prove sufficient. Parliament had by turns curbed Charles and indulged him, though only upon conditions and upon prices paid. "Their intercourse," says Ralph, "was mutually mercenary; the king chaffered for a supply, and the party leaders for their price; but, though willing to be bought, they were afraid to trust him with the purchase-money. Hence the very means of corruption failed; and they began to dread the power they had bestowed. Hence all their subsequent endeavours were to undo their own work, and reduce their monarch once more to the servant of the commonwealth; not, however, from honest motives or by honest means, but by any means indiscriminately, and as our *own barbarians* on the sea-coast hang out lights in tempestuous times, to mislead the mariner that they may prey on the wreck."[1]

But many things have since been brought to light which this writer knew not, or saw only obscurely. Not satisfied with adopting the spirit and using all the resources of faction at home, the patriots maintained a clandestine intercourse with Barillon the French ambassador, in order to detach Louis from Charles, to crush the Duke of York and the Popish faction, and to procure the dismissal of Danby and the disbanding of the standing army. The King of England began these un-English practices with the old enemy of the country's religion, liberty, and honour, in order to establish a despotism; the opposition in parliament entered upon them in order to preserve freedom; and as their manœuvres with the French court seem actually to have compelled the reduction of the army, their error or their crime in engaging in this perilous and disgraceful intercourse has been palliated by some and even timidly justified by others. But there is worse remaining behind—some of the leaders of these patriots soiled their hands and their souls with French gold! And for this charge we can admit no possible palliation, unless we take refuge in a bold denial of the authority and evidence (generally admitted as valid ever since Dalrymple discovered them), upon which the whole charge rests. "When," says the discoverer, "I found in the French despatches Lord Russell intriguing with the court of Versailles, and Algernon Sidney taking money from it, I felt very nearly the same shock as if I had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle." The name of Algernon Sidney occurs twice in the account of Barillon's disbursements, and each time the sum of 500 guineas is placed by the side of it. Hampden, the grandson of the great patriot, is set down as having received 500 guineas, and other patriots are set down for 500 or for 300 guineas. The largest amount is stated to have been paid to the Duke of Buckingham, who is said to have received 1000 guineas in one payment.[2]

A.D. 1679. Foreseeing that the country party would make an extravagant use of the Popish Plot in the election for the new parliament, Charles induced his unpopular Popish brother to retire to Brussels. Notwithstanding his departure, and the bribery exercised by the court party, their adversaries had the advantage. The new parliament met on the 6th of March. The commons immediately renewed the attack upon Danby. The lords resolved the curious constitutional question—and their resolution has in modern times been adopted as a principle—that the proceedings on impeachments begun in one parliament are not affected by a dissolution, but may be taken up and continued in the succeeding parliament. The king summoned the commons to Whitehall, where he told them that the two letters taken out of the despatch box were really written to the French court by his orders; that he had, therefore, given a full pardon to Danby, but, at the same time, for certain other deeds, he had dismissed him from his service. The commons voted an address to his majesty against the validity of a pardon before trial, and they called upon the lords to do justice. The lords, who were devising how to throw aside the capital charge of treason, had issued a warrant for taking him into custody, but Danby had absconded. The commons therefore passed a bill of attainder, to take effect on the 15th of April, if the fallen minister did not previously appear to stand his trial; and the lords, after some hesitation, adopted the bill. But on the 10th of April, Danby surrendered himself, kneeling at the bar of the lords, who sent him to the Tower. The popular Lord Essex, who had not touched the French money, was put at the head of the trea-

[1] *Hist. Eng.: Review of the Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II.*

[2] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Appendix.

sury; but the chief management of affairs was left to the Earl of Sunderland, who had asked Louis XIV. for a regular pension. Sunderland, now secretary of state, kept himself in favour at court by condescensions and connivances with Charles's illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth, and his French mistress the Duchess of Portsmouth. But, by the advice of Sir William Temple, Charles constituted a new council of thirty persons, into which were admitted the most daring and most popular leaders of the opposition, with the versatile Shaftesbury for their president. Notwithstanding this calculated kindness, Shaftesbury urged on the commons to

Antony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.
From a print by R. White.

vote the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. The accidental burning of a printing-house in Fetter Lane, which made the vulgar believe that London was to be consumed again by the Papists, and the report that the Duke of York was about returning from the Continent with a French fleet and army, hastened the blow. The commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That the Duke of York being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the crown, had given the greatest countenance to the present conspiracies and designs against the king and Protestant religion." They also voted addresses requesting his majesty to banish all Papists twenty miles from London, and to put all seaports, fortresses, and ships into trusty hands; and they ordered that their *secret committee* should prepare to bring before them all such letters and papers as they had in their custody relating to the Duke of York. Lord Russell, though one of the new council of thirty, was selected to desire the concurrence of the lords. The latter took time for consideration. The Duke of Monmouth had been for some time plotting and contriving to prove a lawful marriage between his mother, Lucy Walters, and the king, and Shaftesbury and his party hoped to place the rash young man on the throne and to govern the kingdom in his name. But Charles, though fond of his natural son, would on no account go into this dangerous scheme, and as a medium he proposed that provision should be made by parliament to distinguish a Papist from a Protestant successor; that the authority of a Popish prince should be limited and circumscribed so as to disable him from doing harm. The provisions and limitations which followed, and which were solemnly propounded to both houses by the chancellor, would scarcely have left the shadow of the royal prerogative to the Popish successor; but it is clear that the scheme was thrown into parliament only to gain time. The commons, however, rejected it at once, and proceeded with their famous bill of exclusion, by which the crown was to pass to the next *Protestant* heir, as if the Duke of York were dead. At the second reading of this bill (on the 21st of May), 207 voted for, and 121 against it. To stay further proceedings the king prorogued parliament. This sudden measure took the exclusionists completely by surprise; and Shaftesbury was so transported with rage, that he exclaimed in the House of Lords that he would have the heads of those who had been the king's advisers upon this occasion. Charles, however, had not courage to act upon the pardon he had granted, and Danby remained a prisoner in the Tower for five years. It was in this stormy session, when some of the worst of passions made the tempest, that one of the greatest blessings we enjoy was secured to the nation. This was the Habeas Corpus Bill, which, after being agitated and frustrated for nearly five years, was triumphantly carried, through the energy and influence of Shaftesbury.

While in England Papists had been sacrificed to the Popish Plot, in Scotland, a Protestant archbishop had been sent to a bloody grave. Sharp, after six years, had caught Mitchell, who had fired the pistol into his carriage, and that enthusiast had been put to death, with some revolting circumstances. This cruelty and the persecution against the conventiclers called up other assassins. The archbishop and Duke Lauderdale had carried tyranny to its utmost stretch. An army of wild Highlanders had been let loose in the west country, to live upon free quarters; the gentlemen of the country were required to deliver up their arms upon oath, and to keep no horse that was worth more than £4; dragoons were employed to disperse the field meetings, and many a moor and hill-side was made wet with the blood of the Covenanters. At one field

conventicle upwards of a hundred men were said to have been butchered in cold blood. In Fife, where the archbishop chiefly resided, the persecution was as keen as in the west country, and it produced one more terrible effect. A small band of men, united by their common enthusiasm and suffering, resolved to take the life of one William Carmichael, "a cruel bloody man," who, through the patronage of Sharp, had obtained a commission from the council to seek out and apprehend all nonconformists in Fife. Headed by Hackston of Rathillet, these men, on Saturday, the 3d of May, attempted to surprise Carmichael while he was hunting on the moors; but they missed him. In the midst of their fury at this disappointment, a little boy cried out, "There goes the bishop!" Looking as the boy pointed, they saw at a short distance a coach drawn by six horses. "Truly," exclaimed the fanatics, "this is of God! The Lord hath delivered the wretch into our hands!" John Balfour of Kinloch put himself in the van, and the nine horsemen pushed across Magus Muir in pursuit of Sharp. As soon as the archbishop saw them he turned to his daughter Isabel, who was with him, and said, "The Lord have mercy on me, my dear child, for I am gone!" and, the postilion being wounded and the traces cut, James Russell of Kettle soon stood by the coach door, roaring "Judas, come forth!" The old man prayed for that mercy which he had never shown to them or their brethren; his daughter knelt on the ground with him, wept and implored, and tried to shield him with her own person; but they pulled her away, and Balfour, with one stroke, laid the archbishop at his feet. Russell finished the horrible work by hacking the skull to pieces, and then ordering the servants to take away their priest. A few days after this, the assassins were in the west country, where the effect of their presence was soon manifested in a formidable insurrection. The Covenanters beat off with loss three troops of horse that were led against them by the celebrated Graham of Claverhouse. By the advice of Duke Lauderdale, the army in Scotland was concentrated near Edinburgh, and the king sent down the Duke of Monmouth, who had lately married the great Scottish heiress of Buccleuch. Monmouth with 5000 regular troops defeated the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, and Hamilton Heath, killing 500 of them, and taking 1200 prisoners.

Through personal fears and a selfish policy Charles still permitted the Popish Plot to take its sanguinary course in England. On the evidence of Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and one Dugdale, who had taken up the profitable trade of a witness, five Jesuits, with Langhorne, a famous Catholic lawyer, were condemned by the brutal Jeffreys, now recorder of London, and they were all executed. Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and three Benedictine friars, were, however, acquitted by the jury, after a trial in which Oates was convicted of barefaced perjury. Yet, a few weeks after this acquittal, eight priests and monks were executed in the provinces for merely exercising their religious functions.

In the month of August Charles fell sick of a fever at Windsor; and the Duke of York, travelling in disguise, came over to look to his interests. The duke found that the king had recovered, and that his son Monmouth was intrusted with the command of the army, was more than ever popular, and was backed by a powerful and intriguing faction. A very violent quarrel between the two dukes was the consequence; and Charles, to preserve his own tranquillity, sent his son to Holland and his brother to Scotland. Monmouth submitted with great reluctance; but his ally, Shaftesbury, consoled him with the assurance that his temporary exile would give him the merits of a martyr in the eyes of the people, and that parliament would insist on his recall. Charles had counted upon a pension of 1,000,000 livres from the French king;[1] but Louis, who had no present occasion for his services, appended some unpalatable conditions to this new money-treaty, which caused it to drop. The Duke of York advised him to make up for the loss of the French livres by a strict economy of his English guineas, so as to be still in a state to do without parliament; and, in the month of October,[2] when parliament was to meet, he prorogued it again, and announced to his council that he would have no session for a year to come. About the same time Shaftesbury was deprived of the presidency of the council; Lord Halifax, Lord Russell, and Sir William Temple retired, and Lord Essex threw up the treasury in disgust. Essex was succeeded by Hyde, one of the sons of Clarendon, and brother to the Duke of York's first wife; and Hyde, with Sunderland and Godolphin, managed a weak and distracted government. Having lost the king, Louis and Barillon renewed their connection with the patriots, fancying that matters in England would inevitably end in a civil war. We must pass lightly over the disgraceful plots and intrigues which followed. Mrs. Cellier, a Catholic midwife, who was employed by ladies of

[1] Charles had told Barillon, the French ambassador and money-agent, that this would be the sure way "de mettre pour toute sa vie l'Angleterre dans sa dépendance."—*Dalrymple.* . . . This precious business was carried on by the king, the Duke of York, the French Duchess of Portsmouth, Sunderland, and Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough), who was sent to Paris by his master, James, to drive on the bargain.

[2] At this moment, when Charles was so bold, he did not foresee the failure of his treaty with Louis—he was still counting on the livres.

quality in various capacities, and among others, in distributing alms among the distressed prisoners for conscience' sake, found among the inmates of Newgate a very handsome young man named Dangerfield. She discharged the debts for which he was in durance, and introduced him to Lady Powis. Dangerfield, who had led a most profligate life, and had been branded, whipped, and pilloried as a felon, was not very nice as to the means by which he testified his gratitude or procured a livelihood. He turned Catholic, and pretended that, by visiting the coffee-houses in the city, he had discovered a dangerous conspiracy of the Presbyterians against the king's life and government. Lady Powis and the active midwife introduced him to Lord Peterborough: and his lordship conducted him to the Duke of York, who had lately returned from Scotland. The duke, who had suffered so much from Popish plots, turned a ready ear to this Protestant plot, which might bring ruin on his bitterest enemies, the Puritans. He gave Dangerfield twenty guineas, and sent him to the king, who gave him forty. Being thus regularly installed in his new trade, Dangerfield, a few days after, gave information that papers and documents of the most convincing kind would be found in the possession of Colonel Mansel, who was to be quarter-master of the Presbyterian army. Mansel's lodgings were searched, and a bundle of papers was found behind his bed. But the forgery was clumsy; Mansel proved that the informer had put the papers in his room, and Dangerfield was sent back to Newgate. But the times were favourable for men of his genius; and, shifting his ground with alacrity, he declared that he had been induced by the midwife and Lady Powis to fabricate a plot for the purpose of covering a real one, conducted, not by the Presbyterians, but by the Catholics; that notes and the documents on which the sham plot was founded were concealed in a meal-tub in Mrs. Cellier's house. And, upon search there, the meal-tub was found and the papers in them. The tables being thus turned, the midwife was sent to Newgate and Lady Powis to the Tower. But the grand jury ignored the bill against the lady, and the midwife was acquitted upon trial at the Old Bailey.

Alarmed at the long recess, people from all parts of the country began to petition the king for the speedy meeting of parliament; and seventeen peers of the realm joined in this prayer. The court issued a proclamation against improper petitions, and canvassed for counter-petitions with very considerable success.

A.D. 1680. Encouraged by the passionate expressions of loyalty and attachment to regular succession set forth in these counter-petitions, Charles ventured to recall his brother from Scotland, and to declare, upon oath, before the privy council, that Monmouth was illegitimate. To drive that prince away, Shaftesbury presented the Duke of York to the grand jury of Middlesex as a Popish recusant; but the judges baulked him by instantly discharging the jury. The Duke of Monmouth, by Shaftesbury's desire, had returned suddenly and secretly to London, some time before the Duke of York. It was midnight when he reached the city; but as soon as his name was heard he was enthusiastically welcomed by the people. Charles ordered him to quit the kingdom, but Shaftesbury kept him where he was; and, as the king could no longer help meeting parliament, the Duke of York was sent back to Edinburgh. The session was opened on the 21st of October. The commons instantly began to wreak their vengeance on the counter-petitioners, to fondle the old Popish Plot, and to patronize Dangerfield and the meal-tub plot. Thus encouraged, the felon accused the Duke of York of having instigated him not only to frame his first story against the Presbyterians, but also to murder the king. On the 26th of October Lord Russell carried a motion that the house should take into consideration how to suppress Popery and prevent a Popish successor; on the 2d of November the exclusion bill against the Duke of York was introduced, and it was reported on the 8th. The king (who, however, would have sold his brother for £600,000) tried to divert the storm, but the bill passed the commons on the 11th November, and on the 15th, Lord Russell, escorted by the exclusionists, carried it to the upper house. The king was present at the debate, and personally solicited the peers, who threw out the bill by a majority of sixty-three to thirty. The commons then turned back to the Popish Plot, to keep the rancour of the people alive; and Lord Stafford, one of the five lords in the Tower, was brought to trial before his peers, who in such a case were quite ready to concur with the commons. The witnesses against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville—a new witness, as deeply sunk in villany and infamy as either of the old practitioners. The old earl—he was in his seventieth year—made an excellent defence, and, by himself and witnesses, proved discrepancies, flat contradictions, and perjury in the evidence of his accusers; yet the lords found him guilty by a majority of fifty-five to thirty-one.[1] Charles,

[1] In the rage of her disappointment because the exclusionists had not succeeded, the Duchess of Portsmouth attended Stafford's trial, "dealing sweetmeats and smiles among his prosecutors." This French mistress had been flattered by the hope—if not by a positive promise—that, if the Duke of York should be set aside, her own children, after some unexplained process of legitimation, should succeed to the throne. Shaftesbury, Halifax, and Sunderland deluded her, by turns, in this strange

who had been present at the trial in Westminster Hall, and who was convinced that Stafford was innocent of the imputed treason, yet signed the death-warrant with no other mitigation than that he should be simply beheaded. The sheriffs of London (Bethell and Cornish) questioned whether the king had the power to alter the sentence of the lords, which included or implied all the horrid formalities of hanging, bowelling, &c., and they applied to the two houses; but Charles was firm; the lords told the sheriffs that their scruples were unnecessary, and that the king's warrant ought to be obeyed. And, accordingly, on the 29th of December, the old nobleman was *decapitated* upon Tower-hill.

A.D. 1681. The House of Commons withheld the supplies, and assailed the embarrassed and beggared court with various bills, for banishing "the most considerable Papists;" for getting up a Protestant association against Popery and a Popish successor; for making the raising of money without consent of parliament high treason; for securing the regular meeting of parliament; and for dismissing corrupt judges. These bills were followed up by a remonstrance, in which the commons required his majesty's assent to the exclusion of his brother. On the 7th of January Charles, by message, told the commons that he could never consent to the bill of exclusion, which had been thrown out by the lords. This message threw the house into a fury. Lord Russell, his relative Lord Cavendish, Montague, the ex-ambassador, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Hampden, Colonel Titus, and others, moved and carried in a series of votes that no supply should be granted without the bill for excluding the Duke of York;[1] that the Earl of Halifax and other ministers were promoters of Popery, &c. That night Charles made up his mind to dissolve this parliament; and, to take the commons by surprise, he stole into the House of Lords at an early hour on the following morning. But the commons got notice, and in one short quarter of an hour they tumultuously voted that those who attempted to defeat the exclusion bill were traitors sold to France; that the Papists were the authors of the great fire of London; that the Duke of Monmouth had been deprived of his offices through the Duke of York, and ought to be restored to them; that the city of London had merited the thanks of the house; that the infliction of the penal laws upon Protestant Dissenters was giving encouragement to Popery. Here the usher of the black rod knocked at the door, and summoned them to attend his majesty in the other house. Charles then prorogued the parliament to the 30th of the month, and a few days after dissolved it by proclamation, appointing the new parliament to meet on the 21st of March—not at Westminster but at Oxford.[2]

In the short interval Charles made some changes in his cabinet, and opened another negotiation with the French king for more money. In the preceding year, in his irritation at Louis's parsimony, he had concluded a treaty with the Spanish court for the maintenance of the peace of Nimeguen; but now, in consideration of 2,000,000 livres for the present year, and 1,500,000 for the three following years, he engaged to abandon Spain and do the will of France.[3]

Sixteen peers petitioned the king against holding the parliament at Oxford, a place where the two houses might be deprived of freedom of debate, and exposed to the swords of the Papists, who had crept into the ranks of the royal guards. It appears, indeed, that the popular party feared the king and his troops, and that the king feared them and the people: both went to Oxford as if they were going to a battle. The king opened the session in a confident tone; but it was soon found that, in the fierce struggle at the elections, the Whigs had had the better of the Tories (these terms were now becoming the common designations of the two great parties), and that the present parliament was as resolute as the last to exclude the Duke of York. On the morning of the 28th of March, when the parliament was a week old, the king put the crown and the robes of state into a sedan-chair, got into it himself, hastened privately to the place where the lords met, and dissolved this his fifth and last parliament. And after this step both the sovereign and the representatives of the people scampered away from the learned city of Oxford as if they were retreating from some furious enemy. The Whigs put forth "A Modest Defence of the late Parliament," and proclaimed everywhere that its dissolution was intended as a prelude to the entire subversion of the constitution. The Tories, on the other side, showered congratulatory addresses upon the sovereign; and the clergy and the two universities descanted on the Divine right, and declared that it belonged not to subjects either to

way; and it appears certain that, under her influence, the king several times was more than half disposed to go along with the exclusionists, even without their money.

[1] "I hope," said Colonel Titus, "we shall not be wise as the frogs, to whom Jupiter gave a stork for their king. To trust expedients with such a king on the throne would be just as wise as if there were a lion in the lobby, and we should vote to let him in, and chain him, instead of fastening the door to keep him out." Before this the anxious eyes of many politicians had been turned towards Holland. In the course of the debate Sir Robert Markham proposed that, upon the death of the present king, the Prince of Orange should rule conjointly with James, his father-in-law.

[2] *Parl. Hist.*; A. Sidney's *Letters*; Reresby's *Journal*.

[3] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, and Appendix; Mazure, *Histoire de la Révolution de* 1688 *en Angleterre*.

create or censure, but to honour and obey their king, whose fundamental right of succession no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture, could alter or diminish.[1] Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower upon a charge of instigating insurrection; and two Londoners, who had great influence among the poorer classes of citizens—Stephen College, a joiner, commonly called, from his zeal against Popery, the "Protestant joiner," and John Rouse, described as a Wapping follower of my Lord Shaftesbury—were made fast. The court expected to get evidence from these poor men against the "great driver;" but they were disappointed. Among the witnesses against them were Dugdale and others, who had been believed when they swore away the lives of Papists, but who now found no credit. The grand jury threw out the bills of indictment. Rouse escaped; but, as College was charged with treasons committed in Oxfordshire as well as in Middlesex, he was sent down to trial at the assizes in Oxford, "*because the inhabitants of that city were more in the interests of the court.*" And there, upon evidence which the grand jury at London had rejected, the poor "Protestant joiner" was condemned and executed as a traitor, for having accused the king of tyranny and Popery, and conspired to seize his person during the sitting of the late parliament at Oxford. The gowned men there had scarcely done shouting for this sentence and execution, when the Londoners raised their shouts of joy for the acquittal of the Earl of Shaftesbury. The court had scrupled at no measure that might tend to insure his conviction: all the arts which Shaftesbury had employed, or was believed to have employed, in getting up and supporting the evidence in the Popish Plot, were now turned against him. But in spite of all the resources of the court, the grand jury ignored the bill. From this moment Charles entertained the most violent animosity against popular sheriffs, who could return popular juries, and began to entertain the project of depriving the city of its charter.[2]

At this critical season, William, Prince of Orange, proposed to pay a visit to England. Both Charles and his brother the duke believed that he intended to take a near view of the strength of the Whig party, and to see whether he could turn it to his own advantage. The duke advised his brother to decline the visit altogether, for James already trembled at the thought of his son-in-law; but the king, though he gave him little encouragement, allowed the prince to come over. William had several motives and aims, some secret, some apparent. He wished to bring England into a league against France, and to induce his uncle Charles to summon a parliament, without which he knew that his power as an ally would be null. With or without his uncle's consent, he made some attempts to mediate between the king and the popular party; and he frequently visited Lord Russell, the Duke of Monmouth, and others. The prince accepted an invitation to dine in the city, which was sent to him by the sheriffs, who were so odious at court. His uncle hastened to call him to Windsor, and in a very few days they parted, Charles promising to have once more recourse to a parliament if Louis XIV. should attack the Low Countries, and William being convinced that some mighty convulsion was approaching in England. As soon as William's back was turned, Charles apologized to the French ambassador for seeing his nephew, and accepted a bribe of 1,000,000 livres from France, for allowing Louis to attack Luxemburg, one of the keys of the Low Countries.[3]

[1] Address from Cambridge.

[2] *Burnet; Roger North; Ralph.*

[3] *Dalrymple; Mazure.*

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1681—1685.

CHARLES II.

Cameronians of Scotland and their founder—Cargill excommunicates the king's ministers at Torwood—Duke of York's government in Scotland—The Earl of Argyle tried and condemned to death—He escapes from prison—The Duke of York shipwrecked—The Duke of Monmouth's popularity—He is arrested—Charles nominates his own sheriffs for the city of London—Their arbitrary proceedings—The Earl of Shaftesbury's intrigues—His conspiracy for a change in the government—His death—Keyling's disclosure of the Rye House Plot—Its particulars—Suspicious and contradictory character of his revelations—William, Lord Russell, accused as one of the principal conspirators—His arrest—Apprehension of his accomplices—Lord Russell's trial—Lord Howard becomes evidence against him—The Earl of Essex commits suicide in the Tower—Strange rumours and surmises on the event—Russell condemned to death—Attempts made to procure his pardon or escape—His execution—His last declaration on the scaffold published—The king allowed to regulate the government of the city of London—Algernon Sidney tried upon the Rye House Plot—Conduct of Jeffreys as judge on the trial—Sidney's answers and objections overruled—His sentence—His intrepid conduct on receiving it—His execution—The Duke of Monmouth restored to the royal favour—Mode of this reconciliation—The duke's abject confessions—His flight to Holland—Mr. Hampden tried and fined as an accomplice in the Rye House Plot—Two others executed—Trial of Scottish participants in the plot—They are put to the torture—Duke of York's cruel government in Scotland—Rise of Judge Jeffreys in the king's favour—Despotic course of the king and the Duke of York—Court intrigues and changes in office—The Princess Anne married to Prince George of Denmark—Continuing encroachments of Louis XIV. on the Continent—Declining health of King Charles—His last illness—A Popish priest privately introduced to his death-bed—Charles receives the last rites of the Romish church—His conduct in his last moments—Death of Charles II.

THE Duke of York had not been idle in Scotland, where, in spite of his religion, which by law excluded him even from being a common justice of the peace, he had been allowed to exercise the high functions of a viceroy, under the title of "King's Commissioner." After their defeat at Bothwell Bridge, a band of the most enthusiastic of the Covenanters rallied round Cameron, a preacher, from whom they afterwards derived the name of Cameronians. They wandered from place to place, or lay hid in the wilds, till the imposition upon the country of the idolatrous duke seemed to offer a favourable opportunity of raising the whole of the indignant people. Then Cameron came forth, with his followers, and affixed to the market-cross of Sanquhar "A Declaration and Testimony of the true Presbyterian, Anti-prelatic, Anti-erastian, and persecuted party in Scotland." In this document they renounced and disowned Charles Stuart, and under the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ declared war against him as a tyrant and usurper; and they also disowned and resented the reception of the Duke of York, a professed Papist, in Scotland, as being repugnant to their principles and vows to the most high God. Then with a mere handful of men, Cameron took the field. He was surprised by three troops of dragoons, and died fighting, with his brother and ten of his followers. A few were made prisoners; the rest escaped with Donald Cargill, another preacher, as enthusiastic as Cameron, who soon re-appeared at Torwood, in Stirlingshire, and there, as a minister of Jesus Christ and the true church, pronounced excommunication against Charles II, King of Scotland, for his mocking of God, his perjury, adultery, incest, drunkenness, and dissembling with God and man; against James, Duke of York, for his idolatry; against James, Duke of Monmouth, for his invasion of the Lord's people at Bothwell Bridge; against John, Duke of Lauderdale, for blasphemy, apostasy, and adultery; and against the Duke of Rothes, and other ministers of the crown, for various heinous offences. Upon this affront, the government began to execute the prisoners they had taken in the affair with Cameron, and to seize more victims. Donald Cargill was taken; and he and four of his disciples, on the 26th of July (1681), were condemned for rebellion and disowning the king, and hanged the next day. As king's commissioner, James opened a Scottish parliament in the month of July, 1681, having previously obtained some credit by checking the corruptions of Lauderdale, and displacing many of his hungry satellites. He brought in the scheme of an oath or test to be taken by all in public stations, who were to swear to maintain the supremacy of the king and the doctrine of passive obedience. The celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun, after opposing the bill with great spirit and eloquence, moved that the defence of the Protestant religion should be made

a part of the test. The court party, slavish as it was, could not in decency oppose this; and the drawing up of the clause was committed to Lord Stair. The clause was allowed to pass in parliament. To save the Duke of York from that part of the test which provided for the Protestant religion, it was proposed, while the bill was under debate, that the princes of the blood should not be obliged to take the test at all. Lord Belhaven stood up and said that the chief use of the test was to bind a Popish successor. His lordship was instantly sent prisoner to the castle by the parliament; and the lord-advocate announced that he would impeach him. Notwithstanding these high courses, the Earl of Argyle, son to him who suffered at the beginning of the reign, and formerly known as Lord Lorn, avowed the same sentiments as Belhaven; and his speech was believed to have sunk the deeper into the mind of the duke, because he was silent about it. Soon after the duke removed Lord Stair from his high office of president of the court of session, and instituted prosecutions against him and Fletcher of Saltoun, which induced them both to flee their country. To hit Argyle, James called upon him at the council-table to take the test. Argyle took it, but added to his oath this limitation, "That he took the test, so far as it was consistent with itself; and that he meant not to preclude himself, in a lawful way, from endeavouring to make alterations in church and state, so far as they were consistent with his religion and loyalty." James permitted this explanation to pass without remark, with a smiling countenance invited Argyle to sit beside him at the council-board, and in the course of the day's business frequently whispered in his ear as if in friendly confidence. Two days after, nevertheless, he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, and charged with treason for making and uttering the limitation. The captive earl wrote to the duke, hoping that he had not deserved his highness's displeasure, expressing his loyalty and obedience to his majesty and his royal highness, and begging to know what satisfaction was expected from him, and where and how he might live with his highness's favour. James left the letter unanswered, but some of the court cabal sent to inform Argyle secretly, that no more was designed than to humble him, decrease his feudal power in the Western Highlands, and deprive him of his heritable and other offices; and James himself, when some at court spoke as if it was intended to threaten life and fortune, exclaimed, "Life and fortune! God forbid." Nevertheless, on the 12th of December, Argyle was brought before the slavish and venal lords of justiciary, who, by a majority of three to two, found that the offences charged against him did really amount to treason and lesing-making; and, with indecent haste, sent the case to the assize or jury. By the special selection of the court, the Marquis of Montrose, the grandson of him who had been hanged by Argyle and the Covenanters, the hereditary and implacable enemy of all that bore the name of Campbell, sat there as chancellor or foreman of the jury, and delivered the hurried sentence of guilty.

After other iniquitous proceedings, and after a display on the part of the Duke of York of a savage relentless temper and a total disregard to the sanctity of a promise, some troops of horse and a regiment of foot were marched into Edinburgh, and the earl was informed that he was to be brought down from the castle to the tolbooth, whence prisoners were usually carried to execution. Argyle then begged to see his daughter-in-law, the Lady Sophia Lindsay; disguised himself as that lady's page, and succeeded in following her out of the castle. He fled to London, and after lying there for some time in concealment, he crossed over to Holland, where he found many friends and countrymen, fugitives like himself, enjoying the protection of the Prince of Orange. The Duke of York obtained from the terrified parliament of Scotland an act declaring it to be high treason to maintain the lawfulness of excluding him from the succession, either upon account of his religion, or upon any other ground whatsoever. This act he obtained to show the exclusionists in England that a civil war must be entailed upon the two kingdoms, if they persisted in their scheme or succeeded in barring him from the English throne.

Charles betrayed more uneasiness of mind than fraternal affection when his brother waited upon him at Newmarket. James, to remove his anxiety, told him that he had no ambition to meddle again in the affairs of England, but that he wished to be intrusted with those of Scotland. With full liberty to dispose of all power and places in Scotland as he pleased, the duke took his leave of the king, in order to return to Edinburgh by sea. On his voyage a disastrous accident had well nigh relieved both nations from all the fears they entertained on his account. The *Gloucester* frigate, which carried him and his retinue, struck upon a sandbank called the Lemon and Ore, about twelve leagues from Yarmouth. The night was dark and the sea ran high. Lord O'Brien, the Earl of Roxburgh, Sir Joseph Douglas, one of the Hydes, who was lieutenant of the *Gloucester*, Sir John Bury, the captain, and above 130 more persons, perished; the duke and about 100 persons were saved. Among those who escaped was *Captain Churchill* (afterwards Duke of Marlborough), for whose preservation James is said to have taken great care. So

soon as the duke reached Edinburgh, the reign of terror was renewed. Courts of judicature, having their boots and their other tortures, and differing very little from the Inquisition, were erected in all the southern and western counties of Scotland.

But the duke, leaving his satellites and instruments behind him, soon returned with his wife and family to England, being re-appointed lord high-admiral, and lodged in St. James's. The Duke of Monmouth, who had gone abroad upon the king's promise that James should be kept at a distance in Scotland, now came again hastily over, in defiance of his father's commands. He was received in the city of London with an enthusiastic welcome. As in the year 1679–80 Monmouth set out with a train and equipage little less than royal, to make a progress through the kingdom: he was followed by a retinue of 100 or more persons, all armed and magnificently accoutred. In Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire he was treated like a king or heir-apparent. The Russells, the Greys, and many others of the Whig aristocracy, met him at the head of their tenants at different places. He entered the different cities and towns in a species of triumph. At Liverpool he even ventured to touch for the king's-evil.

All these proceedings were watched by a well-organized body of spies, who had been collected and drilled through a series of years by the infamous pander Chiffinch, and who now sent hourly reports from the country to court. The notorious Jeffreys was at this time, "with his interest on the side of the Duke of York," chief-justice of Chester. Taking advantage of some disturbances which happened at Chester, Jeffreys got from court a commission of oyer and terminer, and began to make use of it against the admirers and friends of the Protestant duke. Monmouth himself was arrested at Stratford, where he had accepted an invitation to dine in the public streets with all the inhabitants *en masse*. He submitted quietly, relying upon his tutor Shaftesbury's salutary provision of habeas corpus; and in London he was immediately admitted to bail. His bail were Lords Russell, Grey, &c.

The king and the court party had long complained that they could have no chance of law against their opponents so long as the city was allowed to appoint Whig sheriffs. Ever since the commencement of the struggle of the parliament with Charles I., both sheriffs had always been elected exclusively by the common hall. But now Charles, encouraged by the court lawyers, insisted that he had in himself the sole right of nominating the sheriffs, and he selected and named Dudley North and Rich, two men who were devoted to the prerogative, and among the stanchest of Tories. The citizens raised a loud outcry, but they were divided among themselves by irreconcilable party differences, and some of their aldermen were entirely devoted to the court. The king's sheriffs were left at their posts to pack juries for his majesty, who had no longer cause to complain that he could obtain no verdicts. Alderman Pilkington was sentenced to pay the enormous damages of £100,000, for saying that the Duke of York had fired the city at the time of the great fire, and that he was now coming with his Papists to cut the throats of the citizens. Jeffreys, as recorder of London, and high in the Duke of York's favour, gave boldness to the Tory juries, and dismay to every Whig defendant or Whig witness. Every man felt that hangings and headings would follow these civil actions for damages. Shaftesbury withdrew to his house in Aldersgate Street, and called around him all the disaffected and desperate people in the city, still hoping to make good his former boast—"that he would walk the king leisurely out of his dominions, and make the Duke of York a vagabond upon the earth like Cain;" or, failing in this, at least to manage matters in such a way that he and his party should not perish without a blow, or be led like sheep to the slaughter. Not knowing that his Absalom, the Duke of Monmouth, who was alike despicable for intellect and for

Shaftesbury House, Aldersgate Street.[1]
From a print in De Laune's "Present State of London" (1681).

[1] This fine edifice, still existing, was built about the time of Charles I. It was situated just outside the walls, and was hired or purchased by Lord Shaftesbury, in order to be near the citizens—from among whom it was his boast that he could raise 10,000 brisk boys by the mere holding up of his finger.

heart, had already more than half betrayed him and the secrets of his party to the king, he clung to that paltry reed. At the same time Shaftesbury concerted measures with Lord Russell, Lord Essex, Mr. Hampden, and Algernon Sidney. These patriots neither agreed as to their ultimate end, nor as to the means by which the end was to be brought about. The extremes were represented by Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. Russell was for what he called gentle remedies—for a correction of the constitutional government, for the utter extirpation of Popery, and for the establishment of one national church, which, if not the Presbyterian, would have been very like it: Sidney was undisguisedly for the entire destruction of royalty, for the re-establishment of his darling commonwealth, and for the widest and most perfect toleration, to include the Catholics and all sects and denominations of men, without any state church or privileged clergy whatever. Honesty of purpose and a mediocrity of talent were common to the two; but it is difficult to conceive a more infamous scoundrel than Russell's kinsman, Lord Howard, or than Ford, Lord Grey, who were both admitted into the confederacy. Nor can much be said in favour of other members of the secret conclave in Aldersgate Street, who proved either cowards or traitors to the cause. Shaftesbury was no fighting man, and yet it appears that he had more boldness and decision than any of them or than all of them put together. He recommended the immediate taking up of arms, and spoke confidently of his "10,000 brisk boys in the city," who were ready to rise at the moving of his finger. But the Duke of Monmouth pretended to despise the citizens as compared with the troops, and the other military men in the confederacy thought it better to wait. So contradictory is the evidence, and so evident is the falsehood of most of the witnesses, that there is scarcely a single part of the story free from doubt. According, however, to the most generally received account, it was agreed that the rising should take place simultaneously in town and country; that Shaftesbury undertook to raise the city; that Monmouth engaged to prevail upon Lord Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Lord Delamere, and others to rise in Cheshire and Lancashire; that Lord Russell corresponded with Sir Francis Drake and other disaffected gentlemen in the west of England; that Trenchard engaged to have all the inhabitants of his town of Taunton up in arms; and, lastly, despairing at the returning want of concert and spirit among his friends, and dreading to be betrayed either purposely or by imbecility into the hands of his enemies, Shaftesbury threw up the game as lost, and secured his neck by flight. Shaftesbury certainly retired to Holland on, or a day or two before, the 19th of November (1682), and died at Amsterdam, with rage in his heart and gout in his stomach, about six weeks after his flight. His death struck a damp to the courage of his party, and raised the confidence of their opponents. Many resigned themselves to what seemed to be inevitable destiny, forsaking altogether the projects and by-paths which he had chalked out for them as leading to civil and religious liberty; while some few, *perhaps*, rushed into mad and sanguinary schemes of their own devising.[1]

A.D. 1683. On the 12th of June Josiah Keyling, a salter by trade, and formerly a flaming Whig, waited upon the Duke of York's favourite, Lord Dartmouth, and informed his lordship that there was a terrible plot afoot in the city against the king's life. Dartmouth carried the informer to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the new Tory secretary of state. Jenkins suggested that a second witness would be needed, and Keyling went away, and got his own brother to overhear a terrible conversation between himself and one Goodenough, described as being formerly a satellite of my Lord Shaftesbury. Keyling then led his brother to the secretary at Whitehall. Some of Keyling's associates chanced to see him lurking about the palace, and charged him with a design to betray them. He solemnly avowed that he had no such intention, that he was true to his party; and thereupon they let him go unscathed. He went again to the secretary and made still more ample disclosures. Keyling's narrative at this stage was, in substance, this:—About three months ago, Goodenough had proposed to take away the lives of the king and the Duke of York, and had succeeded in inducing him (Keyling) to join in the plot. Goodenough had then introduced Keyling to several of the conspirators, and Keyling had engaged others himself—as Burton, a cheesemonger, Thompson, a carver, and Barber, an instrument-maker—all of Wapping. At a meeting with Rumbold, the maltster, it was agreed that the party should go down to a place called the Rye, near Hoddesden, in Hertfordshire, where Rumbold had a house, and there lie in wait and cut off his majesty and his brother on their return from Newmarket. At a subsequent meeting they spoke with uncertainty of the time when the king might choose to come up from Newmarket. They also spoke about providing blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, powder, and bullets. The maltster, however, went down to his house at Rye[2] without any of his associates, without arms, or any actual preparation; and while he was there the king and duke passed close by

[1] *Burnet; Ralph; Dalrymple.*

[2] The Rye House is situated on one of the pleasantest parts of the pleasant river Lea (so dear to Izaak Walton and London anglers), a little above Broxbourn Bridge and Hoddesden, and is now an inn and fishing-house.

his house on their way to London with only five of the life-guards. West, a lawyer, after the king's safe return from Newmarket, proposed that the thing should be done of a sudden, be-

The Rye House.—From a drawing by Edridge.

tween Windsor and Hampton Court, a road which the royal brothers often travelled. Such was the informer Josiah Keyling's *first* disclosure; but, following the example of Oates and Bedloe, he subsequently went into a regular crescendo movement, inventing new horrors, adding entirely new circumstances, and giving more emphasis and circumstantiality to the old ones, without caring much for the coherence of his narrative. He swore that the Duke of Monmouth and his friends had been concerned in raising money to be paid to the disaffected citizens of London, and that Monmouth was to be at the very head of the insurrection. Keyling's brother, who had at first undertaken the business of informer with reluctance, improved greatly in the practice of it: he supported his kinsman in all that he deposed, and made revelations of his own. At length the two brothers conjointly implicated Lord Russell, deposing "that Goodenough had told the conspirators that *William Lord Russell would be concerned to his utmost, and use all his interest to accomplish the design of killing the king and the Duke of York.*" This was precisely what the Duke of York most wanted, for he abhorred Russell on account of the part he had taken in the Popish Plot and in the exclusion bill, and he feared him on account of the influence his respectable character gave him. A few days after this, a proclamation was issued for apprehending Goodenough, Rumbold, Colonel Rumsey, Walcot, Wade, Nelthrop, Thompson, Burton, and Hone, for high treason. But John Keyling, the brother of the original informer, is said to have warned them all to get out of the way. We are disposed to believe that their arrest was not desired by the court at this moment. At all events, instead of catching any of the persons named in the proclamation, they arrested Barber, the poor instrument-maker, at Wapping, whose name was not in the proclamation. But this Barber was the manner of man they wanted. He was brought before the council, but it was rather to make use of him as a witness than to proceed against him as a criminal. His evidence, however, varied in many respects from that of Josiah Keyling. He said he never heard that anything was intended against the king. According to Mr. Secretary Jenkins the discovery was still imperfect, and more evidence was wanting. He had no sooner made the remark, than one of the lords of the council declared that a friend of his had received overtures from West, the lawyer, one of the conspirators, who offered to surrender himself if he might have hopes of pardon. The lord must have had the lawyer all ready, for so soon as the poor instrument-maker was sent out of the council-chamber, this new and fluent witness was brought in. The lawyer was a man to the court's content. It is said that he had previously concerted and arranged his story with Josiah Keyling: but what is more probable is, that he had been a government spy from the beginning, and had sought the society of the malcontents in order to betray them. He deposed that there had been for many months a plot; that Ferguson, a Scottish minister and bosom friend of Shaftesbury and Argyle, was deep in it; that the king was aimed at as well as the duke; and that Rumbold, of the Rye House, was the most active for the murder. West afterwards delivered in no fewer than thirteen other informations, at so many several times, each deposition going farther than the preceding one, and filling up gaps in them after the fashion of the Popish Plot witnesses. Roger North, and other writers, who have no mercy on the perjured Oates and Bedloe, find this conduct justifiable and perfectly natural in West and the other witnesses against the Whig patriots. Among the addenda made by the fluent lawyer were statements upon oath that he had received money from Ferguson to buy arms; that Wildman had money for the same object; that Lord Howard of Escrick had communicated to him a project for making an insurrection; that Lord Russell had presented to the conspirators the fundamentals of a new constitution to be adopted after the king's death; that Algernon Sidney and Wildman held a close correspondence with the Covenanters and traitors in Scotland;

that the conspirators had made up their minds to kill the loyal lord-mayor, the two Tory sheriffs, most of the judges, and some other men, and to *stuff their skins* and hang them up in Guildhall, Westminster Hall, the Parliament House, &c.; and that he (the deponent) and Rumsey had at last felt their hearts relent, and a strong inclination within them to turn informers. Being thus introduced by Lawyer West, Rumsey, an old soldier of fortune, surrendered himself, and desired that first he might be permitted to speak privately with the king and the Duke of York. After this private interview, in which it appears to have been arranged that he was not to accuse the Duke of Monmouth of any capital offence, Rumsey bore evidence against the late Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, Trenchard, and most of the other persons already named by Keyling and West. But Colonel Rumsey, as well as those two witnesses, had his recollections and amplifications to get up at leisure. According to his "further information," the most treasonable discourses had been held, and desperate and traitorous plans adopted, in the house of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, dwelling near Lombard Street, and that he himself had there met Lord Russell, Lord Grey, Ferguson, and others. Rumsey, in the greater part of this story, prevaricated most pitifully; but Shepherd was brought in to support his crazy evidence, and to swear expressly "*against the grandees of the party.*" Yet Shepherd prevaricated as much as Rumsey. But as he swore point-blank and swore as much as the council wished, he was prized as one of the best witnesses. A proclamation was now issued for the apprehension of Monmouth, Russell, Grey, Armstrong, Walcot, and others. Monmouth immediately absconded showing in this as in all other cases a delicate regard for his own personal safety or comfort, and an ungenerous disregard for the safety of his friends. Lord Russell was taken into custody in his own house by a messenger. He was found neither preparing for flight nor hiding himself, but sitting tranquilly in his study. It is said that as soon as he was in custody he despaired of his life, knowing how obnoxious he was to the vindictive Duke of York. He was hurried before the king and council. There every question put to him was a snare. After this examination he was committed to the Tower. Upon entering the dismal gate he said that the devil was loose; that he was sworn against, and that they would have his life. Lord Grey next appeared before the council, but instead of being sent forthwith to the Tower, he was permitted to lie for the night in the sergeant's house, and the sergeant being made drunk, or pretending to be so, he walked out of the house, took boat on the Thames, and found a vessel that carried him to Holland.

Lord Howard of Escrick was captured in his house at Knightsbridge. He was found hid in a chimney, and few chimney-sweeps would have behaved so basely as he did. He trembled, sobbed, and wept; and when carried before the council he offered to confess in private to the king and the Duke of York. The secret audience was granted to the kneeling, puling caitiff, who would have sworn away the lives of all his kindred to save his own; and as soon as might be after this audience, not only Algernon Sidney and Hampden, but also the Earl of Essex were clapped up in the Tower. Essex might have escaped; but out of tenderness for his friend Russell he would not stir, lest his flight should incline the jury unfavourably. He was firm before the council, but this was followed by a confusion of manner, and in the Tower he fell under great depression of spirits. He was constitutionally a melancholy man, and the critical situation of himself and his best friends, and the closeness of his prison, and the memories about it, were sufficient to convert even a gay and sanguine man into a sad and hopeless one. He was confined in the same chamber or cell from which his father, the loyal Lord Capel, had been led to execution in 1649 by the Commonwealth men, and in which his wife's grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, had either committed suicide or been murdered in the days of Elizabeth. Algernon Sidney preserved a sort of Roman fortitude and self-collectedness both in the council-chamber and in the Tower; he told Charles and his ministers that he would not answer their ensnaring questions; that they must seek evidence against him from some other man. Walcot, who had played away his life through a returning love of honour and fair fame; Rouse, who had only been saved by the Whig sheriffs and the London jury from being hanged like his friend College; and Hone, a joiner, were brought to trial; and upon the elaborated, yet still contradictory evidence of Rumsey, Keyling, and West, they were condemned and executed as traitors. After their trial it was resolved to proceed with that of Lord Russell; and a Tory jury was selected by the Tory sheriffs and sworn, notwithstanding strong legal objections. To have tried Russell and Sidney together, or to have brought all the prisoners to one trial, would not have suited the ministers and men who were now distorting the law as they chose. No time was lost. Russell was brought to the Old Bailey bar on the 13th of July, for conspiring the death of the king, and consulting how to levy war against him. He desired that his trial might be postponed for a few hours, to allow time for the arrival of some necessary witnesses. "You," cried the attorney-general, "would not have allowed the king an

hour's notice for saving his life. The trial must proceed." Wishing to have notes of the evidence taken, he asked whether he might have somebody to write for him. The Chief-justice Pemberton said, "Any of your servants shall assist you in writing anything you please." "My lord," said Russell, "my wife is here to do it." And when the spectators turned their eyes and beheld the devoted lady, the daughter of the virtuous Earl of Southampton, rising up to assist her lord in this his uttermost distress, a thrill of anguish ran through the assembly. Rumsey

Lord William Russell.
From a print by Vanderbank, after Kneller.

swore that Russell had been present at Shepherd's, the wine-merchant, when the grandees were proposing to surprise the king's guards, &c. Shepherd swore like Rumsey. The third and fatal witness was the infamous Howard. Though his own relative, Russell had always regarded this man with distrust and aversion; but the scoundrel had captivated Algernon Sidney with enthusiastic professions of republicanism; Sidney had introduced him to Lord Essex; and, through the representations of Essex and Sidney, Russell's objections had been removed, and Howard had been admitted to those secret meetings which Shaftesbury had first called together. Now, as a witness at the bar of the Old Bailey, the ignoble Howard began to improve upon the deposition he had made before the king and council; adding fresh circumstances, or speaking confidently of what he had before expressed doubtingly; but he had not proceeded far when his colour changed, and his voice faltered so much that the jury said they could not hear his words. Then Howard, much agitated, announced the horrible fact. "There is," said he, "an unhappy accident which has sunk my voice: I was but just now acquainted with the fate of my Lord Essex." Instantly a murmur ran through the court that the noble Essex had committed suicide. At an early hour on this same morning, the king and the Duke of York took a fancy to visit the Tower, where, it is said, they had not been for several years before. It is represented by some narrators of these events, that they were led thither by an unmanly desire of seeing Lord Russell pass to his certain death-sentence; but, whatever was their motive, thither they went: and after staying there some time, as they were leaving the Tower to go back to their barge, a cry followed them that my Lord Essex had killed himself. According to the Tories, the news of the dismal event came into the court of justice as the air at the doors, and neither direct nor indirect use of it was made to affect the prisoner at the bar: but the Whigs maintained that the news was studiously brought in at a fixed moment; and there is unquestionable evidence to prove that the lawyers made all the use they could of the incident to the great prejudice of the prisoner. The attorney-general said it was quite clear that Essex had murdered himself to escape the hands of justice; and Jeffreys, who was one of the counsel for the crown, said more words to the same effect. This was infamous enough: and this was and is *certain:* but the Whigs made a bold plunge into the depths of uncertainty, and at once whispered that the Earl of Essex had been foully murdered by the procurement of the king and the Duke of York; and in defiance of the exertions made on the other side, this belief gained ground among the people. It appears to us that the strongest presumptive evidence that the king and the duke had nothing to do with the murder, is to be found in the fact of their both being in the Tower when Essex died. If they could have resorted to such an assassination, they would hardly have chosen to be on the very spot when the deed was done. There are, however, circumstances of mystery in the horrible story, and these have not been cleared up by the royalist Evelyn, who says:—"The astonishing news was brought to us of the Earl of Essex having cut his throat, having been but three days a prisoner in the Tower, and this happening on the very day and instant that Lord Russell was on his trial and had sentence of death. This accident exceedingly amazed me, my Lord Essex being so well known by me to be a person of such sober and religious deportment, so well at his ease, and so much obliged to the king. It is certain the king and duke were at the Tower, and passed by his window about the same time this morning when my lord, asking for a razor, shut himself into a closet, and perpetrated the horrid act. Yet it was wondered by some how it was

possible he should do it in the manner he was found, for the wound was so deep and wide, that, being cut through the gullet, windpipe, and both the jugulars, it reached to the very vertebræ of the neck, so that the head held to it by a very little skin, as it were; the gapping, too, of the razor, and cutting his own fingers, was a little strange: but more, that, having passed the jugulars, he should have strength to proceed so far, that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections on it. This fatal news, coming to Hick's Hall upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the jury, and all the bench, to his prejudice. Others said that he had himself, on some occasions, hinted that, in case he should be in danger of having his life taken from him by any public misfortune, those who thirsted for his estates should miss of their aim; and that he should speak favourably of that Earl of Northumberland and some others who made away with themselves; but these are discourses so unlike his sober and prudent conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them. What might instigate him to this devilish fact I am unable to conjecture. My Lord Clarendon, his brother-in-law, who was with him but the day before, assured me he was then very cheerful, and declared it to be the effect of his innocence and loyalty; and most people believe that *his majesty* had no severe intentions against him, *though he was altogether inexorable as to Lord Russell and some of the rest.*"

But to return to Lord Russell. So soon as he had recovered from the shock his nerves had sustained, Howard went on to swear away the life of his kinsman. The prisoner acknowledged that he had been present at some political meetings in the city, but insisted that the company had met upon no fixed design. West, the fluent lawyer, was called upon to satisfy the court that Lord Russell was certainly the lord the conspirators had most depended upon. The prisoner objected to the witnesses, that *they swore against him to save their own lives.* Before the jury withdrew, Russell said to them, "Gentlemen, I am now in your hands eternally—my honour, my life, my all; and I hope the heats and animosities that are among you will not so bias you as to make you inclined to find an innocent man guilty. I call heaven and earth to witness, that I never had a design against the king's life. I am in your hands, so God direct you." But the jury soon brought in a verdict of guilty; and Treby, recorder of London, who had formerly been an exclusionist, and who had been deeply engaged with Lord Shaftesbury in most of the city schemes and plots, pronounced the horrible sentence of death for high treason.

Many efforts were made to obtain the royal pardon; but the heart of Charles was so set upon Russell's destruction, that he was proof even to £100,000, which were offered to him by his lordship's father, the Duke of Bedford, through the French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth. After this, nothing, surely, was to be hoped from prayers, petitions, and letters. Yet Russell himself petitioned, by letter, both the king and the Duke of York. When there remained no other chance, his friend, Lord Cavendish, offered to manage his escape by changing clothes, and remaining, at all hazards to himself, in his place; but Russell nobly refused, and prepared to die with Christian piety. He considered himself a much happier man than Howard, who had purchased a few years of life and ignominy by betraying his friends; and, when he had taken leave of his high-minded wife, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is past." The morning after this parting—on the 21st of July—he was led to the scaffold, which was not erected upon Tower-hill, but in Lincoln's Inn Fields, "in order that the citizens might be humbled by the spectacle of their once triumphant leader carried in his coach to death through the city." In passing, he looked at Southampton House, the paternal home of his lady; and the sight brought a few tears to his eyes. He was attended by Tillotson and Burnet; and while Tillotson prayed, Burnet held the pen to record his lordship's last words. These words were few, and were addressed to Sheriff Rich, who superintended the execution, though he had once been an anti-courtier, and had voted with Russell for the exclusion. His lordship said, that, because he had never loved much speaking, and could not expect now to be well heard, he had set down in a paper (which he handed to the sheriff) all that he thought proper to leave behind him. He prayed, embraced the two divines, and, without any visible change of countenance, laid himself down and fitted his neck to the block. Like Lord Stafford, he refused to give the sign to the executioner, who chose his own moment, and severed his neck with two or three clumsy strokes. The execution was scarcely over when every corner of the town rang with Russell's last paper,[1] which he had delivered to the sheriff in manuscript, but which was already in print and in circulation through the industry of Lady Russell, and probably of Burnet, who is more than suspected of having had a principal hand in its composition. His lordship said, or was made to say (for ourselves, we believe all that is contained in the first clauses to have been his real sentiments), that he

[1] "His speech," says Burnet, "was so soon printed, that it was selling about the streets an hour after his death; upon which the court was highly inflamed."

had lived and now died a true and sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the Church of England, "though he could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of many people;" that, for Popery, he looked upon it as an idolatrous and bloody religion, and therefore thought himself bound, in his station, to do all he could against it; that he had foreseen all along that this would procure him great and powerful enemies; that he had been for some time expecting the worst, and now blessed God he was to fall by the axe, and not by the fiery trial; that, whatever had been his apprehensions of Popery, he never had a thought of doing anything against it basely or inhumanly, or that did not consist with the Christian religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom; that he appealed to Almighty God for the truth of this; that he had ever proceeded sincerely without passion, private ends, or malice; that he had always loved his country much more than his life, and had always looked upon the constitution as one of the best governments in the world; and that he would have suffered any extremity rather than have consented to any design to take the king's life. After praying for the king, and wishing that he might be indeed the defender of the faith, the paper went on to explain his conduct in regard to the Popish Plot—the darkest stain on the character of Russell. We believe his assertions; but that belief must be coupled with, and made dependent upon, rather a low estimate of his intellect and penetration. "As for the share I had in the prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced, as I am still, that there was a conspiracy against the king, the nation, and the Protestant religion. And I likewise profess that I never knew anything, either directly or indirectly, of any underhand practice with the witnesses, which I look upon as so horrid a thing that I could never have endured it; for, I thank God, falsehood and cruelty were never in my nature." He then proceeded to justify his conduct about the bill of exclusion. After praying God not to lay his death to the charge of the king's council, or the judges, sheriffs, or jury, and expressing pity for the witnesses, he added, "From the time of choosing the sheriffs, I concluded the heats would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprised to find it fall upon me."[1]

On the same memorable 21st of July, when Russell perished and this paper was printed, the university of Oxford, which, with a saving of the established religion, would have sanctioned every stretch of arbitrary power, published its decree in support of passive obedience and of the right of kings to govern wrong without resistance or challenge from their suffering subjects.

In Trinity Term, when the court was making as much of the Rye House Plot as ever its opponents had made of the Popish Plot, judgment was given against the city of London; and, in the following month of September, the king was allowed to regulate the government of the city, changing the old aldermen and officers, and appointing new ones at his pleasure. Eight aldermen were deprived at once of the honours they had received by election of their fellow-citizens, and "were all turned out for lying under the horrid suspicion of loving their country better than king." On the 7th of September Algernon Sidney was brought to trial at the bar of the King's

Algernon Sidney.—From Lodge's Portraits.

Bench, where Jeffreys now presided as chief-justice. This bravo in law mounted the ladder of promotion by wonderfully rapid strides; but he seemed made for despotism and its particular exigencies at that time, and he had nerve and face to "go thorough," to undertake and drive to a conclusion of some sort any work the court might wish to be done by law. He was, in fact, as unflinching, as confident, and, in outward bearing, as heroic, in the performance of villainy and in breaking the laws as was ever upright judge in upholding them. He was as bold with the law-books and statutes as Charles's other personal favourite, Colonel Blood, was with pistols, and daggers, and dark-lanterns.[2] Hence

[1] It ought never to be forgotten that Russell, though he intrigued with the French court, is never charged with taking French money, like Sidney. Barillon, indeed, tells his master that he durst not make his base proposals to his lordship.

[2] Jeffreys' manners had not improved under promotion. According to Burnet, he "was drunk every day." Roger North

Jeffreys was prized and promoted. The nerve of that otherwise weak republican, Algernon Sidney, was well known; and it was fitting to oppose to him a man with nerve equal to his own. As in Lord Russell's case, Rumsey, Keyling, and West gave little more than a rambling hearsay evidence, and the death-thrusts were left to be dealt by the hand of the noble Howard, whom Sidney had taken to his heart as a pure republican, and had forced upon the unwilling confidence of Essex and Russell. When Howard had stated what he knew of Sidney's conduct at the meetings at Shepherd's, and his engaging an agent to deal with the disaffected in Scotland, the prisoner was demanded whether he would ask Lord Howard any questions. "No!" said he, with withering scorn, "I have no questions to ask such as him!" Several other witnesses proved words spoken, and that the prisoner had corresponded with some gentleman in Scotland; but, with the exception of Lord Howard, there was no living witness that both could and would swear to overt acts of treason. In no sense was this single witness enough to take away life for treason; and, to make up weight, the attorney said—"Now to show that while his emissary was in Scotland, at the *same time* the prisoner (which will be another overt act of treason) was writing a treasonable pamphlet;" and he then called the clerk of the council to prove that when he was sent to seize Sidney's papers, he had found the said pamphlet lying upon his table. Sidney urged that the mere comparison of handwriting was not to be trusted, and that some men's hands might be very much alike. But this objection was overruled; and then, to prove the treasonableness of the manuscript, a selected section was read in court, and, by the torture of inuendoes, was made to apply to the particular reign of Charles II., though it might have answered equally well for that of Henry VIII. Jeffreys surpassed himself, all the crown lawyers were bolder and more virulent than they had been, and the trial of Algernon Sidney was by many degrees more lawless than that of Lord Russell. My Lord Chief-justice Jeffreys told the Tory jury that the evidence before them was quite sufficient, that *scribere est agere;* and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty.

On the 26th of November, the prisoner was brought up to receive judgment. It was not the usage for the chief-justice to pass sentence; but on this occasion Jeffreys, who knew that there would be a stir in court, charged himself with the office. Sidney said, in arrest of judgment, that he conceived that he had had no trial, for some of his jury were not freeholders; that there was a material defect in the indictment, which made it absolutely void, for the king was deprived of a title in it, the words "Defender of the Faith" being left out. The chief-justice exclaimed, "In that you would deprive the king of his life, that is in very full, I think." The prisoner rejoined that, in a case of life and death, such things were not to be overruled so easily. "Mr. Sidney," roared Jeffreys, "we very well understand our duty; we don't need be told by you what our duty is: we tell you nothing but law; the treason is well laid." The prisoner again insisted that the papers had not been proved upon him—that there was no treason in that manuscript written long ago. The chief-justice insisted that there was scarcely a line in the book but what was treason. The prisoner said, "My lord, there is one person I did not know where to find, but everybody knows where to find him now; *I mean the Duke of Monmouth;* let him be sent for, and if he will say there was ever any such plot, I will acknowledge whatever you please." "That is over," cried Jeffreys; "you have been tried for this fact: we must not send for the Duke of Monmouth." One Mr. Bampfield, a barrister, interposed, modestly and timidly, as *amicus curiæ*, and humbly hoped his lordship would not proceed to judgment while there was so material a defect in the indictment. "There remains nothing for the court to do," bellowed Jeffreys, "but to pass sentence." "I must appeal to God and the world I am not heard," said Sidney. "Appeal to whom you will," said Jeffreys, who then, after reproaching the prisoner with ingratitude to the king, and censuring the pamphlet anew, sonorously pronounced the horrible words. As soon as he had finished, the prisoner said, with a loud and firm voice, "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city: let no inquisition be made for it; but, if any day the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." The chief-justice, half enraged and half confounded, thought himself obliged to put up his prayer also, which he did in these words:—"I pray God to work in you a temper fit to go unto the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," replied Sidney, stretching out his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now." Sidney afterwards sent a paper to the king by Lord

says, "His friendship and conversation lay much among the good fellows and humourists; and his delights were all the extravagancies of the bottle. . . . His weakness was, that he could not reprehend without scolding, and in such Billingsgate language as should not come out of the mouth of any man. He called it giving a lick with the rough side of his tongue. He seemed to lay nothing of his business to heart, nor care what he did or left undone."

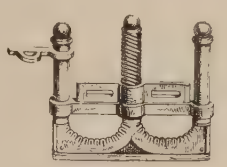
Halifax—still a favourite minister—who was his nephew by marriage. In this paper, which has been called a petition for justice rather than mercy, he gave a brief account of his trial, explained all its irregularities, and asked for admission into the king's presence. Charles replied to the petition by signing the death-warrant. In consideration to his noble family, the axe was substituted for the halter; and, on the 8th of December, he mounted the scaffold on Tower-hill with the air of one who came to triumph, not to suffer. His parting words were few, his prayers short; and, having placed a paper in the hands of the sheriff as his last legacy to the world and last testimony to the good old cause, he laid his head upon the block, and was happily despatched at one blow. Thus perished the last of the Commonwealth men, who would certainly have tried again, at all hazards, that great experiment in government which had utterly failed when tried by men who were immeasurably his superiors, and which would have failed again, and for the same reason, namely, that the people of England were not fitted for any such system. If Algernon Sidney had perished under a less infamous government, and in a less base and slavish time, his fate would now excite infinitely less interest.

Before Algernon Sidney was put upon his trial his Grace of Monmouth was taken back to his father's heart. This was not entirely owing to Charles's fondness. The Lord Halifax, seeing that things were running much further than suited his particular interests and politics, and that, from the growing indolence of the king, the Duke of York was acquiring immense influence, resolved, at all hazards, to bring the Duke of Monmouth again into favour. Halifax, accordingly, induced Monmouth, who had absconded, to sign some penitential letters to the king, which he (Halifax) had written for him. Charles admitted the penitent to a private audience on the 25th of October, and received him pretty well. On the 4th of November the king became "very kind," and gave Monmouth directions how to manage his business and to make his peace with the Duke of York. Nothing would be required of him but what was safe and honourable, only something must be done to blind his royal highness. Halifax, who went and came between the king and Monmouth, drew up a letter of acknowledgment and confession. At first Monmouth hesitated, but when Halifax assured him that the original should be deposited in no hands but the king's, and that the Duke of York should only have a copy, he signed the confession. On the 25th of November the Duke of Monmouth surrendered to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, and desired to speak alone with the king and Duke of York. Up to this moment the negotiation had been carried on very secretly, and, as Sidney remarked on being brought up to receive judgment, nobody had known where Monmouth was. The Duke of York was therefore taken by surprise when Monmouth threw himself at the king's feet, and then confessed himself faulty to his highness, and asked his pardon also. There is no possibility of ascertaining what really passed in that strange scene; but it appears that Monmouth made another ample confession, and that he solemnly denied any knowledge of any design in any of the conspirators to assassinate either the king or the Duke of York. A day or two after this scene his majesty declared, in full council, that the Duke of Monmouth had made a full declaration about the late conspiracy, had expressed extraordinary contrition, and had made a particular submission to his royal highness his brother, at whose prayer a full pardon had been granted. And a paragraph was inserted in the *Gazette*, which proclaimed in other words that Monmouth was a mean scoundrel, like Howard, that had purchased his own safety by sacrificing his friends. Monmouth was enraged at this paragraph, which probably came too near the truth; but he did nothing, said nothing, until his pardon had passed the seal. Then he set his friends to work, who declared in all directions that the paragraph in the *Gazette* was utterly false. When his pardon was passed, it was inserted in the *Gazette* that it had been given on his confessing the late plot; and Charles, who cared not about having broken his promise not to make any public use of the confession, was incensed at Monmouth's denials. It was proposed to bring Monmouth before the council, and cause him to make some regular declaration, which might be entered there, and afterwards published; but Charles rejected this scheme, saying that he was such a blockhead that there would be mistakes, and that he would not speak as he ought. Then the Duke of Ormond proposed that something should be put in writing by the Duke of Monmouth, to prevent mistakes on all sides; and Monmouth actually wrote or signed a paper confessing the plot in general terms, and presented it himself to the king in the Duchess of Portsmouth's apartments, where he declared before all the company (the French mistress's boudoir was Charles's usual council-chamber) that he was a blockhead for being so long "in ill company" with a "parcel of fools." Neither Ormond nor the king, however, was satisfied with this paper—for there was no plain confession of any conspiracy in it. Another paper much more explicit was then drawn up by order of the king, who materially corrected it with his own hand. After some hesitation Monmouth made a copy

from this draft, and presented it to the king as his own free deed. In doing so, he said, "This paper will hang young Hampden." Charles replied it would not, nor should it ever be produced for such a purpose. That night Monmouth supped with the elder Hampden and Mr. Trenchard of Taunton. The next morning he waited upon the king in a state of great excitement, and demanded back the paper. After some attempts at persuasion, which were followed by hard and coarse words, the king said that he should have it, but that he must restore to him the original draft whence he had copied it. Monmouth at first said he had burned it, but, seeing that it was the only way to get back that which he had signed, he went and brought the draft, and the papers were exchanged. But by this measure Monmouth again lost himself at court, for the vice-chamberlain was sent to forbid his re-appearing there. He retired to the country, but, steady to no principles, and fixed in no course, he again offered to lodge the signed paper as his real confession in the king's hands. Instead of receiving an invitation back to court, Monmouth got a subpœna to attend as a witness for the crown on the trial of Mr. Hampden. Thereupon he fled to Holland, where he was kindly received by the Prince of Orange, whose court had now become the sanctuary of disaffected Scots and English of all classes and all colours of politics.

A.D. 1684. When Hampden was brought to trial it was for a misdemeanour, which required but one witness, and not for treason, which required two; and this was because the court could only find one witness to swear against him—the infamous Lord Howard. As a matter of course the jury found for the king: the court set the fine at £40,000, and moreover ordered Hampden to be committed till it was paid, and to find sureties for his good behaviour during life. Two others of the Rye House plotters—Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, and Sir Thomas Armstrong—were condemned to death by Jeffreys, in defiance, not of one, but of many laws, and were both executed. No more blood was shed on this occasion in England; but there were several executions in Scotland, where the atrocities generally exceeded those of the English courts of law.

All the Scottish plotters, or friends of Shaftesbury, Russell, and Sidney, that were arrested in London, were sent down for trial to Edinburgh. Baillie of Jerviswood was the first victim. Several others were put to death in Scotland; but many more escaped into Holland, where, like their precursors, they were kindly received by the Prince of Orange, who must have been fully convinced by this time that tyranny and Popery were opening his way to the throne of England and Scotland, to which (as yet) his wife Mary was next in regular order of succession to her father, the Duke of York. The most eminent of these last Scottish refugees were Lord Melville, Lord Loudon, and Sir Patrick Hume. The abuse of torture in Scotland at this time appears to have been greater than it had been even in the days of the Duke of Lauderdale. Spence, the fugitive Earl of Argyle's secretary, and Carstairs, a Presbyterian clergyman, who had both been seized in London, were sent to Edinburgh to be tortured and tried. Spence endured the torture twice, and Carstairs bore it for a full hour without confessing or revealing anything. Their thumbs were crushed, and their sleep was interrupted for many days and nights. At last nature could bear no more, and Spence consented to read some letters in cipher that treated of (or so, at least, it was represented) a projected rising in Scotland, the landing of Argyle, Stair, and other of the fugitives in Holland, and of aid to be received from the Whigs in England. This was on the 23d of August; and on the 5th of September, Carstairs, to avoid further torture, confessed before the secret committee of council that there had been a current plot in Scotland for the ten last years for keeping out the Duke of York and preserving the Reformed religion; and he denounced the Earl of Tarras, Murray of Philiphaugh, Pringle of Torwoodlee, Scott of Galashiels, and many other gentlemen of rank, as being privy to it. Several of these lairds were threatened with the boots, and others were actually tortured with worse instruments. Gordon of Earlstone, a man of family and fortune, had been condemned to die; but, upon information that he had been intrusted with important secrets, the council wrote to the Scotch secretary of state at London to know whether they might put him to the torture while he was under sentence of death. The Lord-advocate of Scotland opined that he might be tortured: and the king gave orders that he should. Thereupon



THE THUMBKINS.[1]
From a specimen at Abbotsford.

[1] The thumbkins, as the name imports, was an instrument of torture applied to the thumbs in such a way as to enable the executioner to squeeze them violently. This was often done with so much force, as to crush the thumb bones, causing exquisite torture and swelling of the arms up to the shoulders.

Dr. Jamieson says, "It has been very generally asserted, that part of the cargo of the Invincible Armada was a large assortment of thumbikens, meant to be employed as powerful arguments for convincing the heretics." Lord Fountainhall, in his *Chronological Notes*, 1684, says: "Spence was again tortured with the thumbikens, a new invention introduced by Generals Dalziel and Drummond, who had seen them used in Muscovy."

Gordon was brought before the privy council and their accursed engines of torture; the sight of which drove him raving mad. "Through fear

Torture of the Boots.[1]—Facsimile of the print in Millæus' Praxis Criminis Persequendi.

and distraction he roared out like a bull, and cried and struck about him, so that the hangman and his man durst scarce lay hands on him. At last he fell into a swoon, and then, reviving, he told that General Dalziel and Drummond were to head the fanatic party, and Duke Hamilton was on their side; which improbable things made some call it reverie, and others a politic design to invalidate all he should say; and the physicians were ordained upon soul and conscience to report his condition, if they judged him really mad, or only feigned, as David at Gath with Achish, as also to prescribe him a diet for curing him; and, for more quietness, they sent him to the castle."[2] He was afterwards reprieved by the council till the last Friday in the month of January following. (It was on the 23d of November, 1683, that he was brought up for torture.) "They thought once to have given way to his execution; but being furious, others thought it cruel then to bereave a man of his life, and endanger his soul, when he could not repent: though the king's advocate alleged that the end or the punishment of malefactors was not only *for their own good*, but *in emendationem et terrorem aliorum*, which end held even in decapitating a traitor, though from horror and fear turned mad."[3]

The unusual mildness shown by Monmouth towards the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge, had been succeeded under the Duke of York by detestable cruelties. Not only were those punished who had been in arms, but also those who gave them shelter or betrayed any sympathy in their after-sufferings; and this, too, without any distinction as to the ties of blood and close relationship. Witnesses were tortured as well as prisoners. Sentences of forfeiture were pronounced upon presumptive evidence, or upon no evidence at all, and the estates were divided among the ministers of state of the Duke of York's appointing, their retainers, and the commanders of the troops. In this way Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards the celebrated Viscount Dundee, and the favourite hero of the Tories, was enriched by the lands of a *suspected* Covenanter. The narrow and solitary fortress on the Bass Rock, Dumbarton Castle, and other places the most difficult of access, were crowded with Covenanters and Cameronians, who were made to endure the extremity of cruelty and hardship.

In England, Judge Jeffreys continued to rise in the royal favour. When he was about to depart for the circuit, to give the provinces "a lick with the rough side of his tongue" (a favourite expression of his), the king took a ring from his own finger, and gave it to him, as a token of his particular regard. At the same time Charles bestowed upon him a curious piece of advice to be given by a king to a judge—it was, that, as the weather would be hot, Jeffreys should *beware of drinking too much*. The people called the ring "Jeffreys' bloodstone," as he got it just after the execution of Colonel Armstrong. The lord chief-justice's grand aim was to push the *quo warranto*,

[1] The boot is said to have been imported from Russia (Maclaurin's *Arguments in Remarkable Cases*). It was known in France as "le brodequin." This torture was inflicted in the presence of James I. on one Dr. Fian, a supposed wizard, who was charged with raising the storms that the king encountered on his return from Denmark. In a very curious pamphlet which contains the account of the transaction, it is stated that "hee was with all convenient speed, by commandment, convaied againe to the *torment of the bootes*, wherein he continued a long time, and did abide so many blowes in them, that his legges were crushte and beaten togethear as small as mighte bee, and the bones and flesh so bruised, that the bloud and marrowe spouted forth in great abundance, whereby they were made unserviceable for ever." The unfortunate man was afterwards burned. This instrument of torture continued to be used in Scotland so late as the end of the seventeenth century. See *A Hind let Loose*, 1687, 8vo, p. 186-198; in the frontispiece to which work there is an indistinct representation of the boot.

This cruel contrivance, so frequently mentioned in the history of the Scottish Covenanters, consisted of a strong iron or wooden box adapted to receive one or both of the legs. Where both legs were confined, as in the case of Ravaillac, the assassin of Henry IV. of France (see his trial in Sully's *Memoirs*, vol. v.), a wedge was driven between the knees by the force of a mallet, and other wedges of increased thickness were successively introduced. This appears to be the kind of application shown in the accompanying cut, but it does not appear in the original how the legs were fixed; perhaps this was contrived by some adjustment at the back of the apparatus.

[2] *Lauder.*

[3] Ibid.

and to obtain, through terror or cajolery, a surrender of the corporation charters; and this war against civic rights was driven on with such vigour and success, that almost all the municipalities were prevailed on, eventually, either to suffer judgment against them by default, or to surrender their charters in hope of conciliating the favour of the despot.[1] It was avowedly not a reform that Charles wanted, but a total destruction of municipal institutions, which, more than any other single cause, secure men in their liberty, and fit them for the enjoyment of it, and for the self-legislating (in minor points) and business habits of freemen. And whenever that Saxon spirit of municipal government is destroyed, either by an over-extension of the French principle of centralization, or by any other whim of rash legislators or embryo tyrants, the parliament of England will be worth less than a village vestry.

Charles was now proving to the world that he had no intention of ever again meeting parliament. Halifax ventured to propose such a meeting, but Charles had now resigned himself to the will of his brother. The duplicity of Halifax hardly saved him from the duke's vengeance; and during the few months that remained of this reign, the duke and minister were alternately engaged in united intrigues against other ministers, and in intriguing the one against the other. The whole business of the admiralty was again placed in the hands of James; and presently after, in defiance of the test act, he was re-admitted as a member of the council. It was scarcely to be expected, that he who never pardoned any one should overlook his arch-enemy, the Reverend Dr. Titus Oates. That great hero of the Popish Plot was brought before Jeffreys, upon whom, in former days, he had adventured his wit,[2] charged with sundry libels under the statute *de scandalis magnatum*. Witnesses swore that the doctor had said that the Duke of York was a traitor—that "the Duke of York, before the succession should come to him, should be banished or hanged, but hanging was the fittest." Damages were awarded to the duke to the amount of £100,000, which was equivalent to a sentence of perpetual imprisonment against the doctor.

Jeffreys, who had first been promoted at court by James (who had employed him as his solicitor-general), seems to have undertaken the most difficult and dangerous task of stretching the limits of toleration; but with the sole view of benefiting the Catholics, and gratifying the duke.

In his bold intrigues, Halifax included a secret correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth, with some others of the exiles at the court of the Prince of Orange, and also *with William himself;* but though the Duke of York knew or suspected this, he was unable to deprive him of the favour of the king, who liked the minister more for his ready wit and talent for satire than for any other quality. Lord Rochester, the second son of the late chancellor, Clarendon, after a vain rivalship, was appointed to the presidency of the council, a post of nominal dignity rather than of power or great emolument. This his rival Halifax called kicking a man up stairs. Subsequently, Rochester was appointed to the government of Ireland, in the room of the Duke of Ormond, who was abruptly recalled to make room for him, and for a scheme which it was fancied Ormond would not go into. This was the raising of a Catholic army in Ireland, to be employed, if necessary, in England.[3] Godolphin, that adroit trimmer, who retained place and favour under three successive princes of very opposite characters, after being promoted to one of the two secretaryships of state, was removed to Rochester's place. Sunderland, as adroit as Godolphin, remained in office, and kept up a very friendly understanding with the French mistress. The foreign transactions of this cabinet were sufficiently base, but they are uninteresting, being merely a continuation of Charles's old system. Among these transactions may be classed the marriage of the Princess Anne, the Duke of York's second daughter. This young lady, it is said, had been, for prudential reasons, always destined to a Protestant prince; and it is added that the court of France, which exercised their influence in all things, had consented to that arrangement, with the proviso that they should have the naming of the person. It was on this errand that George (afterwards George I.), the son of the Elector of Hanover, came over to England in 1682. Burnet intimates that this wooer was recalled by his father, who had changed his mind, and settled that he should marry the Princess of Zell, his first cousin. But it is insinuated by others that the Hanoverian was fastidious; that the Lady Anne had not the fortune to please him; and that,

[1] *Penny Cyclopedia*, article "Borough;" Wilcock, *Law of Municipal Corporations*.

[2] This was upon the trial of College, the "Protestant joiner," when Oates appeared to prove that subornation had been practised against the Protestants. He appealed to Jeffreys, then serjeant, as to his knowledge of Alderman Wilcox; Jeffreys exclaimed that he did not intend to be an evidence for such as he. "I do not desire," said Titus, "that Sir George Jeffreys should be an evidence for me: I had credit in parliaments, and Sir George had disgrace in one of them." Jeffreys was cowed, and merely said, "Your servant, Doctor; you are a witty man and a philosopher." In fact, in November, 1680, the House of Commons had voted that Sir George Jeffreys, the recorder of the city of London, by traducing and obstructing the petitioning for the sitting of this parliament had destroyed the right of the subject. They had, moreover, petitioned the king to remove him out of all public offices, and had brought him upon his knees at the bar of the house. Jeffreys was also frightened into a surrender of the recordership of London. Charles made a mockery of his terror, and told him he was not *parliament-proof!*

[3] *Dalrymple.*

like other great ladies, she never forgot or forgave the affront to her dying day.[1] On the 19th of July, 1683, two days before the beheading of Lord Russell, and in the midst of the public excitement about the Rye House Plot, George, Prince of Denmark, brother to his Danish majesty, arrived to marry the Lady Anne; and as he was backed by France, and all the preliminaries had been settled, the marriage took place at Whitehall a week after.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV., regardless of the treaty of Nimeguen, and of the rights of nations, was continuing his career of encroachment and aggression. Upon the Rhine, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and across the Alps, the might of his arms, or of his gold and intrigues, was felt. Genoa the superb was bombarded, and her doge compelled, in person, to implore the pardon of the grand monarque at Versailles. It seemed that England had resigned the sovereignty of the seas. France had now a magnificent fleet, manned by 60,000 sailors; and the French flag exacted homage in all directions. The Prince of Orange, who again found Holland exposed, and who had never ceased labouring to form a coalition against the French, now united with the courts of Madrid and Vienna in urging Charles to take part in a league for the preservation of the independence of Europe; but Charles knew that he could not figure as a belligerent without calling a parliament for money, and a parliament he was resolved never to call. He therefore continued to receive his pay from France, which became less liberal and regular as Louis perceived his real condition. In the preceding year (1683), Lord Dartmouth was sent with a squadron to Tangier, with a secret commission to blow up the mole, the fortifications, and all the works, which had cost England immense sums; to bring home the garrison, and to leave the ruins to the Moors. No material benefit had been derived from the occupation of that African port; but a wiser government might have rendered it something like what Gibraltar has become in our hands, and made it a nucleus of African commerce and civilization.

A.D. 1685. In rendering himself absolute, Charles had failed to increase his happiness. His usual gaiety forsook him, and he became morose, gloomy, and dejected, unable to find any solace except in sauntering away his time among his women. A variety of causes has been assigned for this change of temper in the constitutionally gay and thoughtless monarch; yet probably, after all, his dejection arose more from his declining health than from any intensity of moral feeling or anxiety. It was, perhaps, nothing more than the heaviness and gloom which generally precedes apoplexy. In the midst of the fiercely renewed conflicting intrigues of Halifax and the Duke of York, who each wished to banish the other, Charles, who had wavered and lied to both, promised to make up his mind to some certain course; but on Monday, the 2d of February, after passing a restless night, his face was observed to be pale and ghastly, his head drooped, and his hand was fixed on his stomach. Dr. King, an eminent chemist and physician, who was in waiting that day by the particular order of the king, who had a taste for experimental philosophy, ran out of the room, and meeting the Earl of Peterborough, told him that his majesty was in a strange humour, for he did not speak one word of sense. The earl returned with the doctor into the chamber, and they had scarcely entered when Charles fell on the floor as if dead. Dr. King then resolved to bleed him at all hazards; and, after bleeding, the king came to himself. The royal physicians afterwards approved of King's promptitude; and the council ordered £1000 for his good service, *which was never paid.* As soon as the report of this illness got abroad, the people were thrown into a great ferment. According to one party, this was simply the effect of their wonderful love to Charles's person; but the other party hinted that the dread of his successor did not a little contribute to swell their sorrow. On the third day of the king's illness, the lords of the council inserted a bulletin in the *Gazette*, stating that his physicians conceived that he was now out of danger, and that in a few days he would be freed from his distemper. But this bulletin was scarcely made public when the king had a second fit; and then the physicians gave him over, and consigned him to the spiritual care of the bishops. Charles wanted no Protestant divines. Barillon, the French ambassador and bribe-payer, hasted to Whitehall to speak to the Duke of York, who begged him to assure King Louis that he would ever have in him a faithful and grateful servant. The ambassador then passed for a moment into the apartment of his countrywoman, the Duchess of Portsmouth. "Instead of speaking to me," says Barillon, "of her grief, and of the great loss she was about to sustain, she entered into a private cabinet, and said, 'Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it were known here. The king, in the bottom of his heart, is a Catholic!'" She conjured him to go to the Duke of York, and concert how a confessor might be smuggled into the king's bedside. There were several difficulties to overcome. The English bishops scarcely ever left the bedside, and they had even pressed him to receive the sacrament according to the rites of their own church. And then, by the law of the land, it was still death

[1] *Ralph.*

for a native Romish priest to present himself; and Charles, it appears, could confess himself in no other language than English. Various expedients were thought of by the duke and the ambassador. At last, it was resolved to send to the Venetian resident for a priest that spoke English; but, as time pressed, the Count of Castelmelhor went into the closet where the queen's priests were assembled, and unexpectedly found among them one Huddleston, a priest, who had saved the king's life after the battle of Worcester, and who, by special act of parliament, had been exempted from all the laws made against the Catholics. They put a wig and gown upon this man to disguise him. Castelmelhor took him to be instructed by a Portuguese monk of the order of the Barefooted Carmelites, in what he had to do on such an occasion; for Huddleston was no practised confessor. Then Castelmelhor conducted him to the door of a room that adjoined the sick chamber; and the Duke of York, being warned by Barillon that all was ready, sent out Chiffinch of the back-stairs, who had been accustomed to bring Charles his women, to bring in Huddleston and the host. The Duke of York exclaimed aloud, "The king wills that everybody should retire except the Earls of Bath and Feversham." The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was shut upon them; and Chiffinch came back with the disguised priest. In presenting Huddleston, James said, "Sire, here is a man who once saved your life, and who is now come to save your soul." The king answered, "He is welcome." He then confessed himself with seeming sentiments of devotion and repentance; and the Duke of York assured Barillon that Huddleston had acquitted himself very well as a confessor, and made the king formally promise to declare himself openly a Catholic, if he recovered his health. After confession Charles received absolution, the Romish communion, and even extreme unction. During the three quarters of an hour that all this lasted, the courtiers, attendants, Protestant bishops, and others in the ante-chamber, gazed at one another; none said anything except with their eyes, or in whispers. According to Barillon, the presence in the sick room of Lords Bath and Feversham, who were Protestants, satisfied the bishops a little: but the queen's women and the other priests saw so much going and coming that it was impossible the secret could be kept long.[1] After Charles had received the communion the violence of his disorder seemed to abate, and he spoke more intelligibly than he had done for some time. He sent for his natural children, gave them his dying blessing, and recommended them to his successor. But of the absent Duke of Monmouth he made no mention, good or bad. As he was pronouncing his blessing on his illegitimate sons, the bishops observed that he was the Lord's anointed, and the father of his country; and thereupon all present fell upon their knees, and Charles raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. The queen had sent to excuse her absence, and to implore his pardon for any offence that she might have given him. "Alas! poor woman," said Charles, "it is I that should ask her pardon; and I do it with all my heart." He spoke repeatedly to the Duke of York in terms of tenderness and friendship; he twice recommended to him the Duchess of Portsmouth and his son by her, the young Duke of Richmond; he begged kind treatment for the Duchess of Cleveland; nor was his stage-mistress forgotten. "Do not," said he, "let poor Nelly starve." At these words the bishops were much scandalized. The king often expressed his confidence in God's mercy. Ken, the orthodox Bishop of Bath and Wells, read some prayers, and spoke to him of God; "but the bishop," adds Barillon, "was not officious in saying anything particular to him, or proposing that he should make a profession of his faith; he apprehended a refusal, but feared still more, as I believe, to irritate the Duke of York." Charles was perfectly sensible the whole night, and spoke upon all things with great calmness. At six o'clock in the morning (it was the 6th day of February) he asked what hour it was, and said, "Open the curtains that I may once more see daylight." At ten o'clock his senses were quite gone, and he died half an hour before twelve, without any struggle or convulsion.[2] Charles was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign *de facto* from the Restoration in 1660; though the formal mode of reckoning in acts of parliament and legal documents is from the death of his father, which makes the duration of his reign thirty-six years.

It was instantly "ventilated abroad" that his death was caused by poison administered to make way for the succession of his Popish brother; but it appears to us that this foul rumour, of which we shall soon hear more, rested upon the slenderest of foundations, and that James, with all his faults and hardness of heart, was utterly incapable of committing or permitting any such crime.

[1] All this time, and from the king's being in danger to his death, "prayers," says Evelyn, "were solemnly made in all the churches, especially in both the court chapels, where the chaplains relieved one another every half quarter of an hour from the time he began to be in danger till he expired, according to the form prescribed in the church offices. Those who assisted his majesty's devotions were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham and Ely, but more especially Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells."—*Diary.*

[2] Dépêche de M. Barillon au Roi, dated February 18 (new style), 1685; Huddleston's Brief Account in *State Tracts*, and in Sir H. Ellis's *Letters;* Evelyn's *Diary;* Letter to the Rev. Francis Roper, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in Sir H. Ellis's *Collection.*

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1685.

JAMES II.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1685—FLIGHT, A.D. 1688.

Accession of James II —His speech to the council—He shows his Popish predilections—He retaliates for past injuries—He overstrains the royal prerogative—James pensioned by Louis XIV.—His coronation—Titus Oates brought to trial—His severe punishment—Dangerfield tried and murdered—Parliament assembled—The king's opening speech and proposals—Compliance of parliament—The Earl of Argyle lands in Scotland—He levies war against the king—His defeat and capture—His execution—Execution of Rumbold and Colonel Ayloffe—Executions and punishments in Scotland—The Duke of Monmouth makes a hostile landing in England—His popularity—He publishes his "Declaration"—His pretension to the crown—His first military proceedings—Quarrels among his chief followers—Monmouth's progress to Taunton—His flattering reception—He assumes the title and prerogatives of royalty—His further military proceedings—Battle of Sedgemoor—Defeat of Monmouth's army—The duke's capture—His hopeless attempts upon the clemency of James—His behaviour on the scaffold—Attempts of the bishops to procure his assent to the doctrine of non-resistance—His execution—Executions made by Colonel Kirke after the battle of Sedgemoor—Jeffreys' campaign—Iniquitous execution of Mrs. Lisle—Continued executions of Judge Jeffreys—He is appointed lord-chancellor—Cruelties exercised on those whose lives were spared.

AS soon as his brother was dead James hastened to the council, and thus addressed the members of it:—"My lords, before I enter any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased almighty God to place me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a king, as well as so very kind a brother, it is proper for me to declare to you that I will endeavour to follow his example, and particularly in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man fond of arbitrary power; but that is not the only falsehood which has been reported of me: and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are favourable to monarchy; and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall aways take care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often before ventured my life in defence of this nation; and shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties." On the same afternoon at four o'clock James was proclaimed in the very same forms as his grandfather James I., after the death of Queen Elizabeth. The people answered with acclamations, and not a shadow of opposition appeared anywhere. In the evening there was great kissing of hands at Whitehall, the queen being in her bed, but putting forth her hand. James, though little less vicious than his brother, was more quiet in his pleasures, and was possessed of a strong sense of decorum and stateliness. "The face of the whole court," says Evelyn a few days later, "was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour; the new king affecting neither profaneness nor buffoonery."

When the ministers and great officers waited upon James, to surrender their offices and charges into his majesty's hands, he returned them all back to them with gracious words. By the advice of the council, his first declaration was printed and dispersed all over the country, as containing matter of great satisfaction to a jealous people; and a proclamation was set forth to continue all magistrates and authorities whatsoever; thus making the transition of government almost imperceptible, and causing the new reign to appear no more than a continuation of the former one. But all these and other measures began to lose their value when the king was seen, on the first Sunday after his brother's burial,[1] going to mass publicly with all the ensigns of royalty, and ordering the doors of his Romish chapel to be set wide open. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the unlawful threshold. "My lord," said the king, "your father would have gone further." "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far, replied the duke. He ordered Huddleston, the priest, to publish a relation of Charles's dying in the communion of the Church of Rome, and he himself became the publisher of two papers, which he declared in his own royal name, and under his signature, were found by him in his

[1] "14 Feb.—The king was this *night* buried *very obscurely* in a vault under Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten."—*Evelyn.*

JAMES II.

James II., second son of Charles I., was born in 1633, receiving the title of Duke of York. During the Civil War he escaped from England and served in the French army, but at the Restoration he returned and was appointed lord high-admiral of the fleet. On the death of his brother, Charles II., in 1685, he became king, and at once assumed almost absolute power. His claim for the Divine Right of kings was chiefly shown in an arbitrary interference with the law, the favours he bestowed on Roman Catholics, and his evident desire to restore the Catholic religion to England. The ease with which he overcame the rebellion headed by his nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, encouraged him in his despotism, and his need for money was met by a pension which he accepted from the king of France. Personally he was somewhat boorish in his manner, rude of speech, selfish in disposition, and wholly given up to undisguised lying. The result, therefore, of the king's conduct and character was the Revolution of 1688, in which James found himself completely deserted. He was held in such scorn that no one regarded him as he slunk out of the kingdom, giving place to William, Prince of Orange. Afterwards he tried to regain his throne by stirring up rebellion in Ireland, but his forces were defeated (1690) at the battle of the Boyne. Thereafter he returned to France, and died at St. Germains in 1701.

FROM CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVINGS BY LOGGAN AND WILL.
AFTER PAINTINGS BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER AND SIR PETER LE

brother's strong box; their tendency being to establish that there could be but one true church, and that that was the Church of Rome; that whosoever set up their own authority against that one true church, whether individuals, nations, or governments, fell immediately into fanaticism; and that, consequently, the Church of England lay as open to that imputation as any of the sects which had arisen out of and separated from it. James triumphantly showed these two papers to Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who said that he did not think the late king had been so learned in controversy, but that the arguments in the papers were easy to refute. James challenged the archbishop to confute them in writing, if he could; but Sancroft, not anxious to incur the martyrdom of court displeasure, said that it ill became him to enter into a controversy with his sovereign. Nor could James, as king, magnanimously overlook the affronts which had been offered to him as Duke of York, or treat with decent civility any of his old opponents except such as laid their principles and their honour at his feet. When the leading Whigs came up to pay their court in common with the rest of his subjects, most of them were but coldly received; some were sharply reproached for their past behaviour; and others were denied access. But another more decided symptom of James's remembrance of past injuries appeared in his ordering Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, to publish a full narrative of the Rye House Plot under the royal authority. "This relation was written with great virulence of expression upon past heats; and in it an averment was made that James knew of 20,000 persons who had been engaged in that plot—an implied menace, which, by the ambiguity of its object, caused every Whig in the nation to think it was levelled at him."[1] James, moreover, though he had promised to call a parliament, had not patience to wait for its assembling, but proceeded at once to stretch the prerogative in regard to points where the nation was most sensitive. Those branches of the revenue which consisted of the customs and of part of the excise, having been granted to the late king for life, stopped by law at his death; but Lord Chief-justice Jeffreys moved that, without further ado, the king should instantly issue a proclamation, commanding the revenue to be levied and employed as in the former reign; and James followed this congenial advice. To cover this stretch of arbitrary power, the court procured addresses from many public bodies. The barristers and students of the Middle Temple thanked his majesty for extending his royal care to the preservation of the customs, and prayed that there never might be wanting millions as loyal as themselves to sacrifice life and fortune in support of his majesty's sacred person and prerogative in its full extent; and the university of Oxford hastened to declare their faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any restrictions or limitations of his power. But all these addresses could not blind men to the illegality of the measure, or make them forget the civil wars and the miseries produced by the attempt of this king's father to levy part of the same duties without consent of parliament; and "compliments by public bodies to the sovereign for the breach of the laws, only served to remind the nation that the laws had been broken."[2] Humanity, justice itself, would make us approve and applaud the object of another of James's proceedings by prerogative; but the nation was not then in a state for the exercise of this humanity and justice; and the measure was clearly contrary to law and the constitution, which had repeatedly repudiated this dispensing power in the sovereign. By his royal warrant he threw open the prisons of England to thousands of Dissenters and Papists, who had been enduring a horrible captivity for conscience' sake.

JAMES II.—From a print by Vertue after Kneller.

James had taken the earliest opportunity of assuring his friend Barillon that his trust, after God, was in the French king. Louis, to secure him, as he had done his brother, sent him 500,000

[1] *Dalrymple.* Other papers were published nearly at the same time by, or with the consent of the king. One of these was an account of the blessed conversion of his first wife, the daughter of the high churchman Clarendon.

[2] *Dalrymple.*

livres, which James received with tears of gratitude. Rochester plainly told Barillon, "Your master must place mine in a situation to be independent of parliaments;" and James renewed his abject prayers for more money. At the same time, he outwardly affected an equality with Louis, declared that he would not be governed by French counsels, and that he would maintain the balance of Europe with a steady hand, Captain Churchill, now a lord, and in the highest favour, was sent to Paris to announce in form the accession.

Many scruples were entertained both by James and his wife touching the coronation, which ceremony it was necessary should be performed by a Protestant prelate. Priests, and even the Pope himself, were consulted. A quibble was resorted to in order to justify the oath which had to be taken to maintain the Anglican church; and, after taking the solemn vows, the king and queen, upon St. George's Day, were crowned in Westminster Abbey by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. As the crown was put upon James's unhappy head, it tottered and almost fell; and it was observed that, during both the coronation and the banquet, he was ill at ease.

Titus Oates whipped at the Cart's-tail.
From a Dutch print in the Crowle Pennant, British Museum.

On the 7th of May, a fortnight after the coronation, Titus Oates was again brought up to the bar of the Court of King's Bench; for James was not satisfied with the perpetual imprisonment to which he was already doomed. This time the "saver" of the nation was tried, not for libels, but for perjury. A vast number of Roman Catholics assembled in Westminster Hall, "in expectation of the most grateful conviction and ruin of a person who had been so obnoxious to them." Jeffreys was again his judge, and this time his brutal severities were unchecked. People expected to see the Protestant champion cower like a whipped spaniel; but it was not so. This exemplary witness boldly challenged the veracity and the character of the witnesses brought against him, particularly objecting to Lord Castlemaine as a Papist; but in impudence and strength of face Oates was a match even for the redoubtable Jeffreys, and the scoundrel had a sort of spirit which the wonderful change in his circumstances could not depress. "Hold your tongue," roared Jeffreys; "you are a shame to mankind." "No, my lord," said the imperturbable Titus, "I am neither a shame to myself or mankind. What I have sworn is true; and I will stand by it to my last breath, and seal it, if occasion be, with my blood." "*'Twere pity but that it were to be done by thy blood*," responded this decent lord chief-justice. Oates was convicted upon two indictments, and this was his sentence:—1st, He was to pay 1000 marks upon each indictment; 2d, to be stripped of all his canonical habits (a sentence the right of pronouncing which belonged only to the courts ecclesiastical); 3d, he was to stand twice in the pillory; 4th, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and, two days afterwards, from Newgate to Tyburn; and 5th, he was to stand in the pillory on five days in every year as long as he lived. The sentence was executed without mercy as long as James and Jeffreys had the power to inflict torture.[1] The most severe

Titus Oates in the Pillory.
From a Dutch print in the Crowle Pennant, British Museum.

[1] The *gentle* Evelyn has this entry in his *Diary* on the 22d of May, *which*, it should be remarked, *was the day when parliament*

death would have been preferable; but Titus's body was as tough as his soul, and he survived to be pardoned and rewarded at the Revolution. Nor did the sight of his humiliating sufferings altogether throw him from that pedestal on which religious zeal had placed him.

Bedloe was safe in his grave, and others of the Protestant witnesses had either hid themselves or entered into the pay of the court; but Dangerfield was caught and tried at the King's Bench for writing and publishing a villainous and scandalous libel, called his *Narrative*. He received judgment to stand twice in the pillory; to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn on another; and to pay a fine of £500. This handsome scoundrel was not made of such materials as Titus. He "was struck with such horror at this terrible sentence that he looked on himself as a dead man, and, accordingly, chose a text for his funeral sermon; but persevered in asserting that all he had delivered in evidence before the House of Commons was true. The whipping was executed in full rigour, as before upon Oates; and it was scarce over before one Mr. Robert Frances, a barrister of Gray's Inn, gave him a wound with his cane, in or near the eye, which, according to the deposition of the surgeons, was the cause of his death."[1] This furious barrister, Mr. Frances, was tried for murder; and, as the popular feeling was violent against him, it was judged proper to permit his conviction and execution.

The Scottish parliament assembled on St. George's Day—the day of their majesties' coronation; and the Scots, priding themselves on being the first parliament called by the new king, voted the excise and customs to him and his successors for ever, and a further sum of £25,000 a-year for his life.

The English parliament assembled on the 22d of May; and, as the elections had gone greatly in favour of the Tories, it was expected that it would be as prompt and obedient as the Scotch. But not even the Tories were prepared for the repeal of the habeas corpus act, for a general toleration, or for the promotion of Popery; and it was well known that James was aiming at all three. The bishops all took their places. "Then came in the king, with the crown on his head; and, being seated, the commons were introduced; and, the house being full, he drew forth a paper containing his speech, which he read distinctly enough."[2] He told them that he had resolved to call a parliament from the moment of his brother's decease, as the best means of settling all the concerns of the nation, so as to be most easy and happy to himself as well as to his subjects. He repeated, almost word for word, the assurances which he had given to the council on the morning of his brother's death, that he would defend and support the Church of England, and govern according to law; and then continued, "Having given this assurance concerning the care I will have of *your* religion and property, which I have chosen to do in the same words I used at my first coming to the crown, the better to evidence to you that I spoke them not by chance; and, consequently, that you may firmly rely on a promise so solemnly made——." Here he was interrupted by a murmur of satisfaction; and men who had hitherto had their eyes fixed upon him, now gazed at one another with surprise, joy, and triumph. Resuming his speech, the king told them that he might now reasonably expect a revenue for life such as had been voted to his brother. Here was another murmur, which expressed universal assent. But James, who could not control his arbitrary temper, and who was wholly unfit to manage popular assemblies, continued, "There is one popular argument which I foresee may be used against what I have asked of you. The inclination men have for frequent parliaments, some may think would be the best secured by feeding me, from time to time, by such proportions as they shall think convenient; and this argument, it being the first time I speak to you from the throne, I will answer, once for all, that this would be a very improper method to take with *me;* and that the best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well. I expect, therefore, that you will comply with me in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedily." At these words every face was covered, as it were, with a cloud.[3] But the royal bird of bad augury had not yet done; and he proceeded to announce that news had reached him that very morning, that Argyle, with a rebel band from Holland, had landed in the Western Highlands, and had proclaimed him a usurper and tyrant. Both houses, however, pledged themselves to assist his majesty to the utmost; and, according to Evelyn, "there was another shout of *Vive le Roi*, and so his majesty retired."

The commons voted thanks to the king for his speech, granted the revenue of £1,200,000 for his life, and everything else that was demanded, as if they were more forward to give than James was to ask. But, shortly after, a very full committee unanimously resolved to "move the house

opened:—"Oates, who had but two days before been pilloried at several places and whipped at the cart's-tail from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day placed on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragged from prison to Tyburn, and whipped again all the way, which some thought to be very severe and extraordinary: but if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of many innocents, as I fear he was, *his punishement was but what he deserved*. I chanced to pass just as execution was doing on him—a strange revolution!"

[1] *Ralph.*

[2] *Evelyn.*

[3] *Barillon.*

to stand by the king in the support and defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England, with their lives and fortunes;" and to address him "to put the laws in execution *against all Dissenters whatsoever* from the Church of England." James instantly summoned some of the leading members to his presence, and told them harshly that they must present no such address. A vehement debate ensued in the house; but, in the end, a compromise was hit upon, and the resolution was put in these words:—"The house relies on his majesty's word and repeated declaration to support and defend the religion of the Church of England as it is now by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives." The speaker, who presented this resolution, together with the money bill, "without any appropriating or tacking clauses whatever," dwelt with particular emphasis on the last words of the resolution, "dearer than our lives." The king did not bestow one syllable upon the subject in his answer to the speaker; but to others he complained that the commons would have him, in his own person, to be the persecutor of the Catholics.

On the 14th of June, certain intelligence was received of the landing of the Duke of Monmouth with an armed force. Both houses forthwith attainted the duke as a traitor; and the commons voted an extraordinary supply of £400,000. James then, on the 2d of July, adjourned parliament to the following November. By this time, though Monmouth had set up his standard as King of England, Argyle had been routed and put to death.

The leading facts of this double invasion are soon told. The Scottish refugees in Holland fancied that neither England nor Scotland would tolerate the government of the Papistical and idolatrous James; and they were encouraged by many suffering Presbyterians and Covenanters to strike a blow for liberty and the kirk. Argyle opened a correspondence with Monmouth, and it was arranged between them that two expeditions should be made simultaneously—one to Scotland under Argyle, the other to England under the duke. Money, and nearly everything else, was wanting, and Monmouth was dilatory and diffident of success; but at last two handfuls of men were got together, and some arms were purchased and some ships freighted. Argyle sailed on the 2d of May, with Sir John Cochrane, with Ayloffe, and Rumbold the maltster, two Englishmen, who had been made famous by the parts attributed to them in the Rye House Plot, and with about 100 followers. Monmouth promised to sail for England in six days; but he wasted his time—loath to tear himself from a beautiful mistress, the Lady Harriet Wentworth, who had been living with him at Brussels. In the meantime, Argyle shaped his course for the Western Highlands. While he was beating round the northern capes and headlands, the government had leisure to make their preparations; and, as it was known that he was coming, two ships of war were sent to watch his motions. The whole militia of the kingdom, consisting of 20,000 men, were put under arms; and a third part of it, with 3000 regular troops, was marched into the western country. At the same time, all such as were suspected of favouring him were seized; and the king's proclamations, and the declarations of parliament, were published to the people, who stood in awe of James's well-known severity. Argyle, however, effected a landing; sent the fiery cross from hill to hill, from clan to clan, and got about 2500 Highlanders to join him. He published two declarations, one in his own name, complaining of his own wrongs, the other setting forth that the miseries of the nation arose out of the breach of the Covenant; that the king had forfeited the crown by the crimes of Popery, Prelacy, tyranny, and fratricide; and that he was come to suppress alike Prelacy and Popery. His standard bore the inscription, "Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism." He lost some time in expecting to be joined by more of the Highlanders, and to hear of Monmouth's landing upon the western coast of England, as had been agreed upon; and when he pushed forward for Glasgow he was betrayed by his guides and waggon-men, deserted by the greater part of his followers, and confronted by Lord Dumbarton with a force in every way far superior to his own. Hume and Cochrane left him almost alone, and crossed the Clyde in safety with 200 or 300 men. Attended only by Fullarton, Argyle, in disguise, endeavoured to elude pursuit; but he was tracked by some militiamen, overpowered, made prisoner, and carried back to his old cell in Edinburgh Castle on the 20th of June. His life was held to be forfeited, without any trial, by his former sentence; and James sent down his death-warrant, allowing him three days, to be employed in "all ways" that might make him confess the full particulars of his defeated plan. It is generally understood that James meant by this that Argyle should be put to torture; but it does not appear that the noble prisoner was either booted or thumb-screwed, and it is certain that he betrayed none of his friends. He was beheaded on the 30th of June, and died with admirable courage.[1] Many were

[1] "Never, perhaps, did a few sentences present so striking a picture of a mind truly virtuous and honourable. Heroic courage is the least part of his praise, and vanishes, as it were, from our sight, when we contemplate the sensibility with which he acknowledges the kindness, such as it is, of the very men who are leading him to the scaffold; the generous satisfaction which he feels on reflecting that no confession of his has endangered his associates; and, above all, his anxiety in such

sorely disappointed that he was not hanged like Montrose; but they had some satisfaction in seeing his head stuck upon the tolbooth. The two Englishmen, Ayloffe and Rumbold, who had accompanied Argyle from Holland, were both taken, after a desperate resistance, in which they were dreadfully wounded. On the 26th of June, the doctors reported to the privy council that Rumbold "was in hazard of death by his wounds;" so the council ordained the criminal court to sit on him the next morning, that he might not prevent his public execution by his death."[1] This Richard Rumbold, maltster, and formerly master of the Rye House, was an English yeoman of the true breed, whose political creed was pithily expressed in a few homely words upon his trial. He did not believe, he said, that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest. He was sentenced to be executed that same afternoon. He was drawn on a hurdle; "for, laying aside the ignominy, he was not able to walk, by reason of the wounds he got when he resisted Raploch and his men." The undaunted yeoman suffered ten times the pain of Argyle with as much heroism. "He was certainly," says the cool and circumspect lawyer that narrates all the atrocities of his execution,[2] "a man of much natural courage. His rooted, ingrained opinion, was for a republic against monarchy, to pull which down he thought a duty and no sin. And on the scaffold he began to pray for that party which he had been owning, and to keep the three metropolitan cities of the three kingdoms right; and if every hair of his head were a life, he would venture them all in that cause; but the drums were then commanded to beat."[3] Colonel Ayloffe was sent up to London in the hope that some fuller discovery of the plot, and who had, underhand, been concerned in it, might be drawn from him. James, who had an unroyal fondness for such practices, examined him in person; but the colonel was as firm as the maltster, and the king got nothing from him except a cutting repartee. "You know, sir," said James, "that, if you desire it, it is in my power to pardon you." "It is in your power, but not in your nature," replied Ayloffe. The colonel was nephew, by marriage, to the late Chancellor Clarendon; and it was thought that the nearness of his relationship to the king's children (by Anne Hyde) might have moved his majesty to pardon him, which would have been the most effectual confutation of the bold repartee, but he signed his death-warrant instead.[4] Some other executions took place in Scotland on account of Argyle's wretched incursion; and the Earl of Balcarras was sent into Galloway, and the other western shires, with a commission of fire and sword against the "resetters" of the rebels. All matters were conducted in the most savage and brutal spirit. The old feuds of the rival clans were encouraged; and hereditary enemies, scarcely more civilized than the Red Indians, were let loose upon one another. Charles Campbell, Argyle's second son, was taken, lying sick of a fever in Argyleshire; and the Marquis of Athole, the hereditary enemy of the Campbells, by virtue of his justiciary power, resolved to hang him at his father's gate at Inverary, though still in a raging fever; but the privy council, at the intercession of sundry ladies, including his wife, Lady Sophia Lindsay, who had contrived his father's escape from Edinburgh Castle, stopped this execution, and ordered the prisoner to be brought to Edinburgh. His brother, Mr. John Campbell, and one of his cousins, finding that they could no longer conceal themselves, went, disguised in women's riding-habits, to my Lord Dumbarton, and, falling at his feet, discovered themselves. This general, who had some humanity, signed an order constituting them prisoners in Stirling,

moments, to perform all the duties of friendship and gratitude, not only with the most scrupulous exactness, but with the most considerate attention to the feelings as well as to the interests of the person who was the object of them. Indeed, it seems throughout, to have been the peculiar felicity of this man's mind, that everything was present to it that ought to be so—nothing that ought not. Of his country, he could not be unmindful; and it was one among other consequences of his happy temper, that on this subject he did not entertain those gloomy ideas which the then state of Scotland was but too well fitted to inspire. In a conversation with an intimate friend, he says, that though he does not take upon him to be a prophet, he doubts not that deliverance will come, and suddenly, of which his failings had rendered him unworthy to be the instrument. . . . If on the one hand it is to be regretted that we have not more memorials left of passages so interesting, and that even of those which we do possess, a great part is obscured by time; it must be confessed, on the other, that we have quite enough to enable us to pronounce that, for constancy and equanimity under the severest trials, few men have equalled, none ever surpassed, the Earl of Argyle. The most powerful of all tempters, hope, was not held out to him, so that he had not, it is true, in addition to his other hard tasks, that of resisting her seductive influence; but the passions of a different class had the fullest scope for their attacks. These, however, could make no impression on his well-disciplined mind. Anger could not exasperate, fear could not appal him; and if disappointment and indignation at the behaviour of his followers, and the supineness of the country, did occasionally, as sure they must, cause uneasy sensations, they had not the power to extort from him one unbecoming or even querulous expression. Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found, in a single instance, wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour."—Charles James Fox, *History of the Reign of James II.*, 4to edition, p. 202.

[1] *Lauder of Fountainhall.*

[2] Being hoisted up by a pulley and hanged awhile, he was let down scarce fully dead, and his heart pulled out and carried on the point of a bayonet by the hangman, crying, "This is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer;" and then thrown into a fire: after which they struck off his head, and carried it also; then cut him in four quarters, which were affixed at Glasgow, Dumfries, New Galloway, and Jedburgh, and his head put on a pole at the West Port of Edinburgh; *but, by order of the king, they were afterwards carried to London.—Lauder.*

[3] *Lauder of Fountainhall.*

[4] *Burnet.*

with the liberty of the whole castle, and trusted them with the carrying of the order without any guard, at which the secret committee were sorely offended. Some of the common prisoners were, by the privy council, delivered to Mr. George Scott of Pitlochy, and other planters in New Jersey, Jamaica, &c.; "but, considering that some of them were more perverse in mincing the king's authority than others, they ordained these, to the number of forty, to have a piece of their lug (ear) cut off by the hangman; and the women disowning the king to be burned in the shoulder, that if any of them returned they might be known by that mark and hanged."[1]

Instead of six days, it was a month before the lingering Monmouth set sail from the Texel, with about eighty officers and 150 followers of various kinds, Scotch and English. Lord Stair,

James, Duke of Monmouth.—From a fine print after Wissing

who had fled from the tyranny of James when Duke of York and commissioner in Scotland, did not join the expedition; but Fletcher of Saltoun, a fugitive for the same cause, Sir Patrick Hume, and that Lord Grey who had escaped from the very gates of the Tower when arrested for the Rye House Plot, embarked with Monmouth. There is a suspicion, amounting almost to certainty, that James's son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, encouraged underhand the expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth.

Six days before Argyle's capture, Monmouth and his small band landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire. Having collected his men on the sands, the duke marched into the town and set up his standard in the market-place, telling the people that he had come for no other object than to secure the Protestant religion and extirpate Popery. Allured by this assurance, and by his agreeable person and manners, people began to flock to him in great numbers, demanding arms and officers to command them. No time was lost in spreading abroad "The Declaration of James, Duke of Monmouth, and the noblemen, gentlemen, and commons now in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion, and the vindication of the laws, rights, and privileges of England from the invasion made upon them, and for delivering the nation from the usurpation and tyranny of James, Duke of York." This declaration is attributed to the bitter pen of Ferguson the preacher, who had had several narrow escapes from the gibbet and the block. It set forth that for many years past the power of the crown had been applied wholly to the destruction of the people's liberties and the setting up of Popery; that parliaments had been infamously bribed and corrupted; that the municipal rights had been invaded and destroyed, that corrupt sheriffs had procured corrupt or slavish juries; that all upright judges had been displaced; and that all this evil had been brought about by the Duke of York. It further charged James, Duke of York, with the great fire of London (it was well they did not charge him with the plague); with the shutting up of the exchequer, whereby the people had been defrauded of £1,200,000; with the shameful breach of the triple league; with the Popish plot and the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey; with the barbarous murder of Arthur, Earl of Essex, in the Tower; with the most unjust condemnation of William Lord Russell and Colonel Algernon Sidney; and finally with poisoning his own brother the late King Charles. The declaration called upon all patriots and Protestants to have recourse to arms as the sole means of redress; and, in concluding, it solemnly affirmed, in the name of the Duke of Monmouth, that, though it had been and still was believed that he had a legitimate right to the three crowns, of which he made no doubt to be able to give the world full satisfaction, notwithstanding the means used by the late king his father, upon Popish motives, and at the instigation of the Duke of York, to weaken and obscure it; yet such was the generosity of his own nature, and the love he bore the nation, whose welfare and settlement he infinitely preferred to what merely concerned himself, that he would for the present waive all disputes as to that matter, and leave his rights and pretensions and the settling of the government to the wisdom and justice of a properly elected and free parliament. This revival of a most idle and exploded pretension was calculated to make Monmouth many implacable

[1] *Lauder of Fountainhall.* He adds, "which severity was all performed this day, August 5th, 1685."

enemies as well in Holland as in England; but that which bore most against him at the present moment was the notoriety of his weakness of character and the baseness with which he had deserted and betrayed his friends on former occasions. The adventurer had flattered himself with hopes of being joined by the Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Delamere, and other noblemen and gentlemen of Whig principles; but none appeared. Trenchard of Taunton, who was afterwards secretary of state to King William, fled into Holland instead of going, as he had promised, to Monmouth; and even Wildman, that wild plotter who had escaped with difficulty from the Rye House Plot, failed in his appointment. With money the adventurer was wholly unprovided, and his supply of arms was very deficient. But the yeomanry and peasantry of the west were enthusiastic, and a man of more military genius and courage might have done wonders with the first heat of this enthusiasm. One of James's favourites, the French Earl of Feversham, had thrown a few regular troops into Bridport. Monmouth detached about 300 men to storm that town, which they did with admirable spirit. But Lord Grey, who was intrusted with the command, deserted his men at the first onset, and, galloping to Lyme, carried the news of a defeat, when his party had in reality obtained a victory. Monmouth, astonished, exclaimed to Captain Matthews, "What shall I do with Lord Grey?" Matthews replied like a soldier—"You are the only general in Europe that would ask such a question." The adventurer, however, dared not venture to offend the man of greatest rank and property he had with him; and even after this disgraceful exhibition, he intrusted Grey with the command of his cavalry.[1] But after thus trusting the worst man with him, he lost his best man by a quarrel in the camp over which he had no control. This was Fletcher of Saltoun—a man equally able with sword and pen, a soldier and scholar, an orator and statesman, with notions far above the low level of the age in which he lived. One Dare of Taunton, in a dispute about a horse, not only used very insulting language, but also made use of his cane; upon which the high-spirited Scot presented his pistol and shot him dead on the spot. Dare's townsmen and followers demanded vengeance; and Monmouth was obliged to dismiss Fletcher, and to have him smuggled on board ship. The catastrophe was, of course, attended by other bad consequences. Nevertheless, on the 15th of June, four days after his landing, the duke marched from Lyme with a force which had increased to near 3000 men. He passed through Axminster, and encamped in a good position between that town and Chard, in Somersetshire. On the 16th he was at Chard; and from that place he proceeded to the pleasant town of Taunton, where the Protestant Dissenters were numerous and enthusiastic, and the king and his masses held in abhorrence. All classes of the inhabitants welcomed him as a deliverer sent from heaven. Twenty-six fair young maidens of the best families of all the town and the dean of Taunton presented him with colours and emblems, and with a Bible, kneeling at his feet as they gave them. The course of his life had been neither very moral nor very devout, but Monmouth kissed the holy book, and said that he had come to defend the truth contained in it, and to seal it with his blood if there was occasion. From thus taking the title of "Defender of the Faith," a part of the style-royal, it was but a step to take the title of king; and this, either through his own impatience or the advice of evil counsellors, like Grey and Ferguson, Monmouth did at Taunton, on the 20th of June. At the same time he wrote to the Duke of Albemarle (the son and successor of Monk), who had collected the militia to oppose him, intimating that it was his royal will and pleasure that he should desist from all hostility against him and his loving subjects, and repair immediately to his royal camp, where he would not fail of meeting with a very kind reception. The alternative was, of course, treason and its penalties against Albemarle and all in arms under his command. Albemarle sent his answer addressed "For James Scott, late Duke of Buccleuch." He told him in very homely language that whenever they met, he doubted not the justice of his cause would sufficiently convince Monmouth that he had better have left this rebellion alone, and not have put the nation to so much trouble. On the 21st of June the invader declared Albemarle a rebel, traitor, &c.[2] Several reasons were urged for Monmouth assuming the title of king,[3] but there were indisputably many and much more cogent reasons against that vain-glorious assumption. Of those who followed him, or favoured him in secret, many still worshipped the hereditary rights of kingship, and not a few retained a lingering and desperate affection for republican institutions.[4] Moreover, the partizans of the Prince of Orange, who were already pretty numerous in England, considered it as an unpardonable infringement of the rights of James's eldest daughter, Mary, Princess of Orange, who, by birth and by assured Protestantism, stood indisputably next in succession.

The nobility and wealthy gentry still stood aloof.

[1] Ferguson's *Account*. *Burnet*.

[2] Letters from MSS. in the British Museum, published in Sir Henry Ellis's *Collection*.

[3] See Ferguson's *Account*.

[4] Charles Fox, *Hist. of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.*

Not a single nobleman repaired to his standard. Yet, still indulging in one of the worst prerogatives of royalty, Monmouth proclaimed all the members of the parliament then sitting as traitors. On the 22d of June he advanced from Taunton to Bridgewater, where he was proclaimed a second time. Here he disposed his forces into six regiments, and formed two tolerably good troops out of above 1000 horse that followed him. But still none of the grandees either joined him or sent him money and arms. From Bridgewater he marched to Glastonbury, and thence to Wells, where he was again proclaimed. He resolved to cross the Mendip Hills, and to push forward for Bristol, hoping to take that important city by a *coup de main*, or to be admitted into it by the zealous Protestant inhabitants; but after advancing as far as Keynsham, he began a retreat, in the course of which he was sorely harassed by a small body of the king's dragoons. Bath shut its gates in his face, and treated his herald with great barbarity. Monmouth then wheeled about for Philips-Norton, hoping to strengthen himself by deserters from the several bodies of county militia that were hovering round him under the commands of the Dukes of Albemarle, Somerset, and Beaufort. There was a popular rising in his favour at Frome; but the Earl of Pembroke, entering that town, dispersed the rabble rout, and threw a damp upon the spirits of the peasantry. By this time, however, the chill had reached the never over-bold or confident heart of Monmouth himself, and at Philips-Norton he held down his head and complained bitterly of broken promises and a want of resolution. On the morning of the 27th of June, he was roused by a brisk attack of the royalists, led on by his half-brother, the young Duke of Grafton, another of the late king's illegitimate brood. The engagement ended in the retreat of Grafton, who lost forty men, and who was nearly taken prisoner himself; but Monmouth, on the other side, lost several of his best officers. Feversham then came up to fight one of the most ridiculous battles that were ever fought by Englishmen. He cannonaded Monmouth, and Monmouth him, for the space of six hours; but they kept at such long shot, and fired so badly, that Monmouth lost only one man, and Feversham not one. It was, however, the royalist general that beat the retreat. Monmouth, instead of harassing his rear, lit a great fire, and then, under cover of the smoke and of night, marched away to Frome. Here he first heard certain news of the ruin of Argyle. Some of his followers now proposed that he and his officers should leave the insurgent army to shift for itself, and flee back to the Continent. Monmouth entertained this pusillanimous and dishonourable project; but, when submitted to his council of officers, it was condemned by all except one, and was particularly inveighed against by the recreant Lord Grey. Yet, although the adventurer had agreed to remain in England, he knew not unto what part of it to betake himself. On the 1st of July he was at Wells, on the 3d he was at Bridgewater, and there, on the morning of the 5th, accounts were brought him of the close approach of Feversham, who had been considerably reinforced. He then began to make preparations for a retreat into the counties of Shropshire and Cheshire; but on the afternoon of the same day he resolved to fight Feversham, who had encamped upon Sedgemoor, apparently with little order. A night attack suggested itself. The troops were summoned to the rendezvous in the castle field at Bridgewater, and by eleven at night they were formed and put upon the march without beat of drum. The command of the horse was still intrusted to Lord Grey, who was to make the onslaught. Grey rode on boldly enough until he came to a ditch; for, though there were no entrenchments round the camp, there was a broad ditch, which served as a drain to the moor, and of which no mention had been made by the unskilful countrymen who had surveyed the ground for Monmouth. The attacking cavalry were brought to a halt, the slumbering royalists were roused by the noise, a loose fire was opened across the ditch, and Grey in a very short time turned his back. Feversham mounted his horse, and advanced his foot and artillery to the inner edge of the ditch. Day soon began to dawn, and before the sun had well risen, the royalists, both horse and foot, sallied from their position on Sedgemoor, and, crossing the ditch, fell upon the insurgents' flank and rear. These victims were for the most part armed with rustic implements, and those who had guns had soon no powder, for the drivers drove away the ammunition waggons after the cavalry. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages the poor peasants fought most bravely with the butt ends of their muskets, or with their scythes and forks, and they continued to fight long after Monmouth had abandoned them. At the height of the action Lord Grey rode up to the contemptible pretender, and told him that all was lost; and forthwith Monmouth rode off the field with Grey and a few other officers, leaving the poor enthusiasts, without orders or instructions, to be massacred by a pitiless enemy. Fifteen hundred were killed and 500 made prisoners; but they had fought so stoutly that the loss of the royalists was also very considerable.[1] "Now," says Barillon, the attentive reporter of these events, "*all the zealous Protestants will put their hope in the Prince of Orange.*"

[1] *Ralph; Dalrymple; Echard; Fox.*

Grey, who never had a peasant's manly heart, was taken in the disguise of a peasant; and in the same disguise Monmouth was found in a dirty ditch, half buried under fern and nettles. Upon him were found sufficient proof of his weak and frivolous character. These were papers and books, one of which was a manuscript of spells, charms and conjurations, songs, receipts, prescriptions and prayers, all written with his own hand. Utterly prostrated in body and in mind, he wrote an imploring letter to the unforgiving king, and another to Catherine of Braganza, the widow of Charles II. On the very day of their arrival in the capital, both Monmouth and Grey were carried to Whitehall, and introduced, not both together, but separately, to the king in the apartment of Chiffinch, the minister of Monmouth's father's pleasures and debaucheries. James was attended by no one except Sunderland and Middleton; and the precise particulars of what passed can never be ascertained. The arms of the prisoners were pinioned; and, if we may believe the memoirs drawn up from James's own notes, Monmouth abjectly crawled upon his knees to hug those of his majesty. From the presence of the hard-hearted king, Monmouth was conveyed to the Tower. On his way he implored Lord Dartmouth, who escorted him, to intercede for his life; but that nobleman answered that he had put himself out of the reach of mercy by assuming the royal title. A bill of attainder, which had been hurried through parliament on his first landing, was held to supersede the necessity of any kind of trial, and his execution was fixed for the next day but one. On the morrow—the 14th of July—he wrote another mean letter to the king, praying for some short respite. It is said that in this letter he represented "*how useful he would and might be if his majesty would be pleased to grant him his life.*" He could only have been useful to James by betraying his own friends, or by leading into some new snares other men that were obnoxious to the tyrant. But the king sternly denied even the respite. According to the king's statement in his memoirs, Monmouth refused to see his wife, the great heiress of Buccleuch, while according to Bishop Burnet and others she positively refused to see him, unless in presence of witnesses. Burnet says that they met and parted very coldly. Dalrymple states that he wrote a third letter to the king, in which he warned his majesty against his intriguing minister Sunderland, and that Colonel Blood, and that bravo's son, who then held some office in the Tower, got possession of the letter before it could be carried to the king, and carried it to Sunderland, who destroyed it. Burnet and several others agree in stating that the wretched captive believed, on the authority of a fortune-teller, that if he outlived the 15th he was destined for great things. For the sake of his legitimate children, who had been clapped up in the Tower, he signed a paper renouncing his pretensions by birth to the crown. As long as he fancied there was any hope of life he was weak and unsettled: but when he was convinced of his inevitable doom, he, according to every account, collected his energies to die like a man. He passed the night of the 14th with Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Ken, Bishop of Bath and Well, who, at an early hour on the morning of the fatal 15th, were joined by Dr. Hooper and Dr. Tennison. The two bishops teased and tormented rather than comforted him; nor does it appear that the two doctors were much more considerate of the feelings of a dying man, or more sensible of the monstrosity of the politico-religious dogmas which the church in an evil hour had taken to her bosom. "Certain it is," says Mr. Fox, "that none of these holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion or complaisance to their illustrious penitent." Besides endeavouring to convince him of the guilt of his connection with his beloved Lady Harriet, of which he could never be brought to a due sense, they seem to have repeatedly teased him with controversy, and to have been far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the Church of England, than to soften or console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation.

At ten o'clock, on the morning of the 15th, Monmouth was put into the carriage of the lieutenant of the Tower. The two bishops went in the carriage with him, and one of them told him that their controversy was not yet at an end, and that upon the scaffold he would be expected to make some more satisfactory declarations. They soon arrived at the destined spot on Tower-hill. He descended from the coach and mounted the scaffold with a firm step. The bishops followed him. A loud murmur of sighs and groans went round the assembled multitude, and by degrees sank into an almost breathless silence. He saluted the people, and said that he should speak little; that he came to die, and should die a Protestant of the Church of England. Here he was interrupted by one of the bishops, who told him that, if he was of the Church of England, and true to his profession, *he must acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance to be true:* and when they could not prevail upon him to adopt this political article of divinity, they, both of them, baited him with arguments and remonstrances, which, however, had no effect. To silence them on this point, and to defend the reputation of the lady he loved, Monmouth spoke of Lady Harriet

Wentworth, calling her *a woman of virtue and honour*, and insisting that their connection was innocent and honest in the sight of God. Here Gosling, one of the sheriffs, who did not reflect upon the domestic arrangements, not merely of the late, but of the present king, whose mistresses were probably among the spectators, rudely interrupted the duke by asking if he had ever been *married* to the Lady Harriet. Monmouth was silent: but the bishops again called upon him for particular acknowledgment and confession. He referred them to the paper he had signed in the Tower.[1] The bishops told him that there was nothing in that paper about resistance, and inhumanly and indecently pressed him to own that doctrine. Worn out by their importunities, he said to one of them, "I am come to die.—Pray, my lord!—I refer to my paper." But their zeal would not be silenced, even by this touching appeal, which the victim was heard to repeat from time to time as they persevered in their inquisitorial office. They were particularly anxious that he should call his late invasion rebellion; and at last he said aloud, "Call it by what name you please; I am sorry for invading the kingdom; I am sorry for the blood that has been shed, and for the souls which have been lost by my means. I am sorry it ever happened." These words were echoed to the people by Vandeput, the other sheriff, and then the divines plied him with fresh exhortations to atone for the mischief he had done by avowing their great principle of faith and government. Monmouth again regretted whatever had been done amiss, adding, "I never was a man that delighted in blood. I was as cautious in that as any man was. The Almighty knows I die with all the joyfulness in the world." And here, if the bishops had any bowels, they would have left their victim to the merciful axe. But instead of so doing, they expressed a doubt whether his repentance were true and valid repentance or not. "If," said Monmouth, "I had not true repentance, I should not so easily have been without the fear of dying. I shall die like a lamb." "Much," rejoined his persecutors, "may come from natural courage." "No," replied Monmouth, "I do not attribute it to my own nature, for I am as fearful as other men are: but I have now no fear, as you may see by my face. There is something within which does it; for I am sure I shall go to God." "My lord," said they, "be sure upon good grounds! Do you repent of all your sins, known or unknown, confessed or not confessed—of all the sins which might proceed from error of judgment?" He replied that he repented in general for all, and with all his soul. "Then," said the bishops, "may almighty God, of his infinite mercy, forgive you! But here are great numbers of spectators; here are the sheriffs who represent the great city, and in speaking to them you speak to the whole city: make some satisfaction by owning your crime before them." Monmouth was silent. Then the churchmen fell to prayers, in which he joined with fervour and devotion. They repeated twice over the versicle in the Liturgy, "O Lord, save the king," to which, after some pause, he said "Amen." Monmouth then began to undress himself. Even during this last sad ceremony the bishops molested him anew. "My lord," said they, "you have been bred a soldier; you will do a generous Christian thing if you please to go to the rail and speak to the soldiers, and say that here you stand, a sad example of rebellion; and entreat them and the people to be loyal and obedient to the king." At this the dying man waxed warm, and he said in a hasty tone, "I have told you I will make no speeches; I will make no speeches; I come to die." But even this was not enough to silence the bishops, who renewed their attack by saying that the speech need not be a long one—that ten words would be enough. Monmouth turned away, gave a token to a servant for Lady Harriet, and spoke with the executioner. As was usual, he gave the headsman some money, and he then begged him to have a care not to treat him so awkwardly as he had done my Lord Russell. The headsman, who might be discomposed by the very warning which the duke had given, and who probably entertained the prevalent notion of the sanctity of royal blood, fell into a fit of trembling, and struck so faint a blow that the victim, but slightly wounded, lifted up his head and looked him in the face. Two other blows were almost equally ineffectual; and then the man threw down his axe in horror, crying out, "I cannot finish this work." But, being brought to himself by the threats of the sheriffs, he took up the axe again, and, with two other strokes, separated the head from the body. And thus perished, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James, Duke of Monmouth. "He died," says Barillon, "with sufficient firmness, as Englishmen generally do."

It was expected by most men that the execution of Lord Grey would closely follow that of Monmouth; but Grey was respited for his natural life. As this was so marked an exception to James's general rule, various reasons have been assigned for it. It is said, for example, that he had been *given*, as the phrase then went, to my

[1] It was in the following words:—"I declare that the title of king was forced upon me; and that it was very much contrary to my opinion, when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the world, I do declare that the late king told me he was never married to my mother. Having declared this, I hope the king who is now will not let my children suffer on this account. And to this I put my hand this 15th day of July, 1685.—MONMOUTH."

Lord Rochester, one of the brothers of James's first wife, and that it was found his estate was so entailed that no forfeiture for treason could prevent its descending to Grey's brother; and that therefore his life was spared, that the grandee Rochester might have the benefit of it.[1] That caitiff, moreover, obeyed the command of James, and wrote in the Tower "a Secret History," or "a Confession," in which he made disclosures, which, under the circumstances, are not entitled to the slightest credit, respecting the Rye House Plot, &c.

The French Lord Feversham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, had hanged up, without any trial, twenty of his prisoners; and Colonel Kirke, upon entering Bridgewater and Taunton, had executed some nineteen in the same manner. This Kirke had served for a long time at Tangiers, and, according to Burnet, had become "savage by the neighbourhood of the Moors there." His regiment carried the standard they had borne in the war against the infidels, which had upon it the figure of a lamb—the emblem of Christian meekness; and hence, in sad irony, the people of Somersetshire called his plundering and butchering soldiers "Kirke's lambs." Poetry and tradition have both exaggerated and invented facts,[2] yet the authenticated horrors committed by these "lambs" and their leader were enormous. The chief service in which they were engaged was to search for rebels, as well those that favoured and assisted the combatants at Sedgemoor, as those who had fought there. Their search was directed by mercenary spies and by personal enmities; for any man in the west that wished to ruin another, had but to denounce him to Kirke as a partisan of Monmouth, and the "lambs" did the rest. Feversham was called up to court to receive thanks and honours. Kirke had therefore the field to himself. His love of money, however, somewhat balanced and controlled his love of blood; and, following the example of ministers and magistrates, he sold pardons to many prisoners who were rich enough to buy them at a high price. His summary executions, and all his illegal proceedings, were notorious in London, and excited disgust and comment; yet the king, through Lord Sunderland, informed Kirke that he was "very well satisfied with his proceedings;"[3] and, subsequently, this officer declared that his severities fell far short of the orders which he had received. Some allowance might be made for the passions, and habits, and ignorance of the soldiery, but it was soon found that lawyers like Jeffreys could commit far greater atrocities than the military.

Four other judges—Montague, the chief-baron, Levinz, Watkins, and Wright—were joined in

JUDGE JEFFREYS.—From a fine print after Kneller.

commission with the lord chief-justice, who had recently been raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Jeffreys of Wem.[4] From having troops at his command, it was said that the lord chief-justice had been made a lieutenant-general; and, from the whole character of the circuit, it was nick-named "Jeffreys' campaign"—a name which the king himself had the folly and brutality to give it in writing to the Prince of Orange.[5] The suffering people in the west still more correctly called the circuit "the bloody assize." Jeffreys

[1] Bishop Burnet say, "He had a great estate that by his death was to go over to his brother: so the court resolved to preserve him till he should be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of Rochester had £16,000 off him: others had smaller shares. He was likewise obliged to tell all he knew, and to be a witness in order to the conviction of others, but with this assurance, that nobody should die upon his evidence."

[2] Among these the story of Pomfret's well-known poem of *Cruelty and Lust*, which first appeared in 1699, is now universally classed, though the popular tradition still prevails at Taunton.

[3] In other despatches Sunderland censured Kirke for setting some rebels at liberty (alluding perhaps to those who had purchased their lives), but he never censured him for having put others to death.

[4] He was sarcastically called Earl of *Flint*.—See *Granger*, and Sir Harris Nicholas's *Synopsis of the Peerage*.

[5] James gave it this name to the prince more than once, as is fully shown in his published correspondence. On the 10th of September he says, "I have now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at present here, though the Presbyterian and republican party are still very busy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord chief-justice *is making his campaign in the west*, and when the parliament meets, some of the peers which are in custody will be tried." Again, on the 24th of September, after telling the prince that he had been "a fox-hunting on Tuesday last," and "was this day at the same sport, the weather being now very proper for it and stag-hunting over," James says, "As for news, there is little stirring, but that *lord chief-justice has almost done his campaign: he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations*."—*Dalrymple*, Appendix.

(the other judges were mere ciphers) took the field on the 27th of August, at Winchester, where his whole fury was directed against an aged and infirm woman. This was Mrs. Alicia Lisle, widow of Mr. Lisle, one of the Commonwealth judges of Charles I., whose murder in Switzerland by royalist assassins has been recorded.[1] She was charged with having given shelter in her house, for one night, to Hickes and Nelthorpe, two fugitives from Sedgemoor—"an office of humanity," says Sir James Mackintosh, "which then was and still is treated as high treason by the law of England." She had no counsel to assist her; she was so deaf that she could very imperfectly hear the evidence, and so lethargic from advanced age, as frequently to slumber at the bar where the remnant of her life was called for. Her atrocious sentence was, that, according to the old law relating to female traitors, she should be burned alive on the afternoon of that very day. The clergy of the cathedral of Winchester had the rare merit of interfering with this monstrous decree, and they succeeded in obtaining a respite for three days. During this interval powerful and touching applications were made to the king: the aged victim was obnoxious on account of her husband, who had been sent to a bloody grave twenty-one years ago; but testimony was borne to her own loyalty or exceeding humanity: the Lady St. John and the Lady Abergavenny testified "that she had been a favourer of the king's friends in their greatest extremities during the late Civil war," among others, of these ladies themselves; and upon these grounds, as well as for her general behaviour, they earnestly recommended her to pardon. Her son, so far from taking arms for Monmouth, had served in the royal army against that invader; she herself had often declared that she shed more tears than any woman in England on the day of Charles I.'s execution; and it was a fact notorious to all that, after the Restoration and the attainder of Mr. Lisle, his estate had been granted to her at the intercession of Chancellor Clarendon, for her excellent conduct during the prevalence of her husband's party. As it was perfectly well known to the friends of the aged victim that money was more powerful at court than mercy, £1000 were promised to Lord Feversham for a pardon; but the king declared to this favourite that he would not reprieve her for one day. A petition was then presented from Mrs. Lisle herself, praying that, in consideration of her ancient and honourable descent, she might be beheaded instead of being burned alive. A careful search was made for precedents, and the utmost extent of the royal mercy was to sign a warrant for the beheading, which was performed at Winchester on the 2d of September.[2]

From Winchester, with a train of guards and prisoners at his heels, Jeffreys proceeded on to Salisbury, and thence (having increased his train) he went to Dorchester, and there hoisted his bloody flag.[3] The fierce nature of the chief-justice was made fiercer by an agonizing disorder, which was probably brought on and increased by excess of drinking. In writing to Sunderland from Dorchester on the 16th of September, he says, "I this day began with the rebels, and have despatched ninety-eight; but am at this time so tortured with the stone, that I must beg your lordship's intercession to his majesty for the incoherency of what I have adventured to give his majesty the trouble of."[4] But if honours and promotions could have soothed the pangs of disease, Jeffreys was not without those lenitives. On the 5th of September Lord-keeper North departed from life and office together; and three days after—that is, between the execution of Mrs. Lisle at Winchester and his arrival at Dorchester—he was raised by his applauding and grateful sovereign to be lord-chancellor. At Dorchester this chancellor and chief-justice, to save time, began to declare that if any of the prisoners would repent and plead guilty, they should find him a merciful judge; but that those who put themselves upon their trial should, if found guilty, be led to immediate execution. In all, eighty persons were hanged at Dorchester in the course of a very few days: the remainder were transported, severely whipped, or imprisoned. Those transported were sold as slaves, and the bodies of those that were executed were quartered and stuck upon gibbets. Jeffreys then proceeded to Exeter, where another red list of 243 prisoners was laid before him. He then went into Somersetshire, the centre of the late insurrection, where, at Taunton and Wells, nearly 1100 prisoners were arraigned for high treason: 1040 confessed themselves guilty, only six ventured to put themselves on their trial, and 239, at the very least,[5] were executed with astounding rapidity. In order to spread the terror more widely, and to appal the neighbours, friends, and

[1] See vol. ii p. 668.

[2] *Mackintosh; Ralph; Roger Coke.* [3] *Ralph.*

[4] From the last clause of the sentence quoted in the text, and from several expressions in other letters, we are justified in giving credit to the assertion of Burnet, that the king had a particular account of these proceedings written to him every day. Jeffreys concludes this present epistle to Sunderland in a very characteristic manner: "My dearest lord, may I ever be tortured with the stone if I forget to approve myself, my dearest lord, your most faithfully devoted servant, &c." Sunderland, in reply, assured the chief-justice that the king approved of all his proceedings.

[5] The names of 239 are preserved; but as no judgments were entered, it is not known how many more may have suffered. Three persons were executed in the village of Wrington, the birth-place of Mr. Locke.

THE ARREST OF ALICE LISLE.

When the insurrection under the Duke of Monmouth was quelled at the battle of Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater (1685), the rebels scattered themselves all over the west of England and went into hiding. Two of them, John Hickes, a Nonconformist minister, and Richard Nelthrope, a lawyer, fled into Hampshire, and sought refuge at the door of a gentlewoman named Alice Lisle. She took them into her house, set meat and drink before them, and showed them where they might rest. *Next morning when the house was surrounded and searched by soldiers, the rebels were found concealed in the malt-house, and the infirm old lady was thereupon arrested on a charge of high treason.* She was tried before the infamous Judge Jeffreys, who bullied and swore at the witnesses, and broke out into furious railings if any evidence was given in favour of the prisoner. When the jury retired they were unwilling to convict, because they were all well acquainted with the loyalty, courtesy, and kindliness of Lady Lisle; but after vehement threatenings from the brutal judge they gave a verdict of "guilty", and the sentence was death. Many efforts were made to have this sentence revoked, but without avail. The gentle old lady was beheaded by direction of James II., and met her fate in the market-place of Winchester with serene courage.

ARREST OF ALICE LISLE

relatives of the victims, these executions took place in thirty-six towns and villages. The dripping heads and limbs of the dead were affixed in the most conspicuous places—in the streets, by the highways, over the town-halls, and over the very churches devoted to a merciful God. "All the highroads of the country were no longer to be travelled, while the horrors of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them, lasted."[1] Sunderland apprised Jeffreys of the king's pleasure to bestow 1000 of the convicts on several of his courtiers, and 100 or 200 on a favourite of the queen, upon condition that the persons receiving them thus as a gift should find security that the prisoners should be enslaved for ten years in some West India island, where, as James must have known, field-labour was death to Europeans. The chancellor remonstrated with his majesty, directly, against this giving away of the prisoners, who, he said, would be worth £10 or £15 a-piece.[2] In a subsequent letter from Bristol, he yields to the proposed distribution of the convicts, boasts of his victory over that "most factious city," and pledges his life, and that which was dearer to him, his loyalty, "that Taunton and Bristol, and the county of Somerset too, should know their duty, both to God and their king, before he leaves them."

THE WHITE HART, TAUNTON, Jeffreys' residence during "the Bloody Assizes." From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

With the evidence of these letters alone, we may confidently reject the dreams of those who pretend that James was unacquainted with his judge's manner of proceeding; and, if other proofs were wanting to show the want of heart and feeling in this wretched prince, they are assuredly to be found in the *Gazettes* of the day, that report his progresses and amusements. He went to Winchester soon after the iniquitous execution of Mrs. Lisle, and there he remained, diverting himself with horse-races during the hottest part of Jeffreys' campaign. But there is still further an indisputable proof of James's approbation of Jeffreys' proceedings; for when (on the 30th of September) that precious new chancellor returned to court, his promotion was announced in the *Gazette* with an unusually emphatic panegyric on his person and services; and some months after this, when Jeffreys had brought on a dangerous attack by one of his furious debauches, James expressed great concern, and declared, with perfect truth, that such another man would not easily be found in England. Besides, wherever the king was directly and personally concerned, there was the same unflinching severity. By a warrant signed by the king, Elizabeth Gaunt, of Wapping, was burned alive at Tyburn. The offence with which the poor woman was charged was, having compassed the king's death by favouring the escape into Holland of one Burton, accused of participation in the Rye House Plot, and giving succour to the same Burton after the battle of Sedgemoor; and the principal witness against her was the execrable Burton himself, whose life she had twice saved.

In London, as in the west, corruption and bribery were the only checks to infernal cruelty. Thus Prideaux, who was thrown into the Tower by an arbitrary warrant upon mere suspicion, bought himself off with £1500; and Hampden, still in prison for his misdemeanour, put aside the new and capital charge of high treason by paying £6000, to be divided between Jeffreys and Father Petre, the king's confessor and chief adviser. The queen's maids of honour, as pocket-money, were allowed to take from £50 to £100 from each of the fair damsels of Taunton who had presented Monmouth with flags and a Bible, and who thus were saved. In consequence of the suspicions of the court, and of the disclosures

[1] Lord Lonsdale's *Memoirs*. Other writers, who were eye-witnesses, though violent men, and given to exaggeration, have left still more horrible pictures. Shirley, the author of *The Bloody Assizes*, which was published after the Revolution, says, "Nothing could be liker hell than these parts: cauldrons hissing, carcasses boiling, pitch and tar sparkling and glowing, bloody limbs boiling, and tearing, and mangling."

[2] Letter from Jeffreys to the king, dated Taunton, 19th September, from MSS. in State Paper Office, as cited by Mackintosh. In the same letter Jeffreys returns thanks for his majesty's gracious acceptance of his services in the west.

made by Lord Grey, the Lords Brandon, Delamere, and Stamford were proceeded against for high treason. Brandon was convicted by perjured witnesses; but, having a sister-in-law in favour at court, he escaped, not being, however, enlarged upon bail till fourteen months, nor receiving his pardon till two years after his trial. Delamere, who was tried before the Lord-steward Jeffreys and thirty peers, was unanimously acquitted, though the falsehood, and infamy, and perjury of those who swore against him were not more conspicuous than the same vices in the evidence upon which many obscurer persons had been hanged and quartered. Stamford took the benefit of a subsequent amnesty, and thus escaped the forfeiture of a traitor.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1685—1688.

JAMES II.

Arrogant declaration of James to his parliament—His resolution to dispense with the test act—Resistance of parliament—James prorogues it—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Efforts of James to make converts to Popery—The court cabal by which the government is managed—Papists introduced into office—Alarm of the Protestant clergy—Quarrel of James with certain of the bishops—He endeavours to obtain the control of the seminaries and schools—His attempts to introduce Papists into office in the university of Oxford—Bold resistance of the university—James suspends the penal laws against Nonconformists and Papists—His measure proves unpopular and ineffective—The ambassador of the pope publicly introduced at Windsor—Popish ecclesiastics publicly consecrated and installed in office—James's hopes of an heir—New declaration of indulgence ordered to be read from the pulpit—The clergy refuse to comply—Remonstrance of the seven bishops on the subject with James—Their refusal to obey his order—He resolves to prosecute them—They refuse to plead on trial, and are sent to the Tower—Their trial—Verdict returned of "Not guilty"—Popular triumph at the acquittal of the bishops—A son born to James—The royal birth of the child denounced as an imposture—The hopes of the nation directed to the Prince of Orange—He is invited to land in England—His preparations for the purpose—Cowardice and infatuation of James—He attempts to conciliate the Protestants by concessions—His endeavours to establish the verity of his son's royal birth—Embarkation of the Prince of Orange from Holland—He is driven back by a storm—Interview of James with the bishops—Their ambiguous answers and excuses—The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay—Desertion of the military adherents of James—He is deserted by his children—Flight of the king, queen, and infant prince—James arrested by a mob at Sheppey—Riot in London upon the king's flight—Provisional government established in his absence—James returns to London—He is induced once more to flee—His safe arrival in France.

THE Marquis of Halifax had remained in the ministry during all the atrocities of Jeffreys' campaign, sitting at the council-board with Sunderland, with Rochester (whose vices of drinking and swearing did not prevent his being considered the head of the high-church party), and with Godolphin, whose business habits were held to be indispensable. Halifax, however, had been "kicked up stairs" into the sounding but empty office of president of the council, and now it was resolved to deprive him of office altogether, for James suspected him of a determination to oppose the repeal of the test and habeas corpus acts, and he had not penetration enough to perceive the danger he ran in driving that crafty and able politician to extremities. Nor would the despotic blunderer delay this dismissal till the approaching session of parliament should be over. That session, as appointed, opened on the 9th of November. Uplifted with his mighty doings during the recess, and with the appearance of universal timidity and submission, James now presumed that the parliament of England would bend before him, and, like the parliament of Paris, content themselves for the future with the honour of receiving his commands and registering his decrees. After speaking briefly of the storm that was past, he told them, in a dictatorial style, that the militia, which had hitherto been so much depended on, was an inefficient force, and that there was nothing but a standing army of well-disciplined troops that could secure the nation at home and abroad. "And," continued he, "let no man take exception that *now* there are *some* officers in this army not qualified, according to the late tests, for their employments." Without this declaration, both lords and commons knew very well that he had commissioned Catholic lords to levy Catholic troops against Monmouth, and, in the choice of officers, had shown a marked preference for men of the ancient religion. And now the old hatred of Popery came in to revive the languishing cause of civil liberty; and high churchmen and low churchmen, Tories and Whigs, became for a season

united. The commons, in coming to a resolution about a supply, voted an address to his majesty for the discharge of all such officers as refused the Protestant test. James, in reply, said, "Whatever you may do, I will adhere to all my promises." The house was thrown into a ferment; and Mr. John Kok, member for Derby, said, "I hope we are Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our duty by a few high words." But the majority of the Englishmen there committed him to the Tower for his honest, intrepid speech. Still, however, with all their servile loyalty, they were resolute about the Popish officers; and the lords showed equal or superior zeal. The ex-minister Halifax led the van against the court; and Jeffreys, the chancellor and main manager, was checked in his high career of insolence and arrogance, and made to crouch in the dust. On the eleventh day of the session, James, disappointed and furious, prorogued the parliament, which never met again for the despatch of business; and the houses were deserted and silent till they echoed his expulsion and dethronement, as pronounced by the convention.

A.D. 1686. James had not obtained a sixpence from the late session; but, for a time, he counted upon money from France. His minister, Sunderland, accepted a French pension of 25,000 crowns; and, after some shuffling, and an attempt to save a sort of false pride and dignity, the King of England tied himself to the triumphal car of Louis XIV., by which he made his political existence absolutely incompatible with that of his son-in-law the Prince of Orange, and at the same time rendered himself doubly odious to his Protestant subjects, as the ally and tool of one who had waged a most pitiless warfare against the Reformed religion in France; for it was just at this critical moment, when Englishmen were filled with doubts and terrors as to the intentions of their Popish king, that Louis revoked the tolerant Edict of Nantes,[1] and drove many thousands of his Huguenot subjects into exile. It was known at the time that James and Father Petre were busily engaged in attempts to convert many of the Protestants about court; and with a standing army encamped upon Hounslow Heath, and which kept still increasing, it was reasonably apprehended that such zealots would not always confine themselves to polemical arguments, persuasions, and promises. Sunderland had privately embraced Catholicism, and, in appearance, adopted all his master's partiality in favour of Roman Catholics. Other converts, both male and female, more openly proclaimed their abandonment of the Protestant faith. Some of these proceedings are a complete banquet to the cynic. James, like Louis XIV., reconciled his breaches of the seventh commandment with his ardent religionism. His reigning mistress was Catherine Sedley, who had some of her father's wit, though no pretensions to personal beauty. She was installed at Whitehall, and created Countess of Dorchester; but James and his priests failed in converting her to Popery, and the champions of the Protestant church did not disdain to pay court to the orthodox mistress. Rochester, that other pillar of the church, clung to her; while his rival Sunderland made common cause with the queen, who was jealous, and with the confessor, who considered a mistress of such decided Protestantism a very dangerous appendage. Between them, the queen, confessor, and prime minister prevailed upon the king to send his mistress into Ireland, where a good estate had been given to her. The convert Sunderland then rose, and his rival Rochester sunk. The ministry was, in fact, converted into a close cabal of seven persons: the king, Sunderland, Father Petre, and the Catholic Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, and Dover, who assembled sometimes in Sunderland's house, and sometimes in the apartments of Chiffinch of the back-stairs. Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine by right of his wife's prostitution to the late king, was sent on an embassy to Rome, and an ambassador from the pope was openly received in London. After a few preludes in the courts of law, where it was endeavoured to convert the test act into a dead letter, James, with blind and headlong haste, proceeded to assert a dispensing, a suspending, and a repealing power over all laws or acts of parliament whatsoever, and to put Catholics into the highest civil and military offices, from which the Protestants were dismissed. By means of *quo warranto* writs, the corporations throughout the kingdom were remodelled. Papists were admitted into all of them; and Papists were made lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, and justices of the peace. In Scotland, the same measures were resorted to; and the high-church Tory ministry was dismissed to make room for one of an entirely Catholic complexion. In Ireland, the Protestants, who alone had been intrusted with arms, were disarmed by Tyrconnel. Indeed, in that country, the scales were entirely turned; and the Protestants were treated in all things as badly as they had been accustomed to treat the Papists ever since the days of Elizabeth. Four thousand Protestant soldiers were cashiered, stripped of their uniforms, and left to wander, hungry and half naked, through the land. Their officers, for the most part, retired into Holland, and gathered round the Prince of Orange.

[1] The Edict of Nantes, which is said to have been composed by the great historian De Thou, was passed by Henry IV. in the year 1598. It was suddenly repealed by Louis XIV., on the 18th of October, 1685, just three weeks before the meeting of the English Parliament.

All this was too much for the endurance even of Tories and high churchmen; and, in despite of the dogma of passive obedience, the pulpits began to resound with warnings and denunciations. To quench the flame in its infancy, James issued letters mandatory to the bishops of England, prohibiting the clergy to preach upon points of controversy, and establishing an ecclesiastical commission with more power than had been possessed by the abominable court over which Laud presided.[1] But James could not fill this court with men of the same views. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) would not act at all; upon which the less scrupulous Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, was put in his place. The other members were Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who was more than half a Papist; Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who preferred the king to the church; Rochester, the head of the high-church party; Sunderland, the concealed Papist; Jeffreys; and Lord Chief-justice Herbert. With this court, such as it was, James ventured to issue a mandate to Compton, Bishop of London (who had declared boldly in the House of Lords against the Popish standing army), to suspend Dr. Sharp, who had preached in the pulpit against Popery in general. Compton replied, through Lord Sunderland, that he could not legally punish Sharp without hearing him in his own defence. Upon this, the new commission was put into play, and the bishop himself was summoned before it. Compton argued that the court was illegal; that he was subject, in ecclesiastical matters, to his metropolitan and suffragans alone; that he was a prelate of England, a lord of parliament, and could be tried only by the laws of his country. James ordered the commissioners to suspend him; and, after some differences among themselves, the Bishop of London was suspended accordingly. Rochester, who is said to have affronted the king in a personal conference and argument about the merits of their respective religions, was turned out of the commission and his other offices shortly after; but he received a pension of £4000 a-year on the post-office, together with a regular grant of an annuity of £1700 a-year out of the estate of Lord Grey.[2] Even D'Adda, the pope's minister, saw clearly that James was ruining his cause by precipitation; and the wary Italian informed his court that men's minds were embittered by the belief that Rochester had been dismissed because he would not turn Catholic, and that there was a design for the extermination of all Protestants.[3] Yet still James kept his course, and looked with satisfaction and pride to his encampment on Hounslow Heath, in which were now inclosed 15,000 men, horse and foot.

A.D. 1687. One of his great objects was to obtain the control of the seminaries and schools. Of these, the Charter-house in London was a very important one; and accordingly he commanded the governors of that establishment to admit into it one Andrew Popham, a Papist, without test or oath. But the majority of the governors, headed by the Duke of Ormond, Compton, the suspended Bishop of London, and the ex-minister Lord Halifax, resisted the mandate. Yet, after failing in this attempt, he demanded from the university of Oxford that they should acknowledge an hereditary right in Father Petre to name seven fellows of Exeter College; and from the university of Cambridge the degree of master of arts for one Alban Francis, a Benedictine friar. Both these learned bodies, in spite of their recent declarations of non-resistance, resisted to the very utmost. The Oxford question was referred to the courts of Westminster; but the new ecclesiastical commission took up the Cambridge case, and summarily deprived Pechell, the vice-chancellor, of his office, and suspended him from the mastership of Magdalen College. James then commanded the fellows of Magdalen to elect as their master one Anthony Farmer, a concealed Papist. The fellows petitioned his majesty; but finding him not to be moved, they exercised their own undoubted right, and elected Dr. Howe. The ecclesiastical commission declared this election to be void; and then a new mandate was issued to the college to elect Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who had several qualifications which Farmer had not, but who was also suspected of being a Papist in disguise. The fellows, with unexpected spirit, stuck to the master of their own choosing; and Howe exercised his authority in spite of the ecclesiastical commission and the king. In the course of a summer progress James

[1] Books of the privy council, as cited by Dalrymple.

[2] *Evelyn.*

"The dismission of the two brothers is a great epoch in the reign of James. From that time it was clear that what he really wanted was not liberty of conscience for the members of his own church, but liberty to persecute the members of other churches. Pretending to abhor tests, he had himself imposed a test. He thought it hard, he thought it monstrous, that able and loyal men should be excluded from the public service solely for being Roman Catholics: yet he had himself turned out of office a treasurer, whom he admitted to be both loyal and able, solely for being a Protestant. The cry was that a general proscription was at hand, and that every public functionary must make up his mind to lose his soul or to lose his place. Who indeed could hope to stand where the Hydes had fallen? They were the brothers-in-law of the king—the uncles and natural guardians of his children—his friends from early youth—his steady adherents in adversity and peril—his obsequious servants since he had been on the throne. Their sole crime was their religion; and for this crime they had been discarded. In great perturbation men began to look round for help; and soon all eyes were fixed on one whom a rare concurrence both of personal qualities and of fortuitous circumstances pointed out as the deliverer."—*Hallam.*

[3] Estratti delle lettere di Monsignor D'Adda, Nunzio Apostolico, &c.—*Mackintosh*, Appendix.

arrived at Oxford, summoned the members of Magdalen into his presence, chid them for their disobedience, and told them to go away and choose the Bishop of Oxford, or else they should certainly feel the weight of his sovereign displeasure. Here was a call upon passive obedience from the very lips of the Lord's anointed; but still the fellows insisted on their right, and answered him respectfully but firmly. The tyrant, astonished and enraged, issued a commission to Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, Chief-justice Wright, and Baron Jenner, to examine the state of the college, with full power to alter the statutes and frame new ones. The commissioners arrived at Oxford on the 20th of October, when Cartwright thundered at the devoted college; but Howe maintained his own rights, and the rights of the body which had elected him, with decorum and firmness; and when, on the second day, the commissioners deprived him of the presidency and struck his name off the books, he entered the hall and boldly protested against all they had done. The chief-justice bound him in £1000 to appear in the King's Bench; and Parker was put into possession by force. Then a majority of the fellows were prevailed upon to submit "as far as was lawful and agreeable to the statutes of the college." But the weakly, arrogant king would not be satisfied with this; he insisted that the fellows should acknowledge their disobedience and repentance in a written submission. Upon this the fellows withdrew their former submission, and declared in writing that they could not acknowledge they had done anything amiss. On the 16th of November, Bishop Cartwright pronounced the judgment of the commission in the shape of a general deprivation and expulsion. This was followed up, in December, by the sentence of the ecclesiastical commission, which incapacitated all and every the fellows of Magdalen from holding any benefice or preferment in the church. James himself declared that he would look upon any favour shown to the fellows as a combination against himself; but notwithstanding his threats, considerable collections were made for them, and his own daughter, the Princess of Orange, sent over £200 for their relief; and in the end, though they obtained the honours of martyrdom, they experienced little of its sufferings.

But long before this result the king had issued "a declaration for liberty of conscience," by which all the penal laws against Protestant Nonconformists as well as Catholics were to be *suspended*.[1] But this power of suspending the laws "by prerogative royal, and *absolute power*," was not to be tolerated by any people pretending to freedom and a constitution; and it was understood by nearly every Dissenting Protestant in the land, that the Nonconformists were only coupled with the Catholics for policy and expediency, and that the toleration of the Catholics was only intended as a preparatory step to the triumphant establishment of the Church of Rome, which had never yet, in any European kingdom, tolerated the doctrines and practices of any other church whatsoever. With remarkably few exceptions, the large but disunited body of Dissenters rejected the boon as a snare, and prepared to stand by the lately persecuting but now threatened Episcopal church; and not only the result, in which, as in all human affairs, there was much that was accidental or unforeseen, but also the coolest reasoning on all the circumstances of the case, will justify their preference, and prove that they acted wisely and politically. When the declaration was published, James told the pope's nuncio that he had struck a blow which would make a great noise; that, in a general liberty of conscience, the Anglican religion would be the first to decline; and the nuncio informed his court that the Established church was mortified at the proceeding; that the Anglicans were "a ridiculous sect, who affected a sort of moderation in heresy, by a compost and jumble of all other persuasions, and who, notwithstanding the attachment which they boast of having maintained to the monarchy and the royal family, have proved on this occasion the most insolent and contumacious of men."

On the 3d of July James obliged the timid and more than half-unwilling ambassador of the pope to go through the honours and ceremonies of a public introduction at Windsor. Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, were ready instruments in this parade; but the Duke of Somerset, the second peer of the kingdom, who was selected to introduce D'Adda, besought his majesty to excuse him from the performance of an act, which, by the laws of the land, was still considered an overt act of treason. "Do you not know," said James, "that I am above the law?" The duke replied, "Your majesty is so, but I am not." On the day before this public reception the parliament, which had been kept from meeting by repeated prorogations, was absolutely dissolved. Nothing was to be hoped from the enslaved law, from the corrupt and time-serving judges; the bishops and the church, who would have assisted the king in establishing a despotism if he had not trenched upon their own rights, were left to head the war against him. Nor can it be fairly said that they took up arms upon slight provocation. Four Popish bishops were publicly consecrated

[1] The declaration came out in the *Gazette* on the 4th of April, 1687. To prepare the way for it, a declaration of indulgence, expressed in much loftier and more absolute language, had been issued by proclamation at Edinburgh

in the chapel royal; were sent to their dioceses with the title of vicars apostolical; and their pastoral letters were licensed, printed, and dispersed through the kingdom. The regular clergy of Rome, in the habits of their order, constantly crowded the court and its purlieus; and these priests too soon forgot their recent danger and distress, and became in many instances overconfident and insolent in their sudden prosperity. Even in those days there were Catholic Spaniards that were no bigots. Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, ventured to represent to James the danger of these proceedings; and when asked whether it was not the custom of his country for the king to consult his priests and confessors, he replied "Yes; and for that reason our affairs succeed so ill."

Mary of Este had had repeated miscarriages, but had never borne a living child to continue and complete the great work of Catholic conversion. But at last a pilgrimage made by the king during the summer to St. Winifred's Well, in

St. Winifred's Well.—From Roscoe's North Wales.

Wales, and the votive gifts of the queen and her mother to the shrine of Loretto, were supposed to have had the desired effect, and on the 23d of December, the queen's pregnancy was announced in the *Gazette*, together with an order for a day of thanksgiving for this distinguished national blessing. But not merely the partizans of the Prince and Princess of Orange, but nearly every Protestant in England, declared from the beginning, that a trick was planned to defraud the Princess Mary of her rights; and the proclamation in the *Gazette* was treated with ribaldry and indecent wit, which gave a fresh bitterness to the temper of the king.

A.D. 1688. On the 27th of April, when the public suspicion and alarm had reached their height, James not only published a new declaration of indulgence, but also commanded all the Protestant clergy to read it in their churches. This was the spark that set fire to the train. "By this," says the Princess Anne, writing to her sister Mary in Holland, "one may easily guess what one is to hope for henceforward, since the priests have so much power with the king our father as to make him do things so directly against the laws of the land, and, indeed, contrary to his own promises." The majority of the clergy were resolute not to read the declaration. Archbishop Sancroft was sick, but six bishops—Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney—on the evening of the 18th of May, knelt before the king at Whitehall and presented a petition. "This is my Lord of Canterbury's handwriting," said James angrily. And when he had read and folded up the paper he added, with disdain and anger, "This is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from *you*. This is a standard of rebellion!" Lloyd, of St. Asaph, who was the boldest of the bishops, and who had handed the paper to the king, replied, "We have adventured our lives for your majesty, and would lose the last drop of our blood rather than lift up a finger against you." "I tell you," rejoined James, "that this is a standard of rebellion!" Then Trelawney, of Bristol, fell upon his knees and said, "Rebellion, sir! I beseech your majesty not to say anything so hard against us. For God's sake do not believe we are or ever can be guilty of rebellion!" [Now Lloyd and Trelawney, who "uttered these loud and vehement protestations," were the only prelates present who harboured projects of decisive resistance.[1]] The Bishops of Chester and Ely professed their unshaken loyalty, and were afterwards true to their profession. James kept muttering, "Is this what I have deserved from the Church of England? I will remember you who have signed this paper! I will keep this paper! I did not expect this. I will be obeyed!" "God's will be done!" ejaculated Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in a low voice. "What's that?" exclaimed the enraged king. Ken and his brethren only repeated, "God's will be done." James then dismissed them with violent and incoherent language. On the morrow, as he was on his way to mass, he met the Bishop of St. David's. "My lord," cried he, "your brethren have presented the most seditious paper that ever was penned. It

[1] *Sir James Mackintosh.*

is a trumpet of sedition!" But before this time the bishops' petition was before the world: by means not clearly explained it had been printed and circulated in the night. Its tone was most moderate: its demands or prayers were simply—1. That the king should not make alterations in religion without consent of the parliament and the church convocation. 2. That he should not insist upon distributing and reading his new proclamation. In the course of a few days six more bishops—London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter, publicly declared their concurrence with the petitioners.

On Sunday, the 20th of May, the day appointed for the first reading of the declaration in London, only seven out of 100 clergymen obeyed the order; and those who obeyed did so with fear and trembling, being groaned at by the people. In the provinces the mass of the clergy were quite as disobedient as in London. The pope's nuncio clearly saw the danger. "The whole church," said he, "espouses the cause of the bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division among the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformists are banished." But the imbecile tyrant would not be warned. He resolved to prosecute the contumacious bishops in the Court of King's Bench. On the 8th of June they were summoned before the privy council to answer a charge of high misdemeanour. At first James and his suitable lord-chancellor, Jeffreys, made a show of graciousness, and attempted to cajole the bishops into submission. This failing, Jeffreys desired them to enter into a recognizance to appear and take their trial in Westminster Hall; and upon the bishops refusing to do this, and insisting on their privilege as peers, not to be bound by recognizance in misdemeanours, a warrant, committing them to the Tower, was signed by all the privy counsellors present, except Lord Berkeley and Father Petre. Never since the first introduction of the mitre was Episcopacy so popular as on that day. "The concern of the people," says Evelyn, an eye-witness, "was wonderful; infinite crowds, on their knees, begging their blessing and praying for them as they passed. They were conveyed from Whitehall by water: as they took boat they were followed by the tears and prayers of thousands; and men ran after them into the water to implore their blessing." The very soldiers in the Tower threw themselves at their feet; nay, even the Nonconformists, who had felt all the bitterness of Episcopal persecution, sent a deputation of ten of their ministers to wait upon and condole with the prisoners.[1]

On the other side, James was buoyed up by encouragement, and promises of assistance in arms, men, and money from Louis XIV.; and, unmindful of the energetic character of the people who had brought his father to the block, he persevered in his fatal course, assuming language more haughty and despotic than ever. On the 15th of June the bishops were brought before the Court of King's Bench by a writ of habeas corpus. The pope's nuncio bears testimony to the fact that the popular feeling had grown warmer and not cooler. The court offered to take bail for their appearance. The bishops refused to give bail, but they were at last enlarged on their own recognizances, of £200 for the archbishop and £100 for each of the bishops. In the evening bonfires were lit in the streets, and some outrages committed upon Roman Catholics.

On the 29th of June the bishops again entered Westminster Hall, surrounded by lords and gentlemen, and followed by blessings and prayers. The king made no doubt of getting a verdict—for he thought all the judges were his slaves, and he fancied he had made sure of a subservient jury. But Mr. Justice Powell stoutly defended the bishops, and the majority of the jurymen were now more afraid of the people than of the king. The trial had begun at nine o'clock in the morning, and it was seven in the evening when the jury retired to consider their verdict. As they remained long absent, the court was adjourned to nine the next morning, and the jurymen were locked up for the night. At six o'clock in the morning the single but obstinate

[1] "The prosecution of the bishops is an event which stands by itself in history. It was the first and the last occasion on which two feelings of tremendous potency—two feelings which have generally been opposed to each other, and either of which, when strongly excited, has sufficed to convulse the state—were united in perfect harmony. Those feelings were love of the church and love of freedom. During many generations every violent outbreak of high-church feeling, with one exception, has been unfavourable to civil liberty; every violent outbreak of zeal for liberty, with one exception, has been unfavourable to the authority and influence of the prelacy and the priesthood. In 1688 the cause of the hierarchy was for a moment that of the popular party. More than 9000 clergymen, with the primate and his most respectable suffragans at their head, offered themselves to endure bonds and the spoiling of their goods for the great fundamental principle of our free constitution. The effect was a coalition which included the most zealous Cavaliers, the most zealous republicans, and all the intermediate sections of the community. The spirit which had supported Hampden in the preceding generation—the spirit which, in the succeeding generation, supported Sacheverell—combined to support the archbishop who was Hampden and Sacheverell in one. Those classes of society which are most deeply interested in the preservation of order, which in troublous times are generally most ready to strengthen the hands of government, and which have a natural antipathy to agitators, followed, without scruple, the guidance of a venerable man—the first peer of the realm—the first minister of the church—a Tory in politics—a saint in manners—whom tyranny had in his own despite turned into a demagogue. Those, on the other hand, who had always abhorred Episcopacy, as a relic of Popery and an instrument of arbitrary power, now asked, on bended knees, the blessing of a prelate who was ready to wear fetters, and to lay his aged limbs on bare stones, rather than betray the interests of the Protestant religion and set the prerogative above the laws."—Macaulay, *History of England*.

opposition of one Arnold, who was brewer to the king, was subdued; and at nine o'clock, when the court opened, the foreman, Sir Robert Langley, pronounced the verdict, "Not Guilty." Then there arose a loud huzza from the noblemen, gentlemen, and people within the court, which anon was taken up by those without, and passed on from group to group, and from house to house, from Westminster Hall to Temple Bar, whence it was continued through the heart of the city, to the Tower. The delivered prelates, as they walked to their barges, bade the people fear God and *honour the king*. At night London was again lighted from one end to the other with blazing bonfires, and, to the ringing of all the church bells, the pope was burned in effigy before the windows of the king's palace. In the morning James had been on Hounslow Heath to inspect that army which was his sole reliance, until money and troops (which never came) should come from France. Of a sudden he heard a universal shout. Much startled, he asked Lord

GVIL · SANCROFT · ARCHIEPISC · CANTVAR · 1688
CIVIL · EPS · ASAPH
FRANC · EP · EL ·
EXON · EP ·
CICESTR ·
LINCOLN ·
IOH · EP · BATH · ET · WELL ·
THEOPH · EP ·
PETRIBVRG ·
IOHANN · EP ·
BRISTOC ·

Medal Struck in honour of the Petitioning Bishops. Size of the original.—From a specimen in the British Museum.

Feversham the meaning of that noise. The general replied that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting for the acquittal of the bishops. "And call you that nothing?" said James. "But so much the worse for them."

At this crisis of the fate of the unhappy house of Stuart—the unluckiest dynasty that ever reigned—in the very midst of these stormy transactions, "the son of prayer" was brought into the world. On the 10th of June, two days after the sending of the bishops to the Tower, upon *Trinity Sunday*, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, the queen was delivered, in presence of the queen-dowager, several ladies of quality—among whom, however, the vigilant and suspicious Princess Anne was not included—and of most of the privy council, the usual witnesses on such occasions; but the Archbishop of Canterbury was of course absent, being shut up with the bishops in the state prison. Some of the witnesses present were Protestants, some Papists; and Dr. Chamberlain, the eminent obstetrical practitioner, who was sent for, was not only a Protestant but a noted Whig, and one who had experienced the persecuting humour of the king. The parturition was a healthy boy. But the people, who now wanted to be rid of James, would have "no son of *his* succeeding." At once the whole affair was pronounced to be a gross imposture, and a verification of all the suspicions which had been entertained since the first announcement of Mary d'Este's pregnancy, and the first boast of the Papists that a Catholic heir-male was assuredly coming. The indisputable presence in the bed of a promising child was accounted for in a variety of ways: the story most generally received being that it had been adroitly conveyed thither in the interior of a warming-pan. The king's daughter Anne (by his first wife, Anne Hyde) entertained, or pretended to entertain the strongest doubts touching the child's birth, and she communicated these doubts to the court of the Prince of Orange.[1]

The eyes of the Protestants were now never turned from the Prince of Orange, and Tories as well as Whigs looked to William as their only hope. And if that prince were invited by friends and admirers on the one side, he was not less impelled into the course he took by enemies on the other. Louis XIV. had heaped every possible injury and insult upon him; and his father-in-law, James, from whom at one time he had expected countenance and assistance, had become the vassal of the overbearing monarch of France. The courts of Madrid and Vienna were equally exasperated against Louis, and,

[1] See letters of the Princess Anne to her sister the Princess Mary, in Appendix to Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

FROM THE FRESCO BY E. M. WARD, R.A. IN THE COMMONS CORRIDOR, HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE RELEASE OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

The clergy of the Church of England loyally supported James II. until he showed a marked disposition to place the Roman Catholics in power. Then they became suspicious, and the alarm reached its height in 1668 when he published his second Declaration of Indulgence, and commanded it to be published and read in all Protestant churches. The London clergy refused to submit to this order, being upheld in this course both by their own people and the great body of Nonconformists. This revolt against the king's authority found expression in a petition signed by seven bishops, in which they disclaimed any disloyalty, but submitted that the Declaration was illegal. As a result of this bold action they were cited before the privy council, committed for trial, and cast into the Tower. *The trial took place in Westminster Hall, which was surrounded by anxious throngs, and when the Bishops were acquitted men dropped on their knees asking their blessing, and the whole multitude fell to crying, laughing, and cheering with delight.* Bonfires blazed that night, bells were set ringing, candles shone in almost every window, and all London was in an uproar of congratulation.

Engraved by H.Bo

THE RELEASE OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.
AFTER THEIR TRIAL IN WESTMINSTER HALL

FROM THE FRESCO BY E.M.WARD, R.A. IN THE COMMONS CORRIDOR, H . OF PARLIAMENT.

having failed in gaining over James, they were ready to favour any project against him; and it became a general axiom of state, that the downfall of this worst of the Stuarts was essential to the welfare and independence of Europe.[1] We can touch but lightly on the intrigues and by-paths through which the great plan was pursued; but we may observe, generally, that on nearly every side there was a wonderful deficiency of honour, principle, and spirit.

Count Zuleystein, who was sent ambassador by the States to felicitate James upon the birth of a son, returned in a few weeks with an invitation, in form, from a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, for the Prince of Orange to come over with an armed force, to call the legitimacy of the child in question, and redress the grievances of the nation. Officers of the army and navy, men in high civil trusts and employments, even personal friends and favourites of the king, joined secretly in the prayer to William, and every secret of the court and government was betrayed to the prince and his emissaries. Even Sunderland, seeing the inevitable convulsion, prepared for his own safety by betraying his imbecile master. Admiral Russell, cousin of the late Lord William Russell, and Vice-admiral Herbert, bold and experienced seamen, encouraged the discontents of the navy; and, after carrying on a furtive correspondence, going and coming between England and Holland, Herbert threw off the mask, and took refuge with the Prince of Orange, who, from that moment, forbade any mention of the infant Prince of Wales in the prayer used in his chapel for the royal family of England. The vice-admiral was soon followed by the brave and restless Lord Mordaunt; by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who mortgaged his estate for £40,000, and offered his sword and his money to the prince; and by other men of name and influence from Scotland as well as from England. Fletcher of Saltoun, and nearly all the Protestant gentlemen and lords who had been obliged to flee to the Continent, flocked to the same standard. A regular intercourse was established between London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and the Hague. In England this was chiefly managed by Lord Danby, by the Earl of Manchester, and by the friend of the unfortunate Russell, Lord Cavendish, now Earl of Devonshire; in Scotland by Lord Stair, his son Sir John Dalrymple, the Lord Drumlanrig, son to the Duke of Queensberry, and General Douglas, that duke's brother. But to few was William more indebted than to Lord and Lady Churchill, who had tasted, to an unusual degree, of James's favour and bounty. Secret meetings were held in various places to mature the scheme. One of the most conspicuous was the old mansion called Lady Place, or Hurley House, situated on one of the most picturesque windings of the Thames, between Maidenhead and Henley. There, in a gloomy Norman vault, were signed the papers that were transmitted to the Prince of Orange.

William drove on his preparations for an actual invasion; and by the month of August he had collected 15,000 land troops, a capital train of artillery, a fleet of seventy sail, flat-bottomed boats for effecting a landing, and all other materials and provisions necessary. From the state of the Continent it was easy for him to make it appear that these preparations were intended merely against France. With his usual silence and caution, William intrusted the particulars of his design to five or six persons at most. The King of France sometimes thought that William meant to attack his ally, the King of Denmark, sometimes that the blow was merely intended against the republicans of Holland. The King

[1] An extraordinary complication of affairs in Europe at this time gave William, for his first effective ally in the grand scheme he had formed for securing the Protestantism of Great Britain and the Continent, no less a personage than the pope—a debt not repaid till 1814, when Protestant Britain, Prussia, and Sweden, again delivered the Popedom from the tutelage of France. Louis XIV. had quarrelled with Innocent XI. The French clergy, under Bossuet, had sided with their sovereign, and were on the verge of open schism; and the sagacious mind of William seems at once to have laid hold of this circumstance to secure the aid of the Vatican, although Innocent doubtless either did not know, or winked hard at William's ultimate designs. One of the most interesting passages in Ranké's *History of the Popes* relates to this, and is as follows:—"It were no easy matter, certainly, to prove that Innocent, as has been said, stood in immediate alliance with William III., and was personally in the secret of the latter's designs upon England. But with so much the greater confidence may we venture to assert that his ministers were privy to it. All that the pope was told was, that the Prince of Orange would take the chief command on the Rhine, and defend the rights of the empire as well as of the church against Louis XIV.; towards that he engaged to contribute considerable subsidies. But his secretary of state, Count Cassoni, had, as early as 1687, precise information that the plan of the discontented in England was to dethrone King James, and to transfer the crown to the Princess of Orange. The count was ill-served, and the French had found a traitor among his domestics. From among the papers, which the latter had found an opportunity of inspecting in his master's most secret cabinet, the courts of France and Spain received the first intelligence of these plans. Astounding complication! At the Roman court there met the threads of an alliance which had for its object and for its result, the deliverance of Protestantism in Western Europe from the last great danger that threatened it, and to gain the English throne for ever for that profession. Granting that Innocent XI., as has been said, knew nothing of this whole scheme, still it is undeniable, that he attached himself to an opposition that was in a great measure based on Protestant resources and motives. The resistance he made to the candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne, that was favoured by France, was in the interests of that opposition, and mainly contributed to the commencement of hostilities—of hostilities which, nevertheless, in relation to France, had very fortunate consequences for the Papal principle. If the pope, by his policy, promoted Protestantism, the Protestants in return, by preserving in its integrity the balance of power in Europe, against the 'exorbitant potentate,' co-operated towards bringing the latter into compliance with the spiritual claims of the Popedom."—Vol. ii. p. 278.

of England continued to believe that the fleet and army were intended against France. Attempts, however, were not wanting to warn James of his danger; but, Sunderland, who had the command of the foreign correspondence, is said to have concealed these communications from his master.

The Vault at Lady Place.[1]—From the Book of the Thames.

By every party recourse was had to a wholesale system of trickery, lying, and deception, for in this "Glorious Revolution" nothing was glorious but the result. Even Louis XIV., who had always a changeful game of his own to play, and who was ready enough to sacrifice James II., if by so doing he could gain more than by supporting him, shifted and changed his position and professions, and bewildered and deluded our woful blunderer, who never had head enough to govern a society of monks, much less three kingdoms. The French king knew it all long before this; but at last—about the middle of September—it suited Louis to impart by letter positive information about the intended invasion. James turned pale and stood motionless; the letter dropped from his hand and womanly tears from his eyes. At the same time Louis made an offer of French ships and French troops, but everybody near James advised the king to reject this perilous assistance, and he rejected it accordingly. Yet, almost as soon as he had done so, he repented; and, betraying his ministers as they had betrayed him, he clandestinely begged Louis to keep a fleet and army ready for him at Brest. A few days before this, the Duke of Berwick, one of his illegitimate children, attempted to introduce a number of Irish Catholics into his regiment; and, because the lieutenant-colonel and the officers would not receive this illegal reinforcement, the king sent a troop of horse to bring them before him, and cashiered them all.

When too late, James attempted to disarm the animosity of his people by concession and retractations. He even condescended to consult the Protestant bishops whom he had so recently persecuted; he replaced the Protestant deputy-lieutenants and magistrates; he stopped the war against municipal institutions; and he gave back to the city of London its old charter; and he spoke most respectfully of a parliament as the best means of settling all differences. On the 3d of October the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight bishops waited upon him, presented their advice in writing, and sought to bring him back "to the religion in which he had been baptized and educated." Yet just at this critical moment the infant, whose birth had hurried on the storm, was baptized with great pomp according to the rites of the Church of Rome, the pope, represented by his nuncio, being the godfather. The baptism of James Francis Edward, with the particulars of the ceremony, was madly published in the *Gazette*, and added fresh elements to the tempest. A few days after, when there was "a wonderful expectation of the Dutch fleet," and when the bastardy of the unlucky child was sung in scurrilous songs in the streets of London, James summoned an extraordinary council, at which were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the judges, the lord-mayor, the queen-dowager, and all the lords and ladies who had been present at the queen consort's labour and delivery. "The procedure," says Evelyn, "was censured by some as below his majesty to con-

[1] The mansion-house of Lady Place (removed in 1837) was erected in the reign of Elizabeth, on the site of an ancient Benedictine priory, of which the vault above referred to, where the conspiracy against James II. was matured, originally formed the burial-place. "The vault below was reached by a trap-door in the hall-floor, and was very solidly constructed, receiving its light from a grated window below the level of the garden. In one recess (that behind the figures in our cut) a square tablet was inserted, containing three inscriptions in as many compartments, giving the chief facts connected with its history: first detailing its original foundation, 'at the time of the great Norman revolution, by which revolution the whole state of England was changed;' then, 'that in this place, 600 years afterwards, the revolution of 1688 was begun; and it is said that several consultations for calling in the Prince of Orange were held in this recess, on which account this vault was visited by that powerful prince after he had ascended the throne;' the third inscription commemorated another royal visit in these words—'Be it remembered that this place was visited by their majesties, King George III. and Queen Charlotte, on Monday, the 14th of November, 1785.' The visit of General Paoli, the celebrated commander of the Corsicans in the revolution of that island, was also noted in May, 1790, as well as the fact that in digging below the floor, some bodies in Benedictine habits had been found, the last denizens of the old monastery. As we have said, there are now no remains of Lady Place, except the garden walls, to indicate its 'whereabouts.'"—*Book of the Thames*, by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall.

descend to on the talk of the people; and it was remarkable that, on this occasion, the archbishop, the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earls of Clarendon and Nottingham, refused to sit at the council-table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his majesty that whatever was done whilst such sat amongst them was unlawful and incurred premunire—at least if what I heard be true."[1] "I have called you together," said James, "upon a very extraordinary occasion, but extraordinary diseases must have extraordinary remedies. The malicious endeavours of my enemies have so poisoned the minds of some of my subjects, that by the reports I have from all hands, I have reason to believe that many do think this son, which God hath been pleased to bless me with, to be none of mine, but a supposed child. But I may say that, by a particular providence, scarce any prince was born where there were so many persons present." He then caused to be examined upon oath upwards of forty witnesses, including twenty-two females, some of them waiting women about the queen, some ladies of the highest rank, and nineteen noblemen and gentlemen, and physicians. As far as evidence for such a case could go, their depositions, which were enrolled in Chancery, proved that the queen had been delivered of the child in the regular manner; but the nation would not be bound by the common rules of evidence. At this moment Sunderland was suddenly dismissed. The fallen minister soon went over to Holland, and carried all his state secrets with him.

Before this selfish politician got to the Hague, the Prince of Orange was safe in England, the game was up, and Sunderland's treachery no longer worth the purchase. Yet, the first move seemed inauspicious. On Friday, October the 16th, William embarked with Count Solmes, Count Stourm, Marshal Schomberg, Bentinck, Overkirk, and many British noblemen and gentlemen. His ship bore the flag of England and his own arms, with this motto—"I will maintain the Protestant religion and the liberties of England." The whole fleet weighed anchor during the night, and stood over for the English coast; but the winds, which had been so long contrary, veered round to the old quarter and blew such a hurricane that the immense fleet was driven from its course, scattered, and materially injured. William put back into Helvoet, and employed his scouts in collecting the scattered transports. News of this check was soon carried to James, who devoutly said it was no wonder, since the Host had been exposed for several days. But he was deluded as much by Dutch *Gazettes* as by his own superstition. Those papers exaggerated the damage done, so as to make him believe that the expedition would be deferred till the following spring. A declaration from William was already circulated through the country. There were expressions as if the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had invited him over. "This," says Evelyn, "made his majesty convene my Lord of Canterbury, and the other bishops now in town, to give an account of what was in the manifesto, and to enjoin them to clear themselves, by some public writing, of this disloyal charge." Sancroft, with the Bishops of Durham, Chester, and St. David's, expressly denied any such invitation, of which, indeed, *they* had known nothing; but Compton, the Bishop of London, who *had* subscribed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, said evasively, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." James, dreading the men whom he had attempted to crush, mildly requested to have their denial in writing, together with an "abhorrence" of the designs of traitors, and of the Prince of Orange, and he dismissed them with an order to draw up such a paper as he might publish to the nation. The prelates were in no hurry to obey, for they expected every day that the landing of the prince would rescue them from the penalties of disobedience, and from all fear of James. He urged them on by impatient messages. The prelates at last returned to court, and again protested their innocence of treasonable plots. "But," said James, "where is the paper?" The primate replied that they had brought no paper, and that they did not think any was necessary; for since his majesty had been pleased to say that he thought them guiltless, they despised what all the world besides might say. "But," continued James, "I expected a paper. I take it you promised me one." "We assure your majesty," said the bishops, "that scarce one in five hundred believes the manifesto to be the prince's true declaration." "But five hundred," said James, "would bring in the Prince of Orange upon my throat." "God forbid," ejaculated the bishops, who, after some more urging, said, "Truly, sir, this is a business of state which does not properly belong to us:" and Sancroft reminded him of the recent imprisonment of the bishops for touching on matters of state. At this he was exceedingly wroth, and told the archbishop that he was making a mad quarrel.[2] But nothing would move the bishops, great abhorrers as they

[1] *Diary*, 29th October. On the preceding day there had been a tumult in the city, where the rabble demolished a Popish chapel which had been recently set up. The same diarist notices that, on the 14th of October, the king's birthday, no guns were fired from the Tower as usual, and that the sun was eclipsed at its rising. "This day," he says, "was signalized for the victory of William the Conqueror, near Battle, in Sussex." It appears that the people were expecting upon that anniversary the landing of William, Prince of Orange

[2] *Querelle d'Allemand.*

had been whenever the church was not concerned, to express their abhorrence of the present scheme; and the conference ended in their affirming that, as bishops, they could only pray, but that, as peers, they might serve the king in parliament.[1]

But by this time the lawn sleeves were safe, for the Dutch fleet had passed the Straits of Dover, and was steering for the western coast. On the 1st of November William had set sail a second time, and with a fair wind and a brisk gale. The English fleet, which had suffered in a recent storm, was lying in the Downs with their yards and topmasts struck, and, from the nature of the wind and other circumstances, they were unable to get to sea, or molest the prince with a single shot. James had intrusted the important command to Lord Dartmouth, who was true to him; but more than half the captains had secret engagements with Admiral Herbert; and it is extremely doubtful whether the men would have fought their ships. The Dutch bore away under light and favourable breezes to the westward, and on the 4th of November came safe to anchor at Torbay. William was anxious to land immediately, because that day was the anniversary of his birth, and also of his marriage with the Princess Mary of England; but the English rejoiced that the landing could not be effected until the 5th, which was the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason. William immediately marched with his army to Exeter. He had about 15,000 men, of whom some 2000 were English, Scotch, and Irish Protestants, who had been serving on the Continent. The recent butcheries of Jeffreys had left such a dread and horror, that few of the people joined the invaders; and the city of Exeter, though it could not resist, did not, at first, seem to welcome the invaders. William's intention had been to march at once into the heart of the kingdom, but he was embarrassed, if not discouraged, by the appearance of lukewarmness and timidity, and he continued more than a week at Exeter, close to his shipping, which still lay unmolested by the English fleet. It is stated that he more than once thought of re-embarking, and that he threatened to publish the names of all those who had invited him over, as a proper reward for their treachery, folly, and cowardice.[2] But, though it might have suited him to make some such threat, we doubt very much whether he ever really entertained any such intention, or despaired of his success.

Meanwhile James was trembling and wavering, and touching people in London for the king's-evil, being assisted therein, not by a Protestant priest, as the law prescribed in those miracles, but by Piten, a Jesuit. If he could have counted on the men, he was not without the means of defence. Besides the regular army which had been so long encamped at Hounslow, he had 3000 Irish troops in Chester, nearly 3000 Scottish troops in Carlisle, and the militia of several counties were under arms. But all the common soldiers that were not Papists were disaffected, and some of the principal officers were in league with the Prince of Orange and his friends. Lord Colchester, a friend of the late Duke of Monmouth, was the first that openly deserted. He carried with him a few of his men; but Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, who was lying at Salisbury with three regiments of horse, attempted to go over with all that force. He found unexpected obstacles in the military honour of his subalterns, and was obliged to flee to the prince almost alone; but he was soon followed by most of the men, and the rest were scattered and rendered useless to James. The city of London, meanwhile, was in disorder, and the mob pulled down a nunnery recently opened at St. John's, Clerkenwell. A council of war was called at Whitehall on the 16th of November. The members of it were assured that a parliament would be called as early as possible, and they

Brixham, Torbay, the landing-place of William of Orange. From Devon and Cornwall Illustrated.

[1] Archdeacon D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft; Apology*, published afterwards by the Bishops; Sprat's *Letters*.

[2] *Rapin; Lord Dartmouth.*

recommended his majesty to put himself at the head of his *faithful* army. The little Prince of Wales was sent for safety to Portsmouth, and there was a sudden and great flight of the priests and monks who had occasioned all this calamity. On the morning of the 18th the king set out for the army, but he returned and received an address from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, some of the bishops, and such of the peers as were in London, who all prayed for the calling of parliament. On the following morning he set out for head-quarters, now at Salisbury, with Barillon, the French ambassador; but, wherever he advanced, he found unequivocal symptoms of disaffection; and, fearing (probably not without reason) to be betrayed into the hands of his son-in-law by his favourite Churchill, he in five days began to retrace his steps towards the capital.

Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, one of Charles II.'s illegitimates, went over to the Prince of Orange, who by this time had no cause to complain of lukewarmness; and who, encouraged by risings in his favour in Cheshire, in Derbyshire, in the north, had advanced from Exeter to Wincanton. Captain Churchill, brother to Lord Churchill, had joined the Dutch fleet with his ship. The king, as he was retreating from his own army, stopped on the evening of the 24th at Andover, where he invited his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and the young Duke of Ormond, whom he had recently gratified with the order of the Garter, to sup with him. The very next morning both the prince and the duke were missing; they had gone straight from the royal table to horse, and had ridden to the Prince of Orange with Lord Drumlanrig and Mr. Boyle. The illustrious Dane had been wont to say, when he heard of the desertion of any of those whom James had delighted to honour, "Est-il possible?" (Is it possible?) The king now said, "Est-il possible gone too!" But when, on the morrow, he arrived at Whitehall, and found that his daughter Anne had imitated her husband's example, he exclaimed, in an agony and with tears, "God help me! my very children have forsaken me." Anne had absconded from the palace in the night, with the fascinating Lady Churchill. The two ladies slept in the city at the house of Compton, the Bishop of London, who, the next morning, with the Earl of Dorset, escorted them to Lord Dorset's mansion at Copt Hall, whence they repaired to the Earl of Northampton's. They afterwards went to Nottingham, where a small army of volunteers gathered round the orthodox but unfeeling daughter of James. Compton, the Bishop of London, who had been a soldier in his youth, put on his harness again, and rode before the princess with a drawn sword in his hand, and with pistols at his saddle-bow. By this time Plymouth had declared for the prince, and so had Bath and Bristol, York and Hull; and all the chief nobility and gentry were flocking to his standard, and aiding in the composition or publication of manifestoes and declarations. The Dutch army was joyfully expected in the ultra-loyal city of Oxford; and the university, to complete their recantation, sent to make William an offer of all their plate. There was a fresh flight of priests, and Jesuits, and court favourites; among whom was the obnoxious Father Petre. All that remained of the council in London were distracted and panic-struck; and Chancellor Jeffreys saw the gallows or a worse death before him. Unmeaning proclamations were issued, and negotiations were set on foot with the Prince of Orange; a general pardon to offenders was passed under the great seal, and promises and professions were lavished to an incredulous and now triumphant people. "Addresses," says Evelyn, on the 2d of December, "come up from the fleet not grateful to his majesty; the Papists in office lay down their commissions and fly; universal consternation is amongst them; *it looks like a revolution!*"

But by this time James himself was convinced that nothing was left to him but flight. The officers of the navy prevented the embarkation of the little Prince of Wales at Portsmouth. The child was brought back to London; and, on the night of the 10th of December, the queen, disguised as an Italian lady, fled with it across the river to Lambeth, lighted on her doleful way by the flames of burning Popish chapels. From Lambeth the queen and prince were conveyed in a coach to Gravesend, where they embarked in a yacht, which landed them at Calais. Within twenty-four hours the stupified king followed them. He cancelled the patents for the new sheriffs, with the writs issued for calling a parliament; and, taking away the great seal with him, he fled with Sir Edward Hales, across the Thames to Lambeth, throwing the seal into the river as he passed. Relays of horses had been provided by Sheldon, one of the equerries, and they rode with all speed to Feversham, where they embarked in a custom-house hoy. But it blew a strong gale, and the master of the little vessel, seeing that he wanted more ballast, ran into the western end of the Isle of Sheppey, where the people seized the disguised king as a *fugitive Jesuit*, treated him with proportionable rudeness, and carried him back a prisoner to Feversham. Then he made himself known; told the rabble, who had been calling him "a hatchet-faced Jesuit," that he was their king, procured pen, ink, and paper, wrote a note to Lord Winchelsea, the lieutenant of the county, who has-

tened to him to rescue him out of the rude hands of that rabble rout of fishermen, sailors, and smugglers, who took his money, but refused to let him go. Never, perhaps, did a fallen despot present so miserable a spectacle. His mind was a complete wreck: he told the mob that the Prince of Orange was seeking his life, and he screamed for a boat! a boat! that he might escape. When he was conducted by Lord Winchelsea from the public house to a private house in the town, he fell a-weeping, and deplored his great misfortune in losing a piece of the wood of the true cross, which had belonged to Edward the Confessor. When the news of his capture was carried to the Prince of Orange, who was then at Windsor, the messenger was referred to Burnet, who exclaimed, "Why did you not let him go?"

As soon as the king's flight from his palace was known in the city the populace proceeded to very violent extremities, being excited and maddened by all kinds of reports. In this frenzy they destroyed more Popish chapels, broke open the houses of some of the foreign ambassadors, and made search for Father Petre and his Jesuits. Petre was safe in France; but the pope's nuncio was fain to disguise himself as a footman. In the midst of this search a wretch fell into their hands, whose life would not have been safe for an instant with any other people in Europe in a similar state of excitement. This was Lord-chancellor Jeffreys, who was found in Wapping disguised as a sailor. They cudgelled him, it is true, but they drew no knife or mortal weapon against the butcher. With a rare reverence for the forms of justice, they carried him before the lord-mayor, who committed him for safety, and at his own request, to the Tower.

In the midst of these tumults a provisional government was formed in a council of about thirty of the bishops and peers that were in London; the governor of the Tower was changed; and the Prince of Orange was invited into the capital. This council also ordered Lord Feversham to repair to his helpless master with 200 of the life-guards and no more, and to leave it to his majesty either to return to his good city of London or to retire to the Continent, as he should think fit. The provisional government and the Prince of Orange made no doubt that James would instantly turn his face towards France; but, to the astonishment of all, James, either by choice or compulsion, or through some deceptions practised upon him, came back to London, and invited his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, to meet him at Whitehall, that they might there *amicably* settle the distractions of the nation. But William had certainly no wish for any such interview; and he and his friends were probably alarmed by the commiseration which the Londoners had testified for the fallen sovereign on his passage through the city. What William and his party wanted was the immediate expatriation of the king, which could be converted into a virtual abdication; and to this end they drove, being assisted by some whom James still considered as his personal friends. And, as if to revive that abhorrence of all Popery to which, immeasurably more than to any other cause, he owed his ruin, he on the day of his arrival at Whitehall, went to mass; and then, dining in public, had a Jesuit to say grace.[1] He, however, resumed some of the functions of royalty, and showed no inclination to be gone. To quicken him, four battalions of the Dutch guards and a squadron of horse were marched into Westminster; and James's ex-minister Halifax, and the Lords Shrewsbury and Delamere, waited upon him with a peremptory message. Lord Craven, who was at Whitehall with a few of the guards, declared that the Dutch should not enter there as long as he had breath in his body; but James had none of the spirit of this octogenarian noble, and resistance was clearly worse than useless. The English guards were withdrawn, and the Dutchmen surrounded the palace. Then Halifax waited upon James, who was in his bed, and coolly told him that he must go to Ham, a house near Richmond belonging to the Dowager-duchess of Lauderdale, as the Prince of Orange intended to enter London on the following morning. James merely said that Ham was cold and damp, and that he should prefer going to Rochester. As this was a step towards France, he was soon informed that his son-in-law agreed; and about noon on the following day James embarked in the royal barge for Gravesend. He was attended by the Lords Arran, Dumbarton, Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Dundee, and followed and watched by a number of Dutch troops in other boats.[2] The people of London almost forgot the past, and many of them were so much affected as to shed tears, and implore blessings on his dishonoured head. That night he slept at Gravesend, and on the morrow he proceeded to Rochester, where he spent four days, still watched by Dutch troops, who, of course, favoured rather than obstructed that flight which his fears and everything he saw and heard recommended. On the night of the 23d of December, he rose from his bed, dressed himself, walked through the garden of the house, down to the Medway, and put off in a boat with his natural son the Duke of Berwick, two ex-captains of the navy, and a groom of the chambers. On the following morning he reached a

[1] *Evelyn*, who was present.

[2] "17th December. This night was a council; his majesty refuses to assent to all the proposals, and goes away again to Rochester.

"18th. I saw him take barge. A sad sight!"—*Evelyn.*

fishing smack, which had been hired for the voyage; and, passing the guardships at the Nore without molestation or challenge, he landed on the morning of the 25th at the small town of Ambleteuse. And thus was Britain happily delivered from the perverse dynasty of the Stuarts, when there was no longer a hope or promise of its reformation.

CHAPTER VII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1660—1689.

English Puritanism—English sectaries—Their numbers and variety—Their extravagances in religious belief—Restraints by which they were practically held in check—Military violences of the sectaries during the Civil war—Their limited character—Re-action of loyalist and Episcopalian principles at the Restoration—Origin of the Quakers—Account of George Fox, their founder—Extravagances of the early Quakers—Their persecutions and sufferings—Provocations afforded by their conduct—Account of James Naylor—His entrance into Bristol—Blasphemous behaviour of his followers—His punishment, repentance, and death—Persecutions imposed on churchmen during the ascendency of Puritanism—Principal churchmen who suffered during the period—Moderation of the sectaries as persecutors—Deprivations of the inferior church clergy—Change effected by the Restoration—The church restored along with the monarchy—Strength of the Presbyterians—Deceitful proposals of Charles II to unite the Presbyterians and Episcopalians—He calls a meeting of Presbyterian clergymen for the purpose—Their proposals for a plan of comprehension—Indignant rejection of their proposals by the Episcopalians—Insulting conduct of the Episcopalians—Indignant remonstrance of Baxter in consequence—Charles II. publishes his "Healing Declaration" for the reconcilement of both parties—Cordiality with which both parties received it—Its rejection by parliament—Resolution to suppress Presbyterianism—The Savoy Conference—Its proposed object to unite Presbyterians and Episcopalians—The Presbyterians circumvented—Their offers and proposals—Baxter's reformed Liturgy—Unsatisfactory close of the Savoy Conference—An act of conformity drawn up by the bishops—Alterations made in the Book of Common Prayer—The act of conformity designed for the utter overthrow of Presbyterianism—It is passed into law—Its subscription enjoined upon the Presbyterian clergy—St. Bartholomew's Day—Two thousand Presbyterian clergymen ejected for refusing to subscribe to the act of conformity—Puritanism ejected from the English church—Its separate existence as Nonconformity—The Scottish church—Hopes entertained by the Scottish Presbyterians from the accession of Charles II.—Their disappointment—The Earl of Middleton appointed royal commissioner for Scotland—Mad proceedings of Middleton's parliament—Episcopacy restored in Scotland—Act passed to enforce the submission of the parochial clergy to the bishops—Refusal of the ministers to submit—Their ejectment from their homes and livings—Conventicles and field-meetings—Efforts for their suppression—Persecutions inflicted upon the Covenanters—Loyalty of the Scottish Covenanters—Testimony to that effect of two of their ministers—Martyrdom of Margaret Wilson—Change of prospects for the Scottish church by the accession of James II.—Heartiness of the Scots for his deposition—Downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland—The American colonies—Hardships and difficulties of the first Puritan settlers—Influx of new emigrants into America—Their character—Religious dissensions among the infant states—Their intolerance and persecuting spirit—Case of Roger Williams—Universal toleration established in Rhode Island—Severe laws in America against immorality and dissent—Sufferings of the Quakers in America—Slow progress of toleration in the colonies.

IN the History of Religion during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and the Protectorate, we attempted very briefly to trace the successive steps of English Puritanism, and the forms in which it was manifested, till the close of the Commonwealth. Like other great national revolutions, the commencement was sufficiently humble, consisting of a sensitive repugnance, not to doctrines and principles, but to certain trivial forms; and had the correction of these been conceded, there is every reason to believe that the Puritan spirit would have been satisfied. But persecution, not concession, was the order of the day; and the Puritanism of England was thus driven into the more decisive and antagonistic form of Presbyterianism, under which it grew strong enough to overthrow the church that had oppressed it. Not only the removal of obnoxious ceremonies, which had been the original demand, but the overthrow of the ecclesiastical polity itself—a downfall that had neither been desired nor contemplated—was the result. The establishment of Presbyterianism in England was a victory so unexpected, that the successful Puritans themselves might well be astonished at the magnitude of their own achievement. But who shall set bounds and limits to religious inquiry, or satisfy, when it is once in motion, the desire of national change? The avalanche which a disturbed atmosphere had loosened went onward with accelerated force until it reached the plain below, where

it lay inert and shattered into fragments. In this manner the Puritan impulse, instead of pausing midway, went onward in the more decisive and destructive form of Independency, until all church government whatever was swept away, and nothing left to be destroyed—until nothing remained of it when it reached the end of its career but those innumerable fragments of sectarianism into which it had broken by its own weight and rapidity.

Of the different classes of sectaries who performed so conspicuous a part during the period of the Civil war and the Commonwealth, the number was so great, and in many cases their opinions so extravagant, that a full history of them would be neither desirable nor instructive. Animated by the successful example of Independency, and protected by universal toleration, it was not wonderful that every wild opinion should find its adherents, and become the germinating principle of a religious party; or that those who were sated with current doctrines by repetition should go off in quest of new ones, and give themselves no rest until they had found them. Even the names of these sections would occupy too much space; and Edwards, in his enumeration,[1] gives us only sixteen, who were most conspicuous and of chief account in the changes of that most eventful period. These were Independents, Brownists, Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, and Sceptics. These, however, did not compose the whole amount, as in not a few cases some of these names were only generic, and represented a whole brood of sectarianism, each branch of the brotherhood opposed to the rest of the family, and all at war with the parent that gave them birth. Several sects, also, there were whose doctrines were of too flagitious a character to endure the light, and whose existence was only manifested by those occasional outrages with which they violated every principle of common sense and rule of social order. It is enough to state, with regard to their manifold and contending doctrines, that in most cases they might be resolved into a perversity, or even downright parody, of that Calvinism in which they had originated. In this way the completeness of the atonement, and free pardon of sin, were used as justifications of every offence: whatever sin their believers might commit was either no sin at all, or was cancelled as soon as committed. By such principles the protections of life and property, the restraints of chastity, and the laws of marriage were made of no account. Strong in his spiritual freedom, and puffed up with his fancied illumination, the crazy enthusiast regarded these restraints as obligatory only on the carnal and the unregenerate; and while ordinary Christians were still burning bricks in Egypt, by recognizing the moral obligations of religion, the mystagogue stalked onward upon his new-found path to the promised land, accounting his own interpretation of Scripture, or his own inward light in lieu of all Scripture, a guide sufficient for his way, and a warrant for all his movements. How society could escape being torn asunder in such a state of things—how these sectaries themselves, instead of being more outrageous debauchees than the wildest troopers of Rupert and Goring, were such peaceful citizens that a superior degree of decorum and peacefulness was maintained during the whole period of the Commonwealth, has often been matter of wonderment. But there were restraints even upon this wild fanaticism that could, in most cases, reduce it to comparative harmlessness. These sectaries were only a small minority in a society that was strictly moral and Christian. They were under the strict *surveillance*, not only of those more temperate sects from which they had apostatized, but of the royalists, whose excesses they had been so ready to expose and condemn. Thus hedged in and watched on every side, a circumspect walk and abstinence from notorious offences were as necessary for them as a cropped head, a grave long face, and boots of untanned leather. But besides, it must be remembered that, in many cases, these wild systems of belief were theories, or dreams, rather than practical principles; the extravagances of an overheated fancy, or provocatives to discussion and debate, rather than a rule of every-day life and practice. Even the restraints of an earlier and better creed, and the natural power of conscience, could also coerce them from the commission of flagrant excesses, let the arguments for the liberty and impunity of their saintship be as ample as they might. It was upon these, and other such considerations, that the practice of these sectaries was so greatly better than their theory; and that, with their argument still wrong, their conduct was so much in the right. It is worthy of note, that earnestly as the Presbyterian pen of the author of *Gangræna* laboured to expose the sinful practices of these sectaries, and largely as he was aided by letters from every part of England, detailing the scandals with which they were charged by their respective neighbourhoods, yet Edwards has been able to bring nothing worse against them, either

[1] *Gangræna; or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these last four years.* London, 1646. This work, which its learned and pains-taking author, Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian clergyman of London, expanded into three parts, containing in all 600 small quarto pages, was a production of some note in its day, and is the fullest record of the religious extravagances of the period.

in character or amount, than might be predicated of any state of society either before or since the period of the Commonwealth.

When these sectaries became soldiers, and formed part of a victorious army, even then the acts of violence with which they were chargeable, unlike the cruelty and rapine of the royalist troops, were rather expressions of angry fanaticism, and protests against what they accounted erroneous doctrine, than ebullitions of wantonness and revenge. When these exhibitions commenced, they were first directed against the Episcopal church, which they denounced as a daughter of Babylon and horn of the Beast, while its ritual they regarded as nothing better than the mass in disguise. To interrupt it, therefore, midway, they considered to be a meritorious deed; and thus, during the war, a peaceful village church was often startled by the violent entrance of a band of these military reformers, who ordered the priest to close his prayer-book, and come down from the reading-desk, with terrible threats if he disobeyed. If he complied, their errand was done; but if he refused, the worst he encountered was to be dragged from his place, or driven into his parsonage. On one, at least, of these occasions, the intruders were met with a violence greater than their own; for the priest thus summoned drew a dagger, brandished it aloft, and defied them to come forward. On other occasions, after discharging the preacher from the pulpit, a gifted brother would assume his place, and hold forth to the astonished auditories such wondrous revelations as had never entered their hearts to imagine. This occupation of the pulpit, which formed such a temptation to these inspired lay-preachers and expounders, was the offence most frequently committed. Occasionally, also, the doctrines of these teachers were illustrated by practical examples which were not always convenient to the taught. To show that the birds of the air were given as a common property to the dominion of the saints, they sometimes demolished a harmless dove-cot. To enforce the duty of even modern Christians to abstain from eating "things strangled," they would, in a march, reject the fowls which had been got ready for their dinner in the houses upon which they were quartered, because their hosts had killed the poultry in the usual fashion by twisting their necks; and would themselves go to the barn-yard and prepare materials for an orthodox meal by chopping off the heads and pouring out the blood of all the hens, geese, and turkeys that remained. To burn the Bible itself, also, before the eyes of a horror-struck assembly, was sometimes the daring act of the wildest of these sectarians, to show that their own inward light was superior to all written revelation. Such, after all the numerous statements of the period, were the chief violences that could be charged even upon the most insane of these sectaries, while fire and sword predominated, and when victory left them masters of the field. But it is easy to see how such manifestations might have been followed by the demolition of churches, the banishment of religious ordinances, and a fanaticism that would have recoiled into its opposite extreme of universal atheism, had not these men formed a small and divided minority, with Cromwell to keep them in check. Even as it was, however, the reproach they had brought upon the Christian character was neither light nor transient, and the unhealthy effects of their example was fatally illustrated after the Restoration. The profanity of the court of Charles II. found its chief aliment in the sayings and doings of the court of Cromwell, which required little wit or invention to parody. The restored Cavaliers revenged themselves upon these Roundheads who had so often chased them from the field, by exaggerating, in their own conduct, every vice which these Roundheads had especially denounced. Gay young gentlemen, who looked to the court as their guide and exemplar, were careful that none should suspect them of belonging to the opposite faction; and they proved their loyalty by their contempt for all religion, and their defiance of every moral restraint. Even the more sober-minded of the community were careful not to appear "righteous over much," lest they should be suspected of a taint of Puritanism or disloyalty. It was only the natural recoil from one extreme to another, in which excessive fanaticism and a wild religious show were matched by equal profanity, recklessness, and indifference.

It was well for England that the wildest of these sects were so short-lived, and that they expired with the turmoil that had given them birth. It was also well that the Puritanism of England still survived in the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; and that these numerous and influential portions of the religious community were now so taught by experience, and sobered by disappointment, as to be able to resume their old position, and make head both against courtly vice and high-church intolerance. Still, however, amidst these brief notices of sectaries, we cannot omit one of the latest born and longest surviving of the family—once the wildest, and afterwards the most demure and sober-minded of the whole —which, strong in its simplicity and upright integrity, has contrived to weather through those storms in which its less worthy brethren perished, and be one of the best and most influential Christian sects of our own day. We allude to that well-known community called Quakers, or Friends.

Their founder, George Fox, was born at Drayton in Leicestershire, A.D. 1624, and was apprenticed

to the humble craft of a shoemaker; but hearing what he imagined to be a voice from heaven, commanding him to forsake all, and become a stranger to every one, he, at the age of nineteen, made himself a strong dress of leather, such as would be sufficient for a life-long pilgrimage, and went forth, expounding the Scriptures by strange glosses wherever he could find people to listen. The same voice that sent him on his mission had also commanded him, as he averred, to take off his hat to no one, to omit all titles of distinction, and address every person with *thee* and *thou;* to shun every kind of bowing and salutation, and not to bid "good morning" or "good evening" to any one. Such discourtesy, in an age when rank was respected, and friendly greetings were the peaceful passports of the highway, was certain to win persecution and notoriety; and he soon found himself not only in prison and the stocks, but at the head of a band of men and women, who followed him wherever he was pleased to lead them. His first signal public outbreak was in 1649, when he interrupted a church in the midst of Divine service at Nottingham. On this occasion, the preacher was urging the duty of trying all doctrines by the test of the Holy Scriptures, when George Fox rose up in the midst of the congregation, and cried, "Oh no! it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which opinions and religions are to be tried; for it was the Spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it." This interruption of churches became a regular part of the duty of these followers of Fox. They denounced the buildings, which they called steeple-houses, and the officiating ministers, whom they stigmatized as deceivers, false prophets, blind leaders of the blind; and exhorted the people to abandon such guides, and follow the light that was within them. To such a height did their extravagance arise, that some of them went naked through towns and villages, predicting woes upon the nation, and summoning the people to repent. These violations of the public peace and common decency could not pass unpunished. The offenders were assailed and mobbed in the streets without mercy; and when taken before the magistrates their punishment was increased through their contempt of the court, in refusing to take off their hats, or swear the customary oaths of trial. They also proclaimed war against every sect, and exposed themselves to the persecution of all the other parties of professing Christians by denying the sacredness of the Sabbath, or the propriety of setting apart any building for the purposes of religious worship. As they continued to grow and multiply under such a congenial storm of persecution, they soon acquired the name of Quakers, in consequence of their tremulous tones and gestures while preaching, and their frequent call upon the people to quake at the word of the Lord. A distinct idea of the amount of persecution they endured was given in a statement presented to parliament in 1657, by which it appeared that 140 Quakers were at that time in prison; and that, during the six previous years, 1900 had been punished, of whom twenty-one had died in confinement. Even the Protector himself, averse as he was to persecution, was unable to interpose in their behalf, in consequence of their growing outrages, which fines, whipping, and imprisonment seemed only to embolden. Some of these instances, indeed, were utterly intolerable. Quaker prophets perambulated the streets of London, denouncing, at the top of their voices, the government of Cromwell, and predicting its downfall. One of them, taking his station at the door of the parliament house with a drawn sword, wounded several persons, and declared that he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every member of the house. It has been alleged, also, that, in the midst of public worship in Whitehall Chapel, and while the Protector was present, a Quakeress entered the assembly stark naked, as a "sign" to the astonished worshippers.[1]

But the frenzy of Quakerism reached its culminating point, and was exhibited on its greatest and most public scale, in the case of James Naylor. This man, originally an Independent, but cast out of their communion upon charges of wantonness and blasphemy, had betaken himself to the Quakers, and attained among them such renown for his prophetic and supernatural powers, that he was alleged to have even raised the dead to life. The most ardent of his worshippers were of the female sex; for, independently of his wonderful gifts and endowments, Naylor was of a goodly presence and winning ingratiating manners. But one peculiar attraction which he possessed in the eyes of his followers, was a supposed likeness to the appearance of our Saviour, as described in the letter which Publius Lentulus is said to have written to the senate of Rome; and this casual resemblance Naylor was careful to complete to the uttermost, in the wearing and dressing of his hair and beard. Riding from Exeter to Bristol, his journey was converted by his frantic worshippers into a blasphemous imitation of the last journey of our Saviour to Jerusalem: some women led his horse, others spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs on his way, and sang before him "Holy! holy! holy!" with other ascriptions taken from Sacred Writ applied to our blessed Redeemer. He was speedily thrown into prison; but this, instead of damping, only elevated

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans;* Gough's *History of the Quakers; Journal of the Life, &c., of George Fox.*

the adoration of these female devotees, who crowded to his cell, sat or knelt on the ground before him, kissed his hand, and sang to him those praises which belong only to the Almighty. In the meantime, his case was the subject of a long and keen discussion in the House of Commons; and after narrowly escaping sentence of death as a blasphemer, he was condemned to be pilloried and whipped, and to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron. The poor madman bore these terrible inflictions meekly; but his followers, gone even further than himself, still continued to crawl around him, kissing his feet, licking his wounds, and leaning in his bosom. In terms of his sentence he was afterwards consigned to bridewell, where he was condemned to work for his living; and although at first he refused to labour, a three days' fast tamed him into compliance, while two years of confinement sufficed to dispel his dreams, and reduce him to the ordinary standard. He confessed his fault in language of the deepest humility and penitence. "All those ranting, wild spirits," he wrote, "which gathered about me at that time of darkness, with all their wild arts and wicked works, against the honour of God and his pure Spirit and people, I renounce; and whereas I gave advantage, through want of judgment, to that evil spirit, I take shame to myself." He was liberated by order of parliament in 1660, and was ever afterwards distinguished by careful self-watchfulness, humility, gentleness, and piety. He survived his deliverance from prison only a few months, and died in a more rational and better esteem with the more sober of his party, than the wild hosannahs with which he had been formerly deified could have promised. Such was James Naylor, the type of Quakerism both in its frenzy and its subsequent soberness. In the entry of his rabble-rout into Bristol, it would be as difficult to recognize the calm, temperate, and demure Quakers of a later day, as to trace the likeness of Knipperdoling or John of Leyden in a modern British Baptist.[1]

While thus the Church of England was in the first instance overthrown by the Presbyterians, and afterwards insultingly trampled under foot by the sectaries, it is interesting to mark the course of its ministers during this dark night of persecution and affliction; and this, the more especially, because the morning was at hand when they were once more to resume their ascendency. Of the distinguished prelates and divines of the period who suffered with their falling church, the first place is due to Jeremy Taylor, who was deprived by the Presbyterian party while he was rector of Uppingham; who afterwards became a chaplain in the royalist army, but was taken prisoner; then turned schoolmaster; and finally went an exile into Ireland, where he remained till the Restoration, when he became Bishop of Down and Connor. Another, who was deprived, ejected, sequestrated, and imprisoned, was Bishop Hall, the well-known author of *Contemplations on the Historical Passages of the Old and New Testament*, a work whose high popularity and usefulness the lapse of two centuries has in no degree diminished. A third was Dr. Pococke, a name dear to students of sacred and Oriental literature, who was first deprived of his professorship of Arabic at Oxford in 1651, for declining to take the engagement, and afterwards prosecuted by the committee for the removal of scandalous ministers, with the design of ejecting him from the sacred office. The committee being unable to find any scandal against his moral conduct, charged him with ignorance and insufficiency! The name of the learned and primitive Archbishop Usher, equally cherished by Episcopalians and Presbyterians, also stands in the list of the persecuted. Driven from Ireland, his native country, by the rebellion, he fled to England, and on being nominated one of the members of the Westminster Assembly, he declined the appointment: it would indeed have been a useless office for one whose chief wish was peace and union, and whose congenial office was to promote reconciliation. On the breaking out of the war his library was seized by the parliamentarian army; and when the king was executed, he witnessed the spectacle from the leads of a house, and nearly died with anguish at the sight. Scarcely inferior to these, may be mentioned Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of the *Church History of Britain*, one of the best of wits, scholars, and historians, and withal so liberal in his views, that while the Puritans rejected him as an Episcopalian, his own brethren suspected him of being a Puritan; and William Chillingworth, the able controversial champion of Protestantism against Popery; and Dr. Cosin, who, after being imprisoned, plundered of all his property, and driven into exile, was at the Restoration appointed Bishop of Durham, and was renowned as the most munificent prelate who had ever held that almost regal office. To these, several others might be added of the chief men of the English church, who were the renowned of their age for learning, talent, and piety, but whose high worth was of little account in such a struggle, while it only made them more conspicuous marks for deprivation, persecution, and ejection. But though all this was hard measure, it is gratifying to think that nothing worse was inflicted. This was the more praiseworthy on the

[1] *Diary of Thomas Burton*, member of the parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659. Vol. i. London, 1828.

part of their persecutors, when we remember the provocations with which the latter had been tried. The day of their triumph had arrived, and the opportunity of retaliation was their own; but even then, if the scourges, the mutilating knives, and branding-irons of Laud were remembered, it was only as examples to be condemned and avoided.

While it thus fared with the great lights of the church, the inferior clergy could not expect to escape. A new church was to be set up, and therefore the demolition of the old was naturally the order of the day. In a petitionary remonstrance, presented by Dr. Garden to the protector, one-half of the ministers and scholars of England and Wales were stated to have been excluded from their church livings, college fellowships, and charge of free schools; and when to these, curates, chaplains, and persons in preparation for sacred orders were added, the numbers thus deprived were supposed to amount to 10,000.[1] But what crime had they committed? It was enough that they were arrayed against a new order of things, which they were powerless to avert, but which they still continued to oppose. It was the constant assertion of the royalists, that although some of the offences charged against the ejected clergy were capital, there was a want of sufficient proof; that the witnesses were seldom examined on oath; that many of the complainers were factious persons; that some of the clergy were unjustly accused of holding false doctrine; and that the real fault, in many cases, was loyalty. But in turning to the account of Baxter, to which we have already adverted, a large proportion of these deprivations, inflicted by Cromwell's *triers*, appear to have been only too necessary, and that religion and national morality were all the better of the purification. Fuller, in his own quaint style, takes a middle course, and endeavours to show both the evil and the good. "As much corruption," he says, "was let out by this ejection (many scandalous ministers deservedly punished), so, at the same time the veins of the English church were also emptied of much good blood (some inoffensive pastors), which hath made her body hydropical ever since, ill-humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and sudden evacuation."[2]

We have already seen how much the Restoration was the work of the Presbyterians. The due limitation, not the abrogation of the kingly rule, was their favourite political principle, in opposition to that of the Independents and sectaries, who were wholly for a republic. It was this that made the Presbyterians and royalists so much at one in effecting the recal of Charles II., and drove them afterwards more widely asunder than ever when the terms of that restoration became the subject of question. When the event occurred, there could be no doubt as to the restoration of the church along with the monarchy; for Juxon, who had attended the late king on the scaffold, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, while Sheldon was made Bishop of London, and Morley, the friend of Lord Falkland, Bishop of Worcester. But as yet the Presbyterians were not to be discountenanced, and therefore the most eminent of their preachers were admitted as chaplains in ordinary to the king. So strong was still the party, that, notwithstanding the numerous repositions of the old Episcopal clergy into their former charges, the Presbyterians were possessed of most of the great benefices of the church, chiefly in the city of London, and in the two universities. On account therefore of their political influence, a scheme of comprehension was suggested by the principal statesmen, that would enable the Presbyterian clergy to continue in the church, and retain their benefices and clerical position. But to this conciliatory plan the bishops were opposed: they declared that it was safer to have a schism *out* of the church than *within* it; and thus, instead of conciliating the Presbyterians, they thought it better to eject them, and have their places filled with ministers devoted to royalty and Episcopacy. This plan was agreeable to the king, but from a deeper cause than the bishops suggested. He was already, though in secret, a Papist, and in the deprivation of the Presbyterians, he could anticipate the restoration of Popery. He knew that by oppressing this numerous and influential body, he could compel them to demand toleration; and this toleration he was determined not to grant, unless it was so comprehensive as to include the Roman Catholics within its benefits.[3]

For the furtherance of this scheme it was necessary to hoodwink Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike; and under the pretext of a plan of comprehension, the leaders of the latter party were invited to an audience of the king at the lodgings of the Earl of Manchester, the lord-chamberlain. Baxter was their spokesman; and to the eloquent pleading of the author of the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, Charles listened with a show of great cordiality. The speaker declared that it was not for Presbyterians, or for any party as such, that he was pleading, but for the religious portion of his majesty's subjects at large. He showed how advantageous a union would be to the king, the people, and the bishops themselves; and that to accomplish such a union was

[1] *Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England*, by John Walker.

[2] Fuller's *Church History*, cent. xvii. book xi. par. 32.

[3] Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 178, 179. Folio. London, 1724.

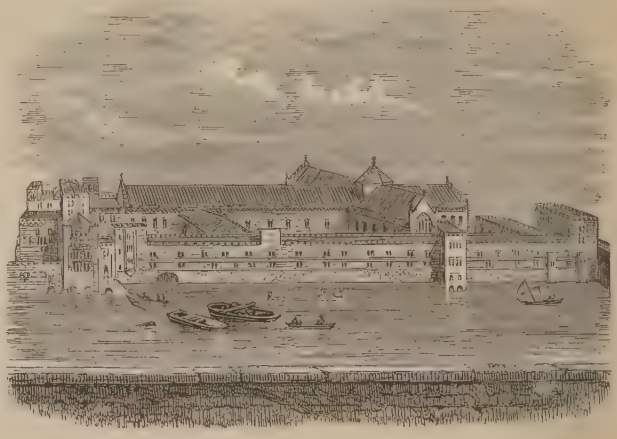
easy, by adopting for its basis only such things as were absolutely necessary; to wit, the true exercise of church discipline; and to avoid the casting out of faithful ministers whose consciences would urge them to exercise such discipline, as well as obtruding incompetent and unworthy clergymen upon the people. The king expressed his entire approbation of these moderate, conciliatory sentiments, and his resolution to co-operate in giving them effect. Such a union, he thought, might be accomplished; and for that purpose he would bring the two parties together himself. As it was evident, however, that they could only be united, not by any one party attempting to bring over the other to its views, but by each conceding some points, and meeting on a common ground, he wished to know what concessions the Presbyterians were willing to make to the Episcopalians on the subject of church government, and desired them to draw up their proposals to that effect. Cheered by this prospect of peace, the Presbyterian leaders assembled their brethren together at Sion College in London, and, after much anxious debate, adopted Archbishop Usher's model of church government, as the form of ecclesiastical polity to which they were willing to submit. This plan, which the archbishop had formulated many years before, under the title of a "Reduction of Episcopacy," was in the eyes of high-church Episcopalians, as well as stern Scottish Presbyters, a *reductio ad absurdum*, for it was of such a moderate compromising character, that both parties rejected it alike. It bore the same relation to each, that a mixed monarchy possesses in reference to the monarchic and republican rule, and was composed, as its admirers judged, of the best parts of both. It was to have a primate or archbishop to preside over the province, and a bishop for each diocese, as before, with suffragans for the rural deaneries; but these different functionaries were to act only through their synodal meetings, of which they were to be the constant and legitimate, instead of temporary and elective moderators, while these courts, from that of the suffragan to the primate, were modelled upon the presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland. Thus far the English Presbyterians were willing to go; and on the 22d of October (1660), the day appointed for the conference, they repaired to the royal presence. But here they found themselves alone; the opposite party were not in attendance; and although the king assured them that the bishops would be forthcoming with their concessions, the Presbyterian ministers received nothing more than a long protest from the bishops against each and every part of their proposal. Professing their earnest desire for peace in the church, they could not see how this could be effected by the proposals of the Presbyterians: on the contrary, they alleged that these would only be productive of new differences, by displeasing the best part of his majesty's subjects, who were satisfied with what was already established, and by encouraging the turbulent of every class of Dissenters to make still further demands. To their objections Baxter wrote a long reply. "This," he indignantly addresses them, "is *your* way of conciliation! When you were to bring in your utmost concessions in order to our unity, and it was promised by his majesty that you should meet us halfway, you bring in nothing; and you persuade his majesty also that he should not believe us in what we offer—that it would not be satisfactory if it were granted!" After briefly answering their objections, he adds, "In conclusion, we perceive that your counsels *against* peace are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are likely to be gratified with our silence and ejection, and the excommunication and consequent sufferings of Dissenters. And yet we will believe, that 'blessed are the peace-makers;' and though deceit be in the heart of them that imagine evil, yet there is joy to the counsellors of peace. And though we are stopped by you in our following of peace, and are never likely thus publicly to seek it more, because you think we must hold our tongues that you may hold your peace; yet, we are resolved, by the help of God, 'if it be possible, and as much as lieth in us, to live peaceably with all men.'"[1]

On the 25th of October, only three days after this conference, the "Healing Declaration," as it was termed, made its appearance. It was entitled—"His majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs;" and had it been published in good faith, and with a sincere design for the furtherance of the common Protestantism, it might have united the two great parties, and been indeed a healing of their mutual dissensions. This was evident from the mode of its reception; for while the Episcopalians eulogized it as the very spirit of true wisdom and charity, the Presbyterian clergy of London and its neighbourhood welcomed it with an address of thanks to the king. It did not, indeed, go so far as they wished in the establishment of a future government of the church, but still they felt that much had been conceded; and while they thanked his majesty for a declaration so full of "indulgence and gracious condescension," they promised their utmost endeavours to heal the breaches, and promote the peace and union of the church. Charles in his reply said, "I will endeavour to give all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself."

[1] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, lib. i.

He was as deep a dissembler as his father or grandfather, while his dissimulation was all the more dangerous, that it was accompanied with such a show of cheerful, straight-forward frankness. Encouraged by the prospect of affairs, Dr. Reynolds, one of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers, accepted the bishopric of Norwich, and another, Dr. Manton, accepted the living of Covent Garden, and consented to receive Episcopal investment from the Bishop of London. But suspicious of the sincerity of the king, or more probably being apprehensive that the declaration would not be passed into law by the House of Commons, a still greater number rejected the offered preferments. Thus, Baxter refused the bishopric of Hereford, Dr. Bates the deanery of Lichfield, and Mr. Bowles that of York. The result justified their scruples. The "Healing Declaration," on being presented to the commons, was lost by a majority of 183 to 157; and lost, not through the Episcopalian zeal of the house, but the intrigues of the king, the Earl of Clarendon, and the bishops, who had no real intention that it should pass into law. Thus, when too late, the Presbyterians found that they had been lured on, to be duped and disappointed. Conformity to the Established church was now the law; and the strictness with which it would be enforced was shown in the disinterment of the bodies of the regicides from sacred ground, and their exposure on gibbets, which was the next act of the Convention Parliament. Even Venner's mad insurrection formed a ground for prohibiting all large meetings of the sectaries, and for insulting and persecuting the Presbyterians. The drift of all this was announced in plain, express language by Clarendon to the parliament, when he told them, that some men would still preach and write improperly, but that these should soon be reduced by law to obedience.

It was in this state of trial for the Presbyterians that the memorable Savoy Conference was assembled. It was so called, because its meetings, which were to continue four months from the 25th of March, 1661, were held at the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. The proposed object was the union of the two great religious parties, and this, chiefly, by a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. On the side of the Established church were twelve bishops, with nine assistants; on that of the Presbyterians, an equal number of learned clergymen and laymen. Seldom, indeed, had such an amount of logic and scholarship met on one arena. But are these the weapons most available for the settling of religious disagreement, and the promotion of Christian concord? The proceedings were opened on the 13th of April, by Sheldon, the new Bishop of London, who declared that this meeting had not been called by his party, who were satisfied with the Liturgy as it was, but by the other, who were therefore bound to state their objections, and bring forward their proposals. On the other hand, the Presbyterians



THE SAVOY PALACE.[1]—From a view by G. Vertue, drawn in 1736.

[1] The palace of the Savoy, on the banks of the Thames, between the river and the Strand, was erected in 1245, by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, and uncle of Eleanor, Queen of Henry III. It was almost entirely rebuilt by Henry Plantagenet, first Duke of Lancaster; and it was here that John, King of France, was confined after the battle of Poictiers, and where he also died, on a subsequent visit to this country not long after his release. In 1381, when it was the residence of the obnoxious John of Gaunt, it was burned by the rebels under Wat Tyler; and after this event appears to have existed as a ruin till 1505, when it was endowed by Henry VII. as an hospital of St. John the Baptist, for the relief of 100 poor people. In 1553 the hospital was suppressed by Edward VI., but afterwards re-established by Queen Mary, and continued and maintained by Queen Elizabeth. The celebrated Savoy Conference, for the revision of the Liturgy of the Church of England, was held here at the Restoration, between the partizans of Episcopacy and Presbytery. Subsequently to this period it appears to have gone gradually to decay, and in 1720 is described as being in a very ruinous and dilapidated condition. At this time, besides being employed as a military prison, it contained the king's printing-press, the chapel of St. Mary-le-Savoy, and three or four meeting-houses for foreigners and Dissenters. Of this ancient building, which possesses so many historical associations, nothing now remains but the chapel of St. Mary-le-Savoy, above referred to.

were desirous of settling the question by oral controversy and discussion. At length, they agreed to produce their objections all at once, and in writing, and thereby fell into the trap that had been laid for them. "Sheldon saw well," says Burnet, "what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once: the number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied." It is interesting to mark the objections contained in these papers, as indicating the views of the Presbyterians of this period, and the terms on which they were willing to conform. "They moved (the reverend historian adds) that Bishop Usher's "Reduction" should be laid down as a groundwork to treat on; that bishops should not govern their diocese by their single authority, nor depute it to lay officers in their courts; but should, in matters of ordination and jurisdiction, take along with them the counsel and concurrence of the presbyters. They did offer several exceptions to the Liturgy, against the many responses by the people; and they desired all might be made one continued prayer. They desired that no lessons should be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation. They excepted to many parts of the office of baptism, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. . . . . They insisted mainly against kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly against the imposing it; and moved that the posture might be left free; and that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of god-fathers being the sponsors in baptism, and of the holidays, might be abolished."

But these proposals, unpalatable as they were, and unlikely to be accepted, did not constitute either the head and front of Presbyterian offence, or the limit at which it stopped short. Baxter, who headed his brethren in the conference, imagined, in his simplicity, that, from the words of the commission, his party "were bound to offer everything that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the church, without considering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have in irritating the minds of those who were then the superior body in strength and number." He therefore thought that, after offering so many objections against the Liturgy, they were bound, in honour and conscience, to present a new one, that should be less objectionable and more perfect than the old. Upon this proposal his brethren were divided; some of them being of opinion that it would be wisest to limit their demands to a few important matters for the sake of effecting a union, and that, when this was accomplished the other changes would follow. But having overruled their scruples, he sat down to the task, and composed a new national Liturgy in a fortnight! The feat would have been incredible in any other, than one whose authorship comprises three huge folios, and 197 smaller works. But excellent though the production, entitled the "Reformed Liturgy," undoubtedly was, and approved of by the Presbyterian commissioners, who were able and scrupulous judges, it was indignantly rejected by the other party without examination. At length the controversy was narrowed to this single question—"Is it lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God?" and was to be conducted by three champions on each side, by oral disputation. This intellectual tournament lasted several days, and might have lasted for years, for the two chief disputants, Baxter and Gunning,[1] were men of inexhaustible forensic resources, the former being a refining metaphysician, and the latter a dexterous sophist. The result of such a contest was only to promote "the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect." Of the captiousness and frivolity into which it could descend, one specimen will suffice. On one occasion Baxter observed, "Such things will offend many good men in the nation." Stearn, Archbishop of York, snatched at the expression as if he had found a treasure, and exclaimed, "He will not say kingdom, but nation, because he will not acknowledge a king." When the days for holding the commission were ended, nothing had been settled, nothing conceded; all was as it had formerly stood, but with the addition of such an amount of anger and resentment as widened the breach between the two parties, and made their reconciliation more hopeless.

After the Savoy Conference had closed, the bishops resolved to improve their advantage by

[1] Dr. Gunning, who afterwards was promoted to the bishopric of Chichester, and then of Ely, was one of those amiable, but wrong-headed theologians and enthusiasts, whom the present age of revivals has reproduced in alarming abundance. The following graphic sketch of his character by Burnet will suggest more than one living likeness to the mind of the reader:—

"He was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtlety of arguing. All the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions, in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose. He was much set on the reconciling us with Popery in some points; and because the charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he set himself with great zeal to clear the Church of Rome of idolatry. This made many suspect him as inclining to go over to them; but he was far from it; and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the primitive church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own notions, who have carried them perhaps farther than he intended."—*Hist. Reform.*, London, 1724.

making the law of conformity more stringent than ever. Lecturers, of whom a very great part of the Presbyterian clergy now consisted, were to be placed, as to oaths and subscriptions, in the same condition with incumbents; and all were to be equally obliged to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all things and everything contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. They were to declare the League and Covenant unlawful and traitorous; and thus those who had taken it were to subscribe their own condemnation. Foreign ordinations were nullified; and none could hold an ecclesiastical benefice in England unless they were episcopally ordained. Alterations and additions were also introduced into the Book of Common Prayer; but especial care was taken that no change which had been proposed by the Presbyterians should be adopted. These changes, too, were either trivial in themselves, or such as could only further offend a Presbyterian conscience. Among them was a collect for the parliament, in which Charles II. was the first of English sovereigns who was styled "our most religious king;" an expression so utterly at variance with his whole character, as to shock the feelings of the sensitive, and excite the merriment of the profane. New holidays were added, such as that of St. Barnabas and the Conversion of St. Paul, and new lessons introduced from the Apocrypha; and, in particular, the romance of Bel and the Dragon. The 30th of January, the day of the late king's execution, was now the day of "King Charles the Martyr," and to be commemorated by a religious office drawn up for the occasion; and another was appointed for the 29th of May, the date of his majesty's birth and happy restoration. In this way the recusants were to be met at every point, while not a loophole was left for evasion, or corner for concealment. By subscribing these requisitions, they must utterly abjure and renounce their cherished Presbyterianism, and sign themselves the implicit liegemen and serfs of passive obedience, non-resistance, and complete Episcopal rule, or abandon their livings in the church, and expose themselves to fine and persecution. This act for uniformity in the public prayers and ceremonies of the Church of England was introduced into parliament; and, to insure its acceptance, the members were terrified by rumours of Presbyterian plots in several counties. But in the commons it passed by only a majority of six, and in the lords it was treated with almost equal repugnance. It received the royal assent on the 10th of May, 1662; and, as if to make the execution of the act more oppressive than the act itself, the subscription of the Presbyterian ministers was to be given on the 24th of August. Thus, only three months and a few days were allowed them to deliberate upon a step where their all was at stake. And where, in the meantime, was this new Liturgy, which it behoved them to read and study before they could honestly assent to it? As yet it was but a blotted MS., or only in the hands of the printers; and, owing to the numerous *corrigenda*, not a copy was forthcoming.[1] In the meantime the fatal period was closing, and had closed fast upon them, with a malignity which we might have thought could have found no home except in the recesses of a Spanish or Italian inquisition. The season pitched upon was one by which the ejected would lose the revenues of a whole year, as the tithes were not due till Michaelmas; and thus many of the country clergy could have no prospect for themselves and families, but that of destitution or downright starvation. But the settlement of the precise day had also occasioned an awkward coincidence, of which the persecutors apparently had never dreamed until it was too late—for, of all days, it was the day of St. Bartholomew!—the one still remembered with a shudder in Protestant England, as that of the hideous Parisian massacre.[2] On the Sabbath preceding the 24th of August the devoted ministers preached their farewell sermons to weeping congregations; and when the fatal day arrived, 2000 pulpits in England were left empty. Such, it is generally supposed, was the number of ministers who, for conscience' sake, abandoned their incumbencies and lectureships, sacrificed their domestic competence, literary opportunities, and prospects of church advancement, and went forth into a thankless, hostile world, not knowing what might next befall them.

Thus, by a process of quick and desperate decision, which Elizabeth herself would not have ventured, and at which even her imperious father would have paused and trembled, the long-existing difficulty was solved by being cut asunder. One trenchant blow effected what a century of royal edicts and learned discussions had been unable to achieve. The Puritan element was thrown out at last; and every party in which it

[1] "The Book of Common Prayer, with the new corrections, was that to which they were to subscribe. But the corrections were so long a preparing, and the vast number of copies, above 2000, that were to be wrought off for all the parish churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few books set out to sale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the church, but that made conscience of subscribing to a book that they had not seen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey to London on purpose to see it. With so much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it seemed expected, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen."—Burnet's *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 185.

[2] "The Presbyterians remembered what a St. Bartholomew's had been at Paris ninety years before, which was the day of that massacre, and did not stick to compare the one to the other."—Ibid.

had been impersonated—Presbyterians, Independents, and sectaries—were shut out of the church, and kept out by an impassable barrier, so that henceforth they must be sects apart and by themselves, instead of forming a portion of the great national religious Establishment. It was a hazardous process, and as cruel as it was hazardous. But why was English Presbyterianism let down so easily, and suffered to fall without a blow? It had never been in this fashion that so large a party of Englishmen had stood still when their highest and best interests had been at stake. But we must still keep in mind that Presbyterianism was not a plant of the English soil; that its growth had been that of an exotic; and that the causes which hitherto had fostered it into such sudden luxuriance existed no longer. Its decay was therefore so certain, and so natural, that its downfall was only a question of time and circumstance. But Puritanism, though thus driven beyond the pale of the church, and left to its own resources, was not to pass away when its title and political standing had perished. Under the labours of the self-denying ejected ministers of the St. Bartholomew act, its principles were still kept alive, and the Puritans themselves still continued to exist under the new name of English Nonconformists. The leading events of their further history, as well as that of the church itself, until we find both parties united for the final expulsion of Popery and the Stuarts in 1689, have been so fully detailed in the civil and military proceedings of this period, as to make further mention of them unnecessary.

The leading incidents of the Scottish church, during this period, were of so political a character that they have been fully related in this work under their proper head. A brief notice, therefore, of only a few incidental points, will be necessary to place the whole subject before the view of the reader.

The restoration of Charles II. to the throne was an event which was hailed with still greater hopes in Scotland than even in England. For the king was a Stuart, and therefore a child of the nation; he had solemnly sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, and would therefore, at least, be tolerant of Presbyterianism. The Scots, even while warring against his father, had entertained no sympathy with the republican views of England, but, on the contrary, had contended for the continuation of kingly rule; and the death of Cromwell had been their signal for re-action to promote the restoration of the royal exile. But a very short time sufficed to show to them the worthlessness of the man of their choice, as well as the fallacy of their hopes. The country and home of Presbyterianism was to be visited with a tenfold portion of that severity which was awaiting the hated creed in England. In little more than a month after the Restoration, a council of state was formed for the administration of Scottish affairs, sufficiently indicative of the most hostile purposes; for the Earl of Middleton, a rapacious, dissolute, and merciless soldier of fortune, was appointed royal commissioner, with men of similar stamp for his chief officials and assistants. Such statesmen were soon able to pack a subservient parliament, and rule the country as they pleased; and they were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. Early in 1661 they passed the act of supremacy, by which the king was made supreme in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the oath of allegiance, by which the denial of that supremacy was visited with the penalties of high treason. In this way, all for which the nation had been contending for years was prostrated by a single stroke, and an ample ground prepared for the persecutions which afterwards ensued. But even this headlong career was not fast enough for "Middleton's Parliament," as it was usually called, which generally transacted business after a debauch, and while their heads were still reeling with intoxication; and, tired of abrogating, one by one, the acts of former Scottish parliaments for the liberties of the church and the subject, they at last proceeded to sweep them away by wholesale. This was done by what was called the "Rescissory Act," which decreed that all the proceedings devised and established for reformation, between the years 1638 and 1650, were rebellious and treasonable, including the Solemn League and Covenant itself, and the memorable Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, in which Episcopacy had been overthrown. Resolutions so mad and so despotic were the inevitable precursors of martyrdom, for they could only be confirmed by shedding the best blood of the country; and accordingly, soon after, the Marquis of Argyle, the champion of Presbyterianism, and James Guthrie, one of the most devoted of its ministers, were hurried through an iniquitous trial, condemned, and executed. In August, 1661, or less than three months after these executions, a letter from the king was received by the Scottish council, in which Charles, after denouncing the national Presbyterian polity as inconsistent with a monarchic government, thus briefly announced his sovereign purpose: "Wherefore we declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the Church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles." When the apostate, James Sharp, had sold his brethren and his church to their enemies, and been guerdoned with the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which made him Primate of Scotland, it was easy to guess the nature of this

"right government by bishops," and whether it would be worthy of the name.

But though Episcopacy was thus summarily established by royal decree, and although Sharp and his staff of northern prelates were inducted into their dioceses, the Presbyterian clergy still held their livings, and performed their duties as before. But it was intolerable to the rulers of the royal church, that while these men were followed by the people, they should themselves be left without subjects to rule, or homage to flatter them. Their diocesan meetings were almost empty, and their sway unacknowledged. They complained to Middleton of this neglect, and the commissioner resolved to make a tour in person, to redress their grievances and establish their authority. His progress, on this occasion, accompanied by his associates, was more like that of a rabblement of drunken bacchanals than of guardians and legislators of the church, or even conservators of the public peace. On arriving at Glasgow, Fairfoul, its archbishop, complained that not one of the ministers had owned his authority; and the remedy he proposed was as truculent as it well could be. This was, to denounce ejectment from their manses, livings, and charges, of all ministers admitted since 1649, when patronage was abolished, unless they obtained a presentation from the lawful patron, and collation from the bishop of the diocese, before the 1st of November. Middleton and his counsellors caught at this strange expedient. "Duke Hamilton told me," says Burnet, "they were all so drunk that day that they were not capable of considering anything that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but executing the law, without any relenting or delay. They would not even extend the day of grace to the 1st of November, but appointed the 4th of October instead, by which less than a month's warning was left to the recusants. In this case the atrocities of the Bartholomew's Day of England were to be repeated, but with aggravations; and, in spite of the warning given by the English example, Fairfoul asserted that not ten ministers in all his diocese would incur deprivation by refusing to comply. But, to the astonishment of these besotted statesmen and their worldly-wise adviser, 400 ministers preferred the abandonment of their homes, and a life of wandering and destitution, rather than violate their consciences. Even then, too, the example of England was not lost upon these devoted clergymen, who, with their families, embraced this terrible alternative in the trying severities of a northern winter. "Scotland was never witness," says Wodrow, "to such a Sabbath as the last on which those ministers preached; and I know no parallel to it, save the 17th of August, to the Presbyterians in England." To supply this unexpected and astounding blank with a new clergy, was now the difficulty of the bishops; and, accordingly, raw uneducated lads, and other characters still more unfit by their moral disqualifications, were thrust into the vacant charges. "They were the worst preachers I ever heard," is the candid confession of Burnet; "they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders and the sacred function, and were, indeed, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised."

In the meantime, the dispossessed clergy became more formidable in their wanderings than they could have been in their peaceful homes. Their sincerity had been tested and proven; and everywhere among the people, by whom they were regarded as martyrs, they were certain to find willing and enthusiastic followers. Conventicles and field-meetings, therefore, became the order of the day; and, in such a country as Scotland, it was easy to find places for these proscribed assemblies which espionage could not easily discover, or armed violence approach with safety. Those almost inaccessible swamps and rock-girdled recesses, among which national liberty had found a shelter in the days of Wallace and Bruce, were now the meeting-places of those children of the Covenant, who could no longer enter a church without abjuring the principles for which they were ready to sacrifice their all. To break up these conventicles was now the aim of the Scottish statesmen and bishops; and while troops of horse and foot were employed for the purpose, those wretched clergymen who had been thrust into the places of the ejected became the scouts and spies of the persecutors, and led them on to the place of onslaught. The land was laid under military execution; the soldiers were irresponsible judges, who tried and punished in their own savage fashion; and when their unfortunate victim was spared from death or torture, it was only that he might be beggared by fines or wasted by imprisonment. And then came the natural and irresistible re-action. Maddened by their sufferings, the Covenanters turned upon their oppressors; but being almost without arms, discipline, and leaders, even the energy of despair was insufficient to make head against their well-trained, well-appointed adversaries. In the civil department of this work, an account has been given of the chief of these armed insurrections at the Pentland Hills, and the relentless spirit in which it was punished. The long course of persecution that followed, and the insane outbreak of a handful of the sufferers in the murder of the

infamous Archbishop Sharp, have also been detailed. This last event, by exposing the whole body to additional outrages, compelled them again to stand upon the defensive; and the defeat of Graham of Claverhouse, the model hero of the royalists, at Drumclog, in which he was ignominiously baffled and chased off the field by a handful of half-armed peasants, appeared to justify their boldness. The battle of Bothwell Bridge succeeded, in which the Covenanters were utterly defeated, and the hopelessness of their affairs confirmed. But even in this fiercest explosion of Covenanting resistance, there was, strictly speaking, no disloyalty of purpose in the oppressed — no thought of disturbing monarchy, or displacing the king. All they sought was liberty to assemble and worship God undisturbed, whether in peaceful huts or upon the lonely hillside, while they abhorred the charge of rebellion. These sentiments were distinctly expressed, in their last moments, by Kid and King, two Presbyterian ministers, who had been dragged as prisoners by Claverhouse to Drumclog, where they were released by the victors, and who had been led against their will to Bothwell Bridge, from which, after exhorting their countrymen, but in vain, to return to their peaceful obedience and non-resistance, they had taken the opportunity of escaping before the battle commenced. And yet, after being tortured with the boots, they were brought to the scaffold as rebels and leaders of the insurgents. "For rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority," exclaimed Kid, in his dying speech, "the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing. Loyal I have been, and will every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." "I thank God," said his companion in suffering to the crowd assembled round the scaffold, "my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty. I have been loyal, and do recommend to all to be obedient to the higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field-meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence, I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands. That I preached up rebellion, and rising in arms against authority, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design. If I could have preached Christ, and salvation in his name, that was my work; and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the Word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest) a minister of the gospel." Such were the principles for which no punishment was thought too great; such the men whose heads and quarters, after the punishment of hanging, were ignominiously exposed over the town-gates.

During these years of trial and calamity, in which no age, or sex, or condition was spared, the long roll of the persecutors, and the variety and fiendishness of its items, could only be paralleled by that of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. The heart sickens over it, and the eye turns away with disgust; but out of the list we may select only one instance, and that, too, by no means the most revolting. During this period of suffering for the truth—in which Christianity was not peace sent on earth, but a sword—and when kindred hearts were parted asunder by higher claims than those of the closest earthly relationship—it happened that Gilbert Wilson, a farmer in Wigtonshire, with his wife, had conformed to Prelacy, while his two daughters, Margaret and Agnes, the former eighteen, and the other only thirteen years old, adhered to the oppressed Presbyterians. For this, such helpless girls were chased as if they had been armed men, and obliged to seek shelter among the bleak mountains and morasses, until they were apprehended. On this the father hastened to Edinburgh, and by the payment of a heavy sum obtained the life of Agnes, his little one. But no mercy was to be extended to Margaret; she was sentenced to die, and that, too, in the old Scottish mode of drowning reserved for female malefactors, by being bound to a stake planted in the sea within flood-mark, near her native Wigton. To another stake was bound an old woman, aged sixty-three, also one of these dreaded overturners of kings and governments. At the place of execution, Margaret Wilson was urged by her relations to save her life by taking the oath of implicit allegiance, and promising to attend the ministrations of the curate; but she had come to die, not to apostatize, and their entreaties were in vain. The tide advanced, and the old woman, who was nearest the sea, was struggling and smothering amidst the waves. "Margaret, what do you think of your friend now?" cried some, either in scorn or hoping that she would yet relent; but the intrepid girl, still undaunted at the fate which so soon would be her own, replied, "What do I see but Christ in one of his members wrestling there? Think you that *we* are the sufferers? No; it is Christ in us, for he sends none on a warfare upon their own charges." She engaged in prayer, and the water rose and covered her; but after a short space they lifted her up, and when she had recovered sensation and speech, Major Windram, who superintended the execu-

tion, asked her if she would pray for the king. "I wish," she replied, "for the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." "Dear Margaret," cried one of the bystanders, "say, God save the king." She answered calmly, "God save him, if He will, for it is his salvation I desire." "Sir, she has said it, she has said it!" shouted the crowd, who expected that she would be forthwith released. But this was not enough for Windram; and he required her instantly to swear the abjuration oath, otherwise she must endure her doom. But though thus cruelly tantalized with hope after she had tasted the bitterness of death, the brave young martyr rejected the proffer by which she must have renounced her brethren and condemned their cause. "I will not," she firmly replied; "I am one of Christ's children; let me go!" and, at the word, she was again thrust into the water and drowned.

In these persecutions, which extended over a long term of twenty-eight years, it is supposed that not less than 18,000 persons died by regular execution or military violence, by tortures or privations—a fearful amount of the best and bravest, in a country whose population scarcely amounted to 1,000,000 souls. With the accession of James II., the darkest hour had arrived; but it was the hour that precedes the dawn. The conflict was no longer to be that of Prelacy against Presbyterianism, but of both, united into one common Protestantism, against a cause that was equally the enemy of both. The blundering and headlong career of the new king to restore Great Britain to the see of Rome was enough to excite in Scotland, as well as England, universal distrust, and a spirit of general resistance. One of these egregious errors was his attempt to ingratiate himself with Dissenters of every class opposed to the English church, by exempting them from previous penalties and disabilities, in which the Papists were to be included. By these acts of indulgence, published in 1687, in which every restriction was successively taken off, except that against field-meetings, the Presbyterians of both kingdoms were enabled to assemble without hinderance, and worship without interruption. But a permission so dangerous to England, from the numbers of the Papists who shared in the benefits of this new toleration, was of serious hurt to the royal cause in Scotland, where Popery was at so low an ebb, and where the whole nation was Presbyterian. When the rising accordingly commenced for the expulsion of James, there was a singleness of purpose on the subject among the Scots, and a promptness of decision, which was scarcely found in England. In the meantime, the upholders of Scottish Prelacy felt that their hour had expired, and were anxious to make their escape. But before they abdicated their ill-held offices, they made haste to obliterate the foul traces of their cruelty and mismanagement. Accordingly, the jails were emptied of those imprisoned Covenanters who were still in durance, the pending sentences that waited for execution were rescinded or thrown aside, and the heads and mangled limbs that for years had been exposed upon the gates and market-crosses were hastily removed. As for those parish incumbents who had held office under the bishops, and who, in many cases, had acted as spies upon their flocks, they were, to the number of about 300, ejected from their livings by the now triumphant populace; but without bloodshed or loss of life, and with comparatively little personal violence. It was a marked contrast to their own conduct in the day of their prosperity. In this way fell that unnational fabric of Scottish Episcopacy which James VI., the first and second Charles, and James II., had spent more than a century in rearing. Scotland was to remain, as she had been from the first, a Presbyterian country.

In a former chapter we have narrated the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers" in New England; and the foundation of what was ultimately to become the United States of America. It was according to the natural order of things, as instanced in the general history of communities, that the commencement of such a stupendous undertaking should be in difficulty, and suffering, and privation. It is upon such a rocky foundation, and after such toil, that great nations are raised, and permanent institutions established. The coast upon which they landed was bleak, barren, and unhealthy; but this proved the only defence of these helpless adventurers against the tribes of wild Indians, who had no temptation to settle near such an uninviting spot. The rigours of an American winter, against which they were so ill prepared, came on, and in three months half of that band of emigrants had perished, so that scarcely fifty survived. But though the *Mayflower* returned to England in the following spring, not one of the survivors would avail himself of the opportunity to quit that strand of graves and sickness. On the contrary, they founded their little town of Plymouth, elected a new governor in the room of the former one who had died, and opened a friendly intercourse with the nearest tribes, of whom they became the allies against their enemies, the Narragansetts. On the 9th of November, 1621, the *Fortune*, a small barque, arrived, bringing thirty-five new settlers; and by the same vessel the first export of the colony was embarked for England, consisting of beaver-skins, and wood of various kinds, to the value of £500. But the *Fortune* was seized and plundered by a French privateer just when she had neared the English coast; and, to add to the

difficulties of the colonists, a further arrival of destitute emigrants nearly destroyed the whole settlement with famine. Even when they were reduced to their last pint of corn, seven new colonists arrived to share it. Singularly enough, even while the Plymouth brethren were thus destitute, the spirit of English commercial enterprise had directed its attention to New England; and new colonists arrived upon its shores, animated with a different spirit from that of the Pilgrim Fathers—men of whose crimes or idleness their own country had become weary, and whose chief motive of emigration was the hope of gain. From the scantiness of the means of support an additional settlement was necessary, and this originated, in 1622, the founding of the state of Massachusetts. But these worthless additions, instead of being a help, were an incumbrance and a curse to their peaceful brethren; and their conduct toward the natives, in 1623, involved the whole colony in a war with the red hunters of the wilderness. While these events went onward, new bands of adventurers continued to arrive from the mother country, of a better character than the new colonists of Massachusetts; and while some were of the common file of industrious enterprise, and distinguished by the old established English names of George, Thomas, and Edward, there were others whose Puritan appellatives showed that they were of the same religious stock as the men of Plymouth; such as Elder Brewster, Manasseh Faunce, Christian Penn, and Experience Mitchell; Jonathan, Love, and Wrestling, the sons, and Fear and Patience, the daughters of Elder Brewster. Stout of heart, and resolute in purpose were these comers, although the first step of their landing convinced them that this land of promise would also be one of "hope deferred." They were gladly welcomed by their old friends who had preceded them; but "the best dish we could present them with," one of them writes, "is a lobster, or piece of fish, without bread, or anything else, but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion, but God gives us health."

The reign of Charles I. produced an immense accession to the population of New England; but, unfortunately, the new-comers brought with them those religious differences, and that spirit of theological contention, which were so prevalent at that time in the mother country. On this account Massachusetts, which was re-peopled by a fresh arrival of Puritans, chiefly of the Independent and Baptist persuasions, was ready to renew the controversy in that distant wilderness, not only with those who still adhered to Episcopal principles, but even with those who belonged to an earlier and more moderate Puritanism than their own. The persecution that had driven them into exile, instead of teaching them moderation and forbearance, had only made their adherence to their own belief the more intense; while as yet the principles of toleration were little understood; and, untaught by their own example, they thought that those arguments of fines, imprisonment, and whipping, which had been so ineffectual with themselves, might yet be available with others. But the truth had strengthened them for endurance; and they could not imagine how error—that is to say, religious opinions that were contrary to their own—could be so obstinate as to hold out, or should escape the just penalty of their unreasonable hardihood. It was easy for men thus circumstanced to erect Star Chambers of their own, and play the part of Laud over men whom they regarded as the enemies of God. The first brunt of the storm of American persecution fell upon the Episcopalians, as the most avowed and dangerous enemies of Puritanism at large; but when this weaker party was ejected from their community, the victors divided, and turned against each other in mutual contest. Uniformity was to be established in these infant colonies as in England; but uniformity in what? This, among so many contending sectaries, could only be maintained by the strongest; and the question, Who was the strongest? had yet to be decided. The severe theocratic rule, also, under which the laws and examples of the Old Testament were applied in the legislation of these infant states, gave scope and sanction for persecution; and among its more distinguished victims was Roger Williams, whose case will best illustrate the spirit in which it was conducted. He arrived at the new transatlantic town of Hull in 1631; and though an English Puritan minister, and little more than thirty years of age, his views of toleration were so sound and ample as to place him beyond most of the great religious intellects of the period even in his own country. This superiority, however, was not likely to recommend him to the land of his adoption, where the observance of public worship was a duty which every member of the community owed to the state, and where neither difference of opinion, nor scruple of conscience, nor even notorious laxity or indifference, could form an excuse for the want of regular attendance at the parish church. He opposed the union of the religious with the civil power, as it then prevailed; and taught that the magistrate should punish guilt, but not suppress freedom of opinion. Such sentiments were too alarming to be tolerated; and, although he was chosen by the people of Salem for their pastor, Williams, by a decree of the general court, was banished from the colony. It was in the depth of a most inclement winter that

this sentence was inflicted; and the poor exile, driven into the wilderness of an uninhabited country, was fain to skulk for many weeks among the leafless forests, with nothing but a hollow tree for his home. Here he would have perished, had not the roving Indians, more merciful than his Christian brethren, found him, and administered to his wants. At length he removed to Rhode Island, whither he was followed by five companions; and there he founded a new settlement, which he called Providence, having obtained land for the purpose by purchase from the natives. Being soon joined by other exiles, he repaired, in 1643, to England, where he obtained a charter for his new colony, and in 1662 a second was granted by Charles II., in which the settlement was entitled, "the English colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England;" and in this, the unlimited toleration sought by its founder was conceded in all its latitude. By this novel grant, the community of Providence were distinguished from every other throughout the whole Christian world; and in this way an example was established, which the other American states were afterwards gladly to adopt. Williams himself survived to the patriarchal age of eighty-five, having died in 1683, when his colony, originally consisting of only forty souls, had increased to several thousands.[1]

This rapid increase of the infant colony of Rhode Island was but a specimen of the manner in which the other Anglo-American states were rising into bulk and importance. They presented attractions alike for the persecuted, the discontented, and the adventurous of the mother country; and with every year of this stirring and changeful period, the tide of emigration became stronger and more abundant. As might be expected, therefore, the immediate descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers began to change in their original character as it continued to blend with the new elements that successively arrived. But still the Puritan type continued to predominate; and Puritan legislation became all the more severe in proportion to the increasing violation of its rules, and danger of its final eversion. In some of these laws, directed against immorality in general, we have a curious specimen of what was accounted criminal in the moral code of these early colonists. Thus, to wear unshorn hair was a proscribed offence; and to smoke tobacco was not only denounced as sinful, but punished with a fine. The chief state crimes were refusal to communicate with the prevalent church, which involved the forfeiture of all civil franchises; heresy, which was visited with banishment; and worshipping images, for which the penalty was death. But it was against the Quakers, who first appeared in Massachusetts, in 1656, that the war of persecution was most violent. At their arrival, or a short time after, they were brought before the magistrates; their books were seized and burned, and themselves sentenced to banishment. Finding that these penalties were insufficient, new and more merciless statutes were enacted against Quakerism, which Laud himself could scarcely have improved. Thus a Quaker, if a man, after the first conviction, was to lose one of his ears, and if a woman, was to be severely whipped; on a second offence, the man was to lose his other ear, and the woman to be whipped in larger measure; and if they still persisted in Quakerism, the tongue of each offender, on the third conviction, was to be bored through with a red-hot iron. Finally, it was decreed that any Quaker returning to the country, after being banished, was to be punished with death—a sentence which was several times carried into effect. In the other states, the proceedings against this unfortunate people, although of a milder character, were still sufficiently severe, so that any one who should bring, or cause to be brought, any one known to be a Quaker into Connecticut, was to be fined in £50.

If anything can form an excuse for this intolerance and persecuting spirit, it is to be found not only in the limited views on toleration which were entertained by the original founders of the United States of America, but the new and perplexing emergencies which were imported by every fresh immigration. The earliest settlers were at one in their belief, and went on harmoniously in their common aim; but after they had cleared the wilderness around them, and driven back the red men into the wilderness, they were little prepared for the new bands that arrived—Socinians, Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Arminians, Anti-Sabbatarians, Ranters, Seekers, Muggletonians, and many others—who entered into their labours, and were ready each one of them to be persecutors in their turn. Even the Quakers of this period, as we have already seen, were not those peaceful, decorous characters which they afterwards became; but, on the contrary, were as frantic in their zeal as they were wild and extravagant in their mysticism. In America, as at home, the principles of toleration were late in being understood, and later still in being reduced to practice. It was not in a day, or a year, that the confirmed prejudices of so many centuries could be unlearned, or their practices abandoned.

During the whole of the present period, the religious history of Ireland was so uneventful that it may be dismissed in a single sentence. Its Popery had been so utterly prostrated by the sword of Cromwell, that for years it attempted

[1] Mather's *History of New England*; Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

no re-action, while its Protestant Episcopacy was abolished by the Long Parliament along with the Episcopal supremacy in England and Scotland. With the Restoration its Episcopacy was restored; and both houses of the Irish parliament gave their passive assent to every change that was afterwards introduced into the mother Church of England. The effect of the reigns of Charles II. and his brother upon Irish Popery, which was elevated with new hopes, and called into fresh action, have been fully detailed in our department of civil and military history.

CHAPTER VIII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. (A.D. 1660), TO THE REVOLUTION (A.D. 1689).

Commercial progress of England during this period—Effect of religious persecutions in advancing it—Increase of shipping—Increase of the national rental—Improvements in the facilities of commerce—Their effects during forty years—Growth of national wealth accompanied with an increase of the poor—Remedies adopted for the growing poverty—Slave-trade at Bristol—Judge Jeffreys its opponent—Improvements in travel and locomotion—Stage-coaches of the period—Their fares and rate of travelling—London coaches and carriages—Introduction of sedan chairs—Decrease of water travelling—Improvement in London street-paving—City lighting—Great fire of London—Its appearance by land and on the river—Its extinction—Encampments of the citizens—Speedy restoration of the capital—Costume of the period—Unsuccessful attempt of Charles II. to introduce a new national costume—Female costume—Sensuality of court life and manners—Conduct of the king and court when the Dutch fleet entered the Thames—Evelyn's account of the courtiers of Charles II. —Habits and tastes of Charles—Prevalence of vice and dissipation—Stirring spirit of the age—Its manifestations in active exercises and wild excesses—Street frolics of persons of rank—Games of the period—Bowls —Foot-races—Skating—Horsemanship—In-door sports—Commencement of circulating libraries—Watering-places—Bath at this period—Festivals—Observances of May Day, St. Valentine's Day, and New-year's Day—Their practice discountenanced by the Puritans—Musical taste of the period—Active games—Foot-ball —Remains of archery sport—Street skirmishes—Strictness of the Puritans against the vices and cruelties of public sports—Their suppression of bear-baiting, &c.—Street shows of the period—Puppet shows and exhibitions within buildings—Re-opening of the theatres at the Restoration—The stage and actors—Improvements in dramatic representation—Abuses of the drama—Club-houses of London—Introduction of tea—Progress of architecture—Sir Christopher Wren—His successful attempt of rebuilding London—His obstacles—Sculpture—The sculptors, Cibber and Gibbons—Painting and painters—Verrio, &c.—Sir Peter Lely—Lely's imitators and successors—Music—Church choirs at the Restoration—Henry Purcell—Science and literature of the period—Political pamphlets—Clarendon's and Burnet's histories—Philosophical writings of Hobbes and Cudworth—Sir William Temple—Poetry—Its corruption by the vices of the period—Milton as a political writer and controversialist—His poetry and *Paradise Lost*—His life and character—Life and writings of Abraham Cowley—Of Samuel Butler—His *Hudibras*—John Dryden—Effect of penury and the vices of the age on his poetry—The minor poets, Davenant, Waller, Buckingham, Rochester, Dorset, Roscommon, and Denham—Dramatic poets of the period—Sensual and immoral character of their writings—Antagonistic and purifying literature of the period—Eminent theological writers—Jeremy Taylor—Richard Baxter—John Howe—Edward Stillingfleet—John Tillotson—John Bunyan.

COMPLETE evidence had now been afforded that the history of Britain was mainly to be that of a great commercial country. The three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland were united into one, and that, too, by a bond that seemed indissoluble. After a severe struggle, they had gained possession of the sea, and were thus enabled to waft their commerce whithersoever they pleased. This superiority also, which they had obtained over the ocean, the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were well fitted to retain, by their position in Europe, by their admirable havens and bays, and by the westerly winds that could carry their navies with facility against any point of foreign attack, and at the same time protect them against the arrival of an invader. Added to the empire's natural advantages, were those of its political free institutions; so that while religious persecution was rife upon the Continent, the industrial classes, upon whom it bore the heaviest, were fain to escape to England, where they could enjoy their religious opinions unmolested; and thither also they conveyed those manufacturing arts with which they had so long enriched the countries that had now ungratefully given them up to the persecutor. In this way, the fanaticism of the Duke of Alva drove the art of cloth-weaving into England; while at a later period the persecution of his Huguenot subjects, by Louis XIV., naturalized among us the gainful process of silk-weaving. Strangely, too, it happened, that even when persecution was

practised among ourselves, the result, instead of being fatal to our commercial prosperity, as it had been to Spain, Holland, France, and every other country into which it had been introduced, was so overruled in the case of Britain, as only to deepen the stability and extend the range of her commerce. The Puritans of England and the Covenanters of Scotland, when their own country was converted into a house of bondage, repaired or were banished to America; and there they founded those colonies that formed not only so rich a source of immediate profit, but were afterwards to be expanded into a great collected empire, whose limits were to be determined only by its all but inexhaustible resources. These singular advantages which the commerce of Great Britain had now acquired, our merchants were already carrying into active operation; and Holland saw herself outdone by her pupil, not only in persevering industry, but also in bold successful adventure. All this, De Witt, the celebrated Dutch statesman, clearly saw and announced to his countrymen: but the warning which it tended to convey came too late. It was England, not Holland, that was thenceforth to be the great store-house of the world, and the mart from which its merchandise was to be diffused through every country.

In tracing, as on former occasions, the steps by which, during the present period, the progress of British industry was advanced, and the mercantile tendency engrafted upon the people as a national characteristic, we turn in the first case to the state of our shipping. And here, a material increase is to be found in the royal navy, which had been steadily progressing since the days of Elizabeth and her successor. At the death of the former sovereign, it mustered only thirteen ships, the largest of which was only of 1000 tons burden; but at that of James, it had increased to twenty-four ships, the largest of which was of 1400 tons. From that period, the increase had been so great, mainly owing to the rule of Oliver Cromwell, who never lost sight of the true interests of the nation, and partly to the naval victories of Blake, that the royal navy at the Restoration amounted to 57,463 tons, and at the close of the reign of Charles II. to 103,558. During the next unsettled reign, indeed, this tonnage had diminished to 101,892, at which amount it stood at the Revolution in 1689; the progress, however, of royal ship-building had set in so steadily, that this proved to be nothing more than a temporary interruption. As to the mercantile shipping, of which it would be impossible to form an exact estimate, we can only state in round terms from the authorities of the period, that from 1666 to 1688 it had nearly doubled. Of this commercial navy, we find, that from thirty-five to forty ships, each carrying from sixty to 100 men, were employed by the East India Company; 80,000 tons of shipping in the coal trade of Newcastle, and 40,000 in the trade to Guinea and America. A fair criterion of the value of this commerce by its re-action upon landed property may be adopted from the fact, that whereas in 1600 the general rental of England, for land, houses, mines, &c., did not exceed £6,000,000 annually, in 1688 it had risen to about £14,000,000.

As might have been expected, the facilities for the extension and circulation of commerce, both at home and abroad, kept pace with this increase, and were nothing more than the natural results that, even if hindered, would have forced themselves into full operation. One of these was the reduction of the rate of interest from ten to six per cent., which had been enacted by the Rump Parliament in 1651, and was continued after the Restoration. Another was the extinction of those vexatious charters, by which companies had been wont to monopolize the commerce of different countries; but which had now so completely yielded to the enterprise of individual traders, that none of them remained except the East India Company. The mercantile interests of this period must also have received a fresh impulse from a board of trade, established by Cromwell in 1655, for the promotion of traffic and navigation, and afterwards enlarged by Charles II. into a council of commerce, in consequence of the great increase of our colonies and foreign plantations. We can perceive also that the improvements in the regulations of the post-office must have had an incalculable influence upon the operations of traffic, when we recollect that a single letter was now conveyed to a distance of eighty miles for twopence. The effects of all these commercial improvements upon the welfare of society may be estimated from the following summary, given by Sir Josiah Child, of their results during the short course of twenty years:—"First," he says, "we have generally now one-third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before. Secondly, notwithstanding the decay of some, and the loss of other trades, yet, in the gross, we ship off now one-third more of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago. Thirdly, new-built houses in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration in 1666; and houses immediately before that fire generally yielded one-fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago. Fourthly, the speedy and costly rebuilding, after that great fire, in London, is a convincing, and to a stranger an amazing argument of the plenty and late increase of money in England. Fifthly, we have now more

than double the number of merchants and shipping that we had twenty years ago. Sixthly, the course of our trade, from the increase of our money, is strangely altered within these twenty years; most payments from merchants and shopkeepers being now made with ready money, whereas formerly the course of our general trade ran at three, six, nine, and eighteen months' time." From other contemporaneous sources we learn the following important facts, of changes that had occurred in the space of forty years:—The royal revenue had trebled. The customs had yielded an increase of more than thrice the former amount. The postage of letters had increased twenty-fold. The number of houses in London was more than doubled; while a great increase had also taken place in the principal towns in England and Ireland. From the use of coal for domestic purposes and in the burning of bricks, the export of that commodity from Newcastle was quadrupled. And to come nearer to domestic life and comfort, the importation of wines, the multiplication of carriages, and the splendour of equipages and household furniture had been very greatly increased. To return again to Sir Josiah Child, whom we formerly quoted, he states, in a work published in 1688, the following important particulars, with which we close this department of the subject. He tells us, that more men were now to be found upon the Exchange of London worth £10,000, than had been worth £1000 when the abatement in the rate of interest to six per cent. was made by the Rump Parliament in 1651. He informs us, moreover, that sixty years previous, a dowry of £500 with a daughter was of higher account than £2000 at present; that gentlewomen formerly thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown which their chamber-maids would now be ashamed to wear; and that besides the immense increase in rich clothes, jewels, plate, and furniture, there were now 100 coaches for one that had been kept before.

While wealth, however, was thus increasing on the one hand, the number of the poor appears to have been multiplying on the other. This was nothing more than the usual result of such a progress in every state of society. The standard of comfort is thereby so greatly raised, that those who cannot attain to it, are only made the more conscious of their inferiority and deprivation. In the mercantile scramble it also must happen, that many will be daunted at the outset by its difficulties, and many thrown out by adverse chances in the competition. In this way, while the merchandise and manufactures of the country were so greatly increasing its wealth, and multiplying its comforts, the number of those who could not share in it was increasing also. This was such a notable reality, and so startling to the simple comprehensions of our ancestors, that the press of this period teemed with plans by which the evil was proposed to be remedied. But the permanent cure still waited to be discovered; and until this could be accomplished, society was fain to content itself with such temporary expedients as held the evil at arm's-length, and handed it over to the succeeding generation. In 1677 it was calculated that there were 100,000 paupers in England; and for their subsistence a poor-rate had already been established, which was now increased to nearly £840,000 per annum. Even now, however, the obvious evils of such a remedy were felt, and are thus summed up by a writer of the day:—"It (the poor-rate) is employed only to maintain idle persons; doth great hurt rather than good; makes a world of poor more than otherwise there would be; prevents industry and laboriousness; men and women growing so idle and proud that they will not work, but lie upon the parish wherein they dwell for maintenance; applying themselves to nothing but begging or pilfering, and breeding up their children accordingly; never putting them upon anything that may render them useful in their generations, or beneficial either to themselves or the kingdom." Harsher measures were therefore resorted to; and in 1662 a law was enacted by which the poor were once more reduced to that bondage of the soil from which they had been emancipated for centuries. This was accomplished by the act empowering any two justices of the peace, upon the complaint of the church-wardens and overseers of the poor, to lay hold of any new comer, within forty days after his arrival in the parish, and forcibly remand him to the parish in which he was last legally settled, unless he could show that he was no vagabond or pauper, or prove that he rented a tenement of £10 per annum. This merciless law, by which the poor were cooped up and imprisoned within their own several districts, for the purpose of entailing upon each district the burden of its own pauperism, and nothing further, continued in force for 130 years, and was not repealed until the close of the last century.

This singular indifference to the liberty of the subject, and restoration of feudal bondage in one of its worst forms, was also co-existent with another enormity closely connected with the mercantile spirit of the period, and which perhaps wholly arose from it. The scene of the iniquity to which we refer was Bristol, where, we are told, all persons, even common shopkeepers, more or less traded to the American plantations—but a traffic so lucrative was perhaps not exclusively confined to this particular port. It appears that the aldermen and justices of Bristol had been accustomed to transport their felons, who were

willing to accept such an alternative, to America, and sell them as slaves to the planters. But as felons were not numerous enough for the growing avarice of the magistrates, they soon included whole shoals of petty-larceny rogues and pilferers among the same live cargoes, whom they frightened into acquiescence by the terrors of perpetual imprisonment or a halter. In this way, a brisk trade commenced, that was continued for many years; and as the civic magistrates found their account in it, the aldermen took the bench by turns, while each had his division of the spoil. At length this enormity was attacked, and that, too, by no better a personage than Judge Jeffreys himself; and, perhaps, none but that ermined iniquity and prince of legal oppressors would have had courage for such a feat. "It appears not," says the narrative, "how this outrageous practice came to the knowledge of the lord chief-justice; but, when he had hold of the end, he made thorough-stitch work with them, for he delighted in such fair opportunities to rant. He came to the city, and told some that he had brought a broom to sweep them. The city of Bristol was a proud body; and their head, the mayor, in the assize commission is put before the judge of assize, though, perhaps, it was not so in this extraordinary commission of oyer and terminer. But for certain, when his lordship came upon the bench, and examined this matter, he found all the aldermen and justices concerned in this kidnapping trade more or less, and the mayor himself as bad as any. He therefore turns to the mayor, accoutred with his scarlet and furs, and gave him all the ill names that scolding eloquence could supply; and so, with rating and staring, as his way was, never left till he made him quit the bench, and go down to the criminal's post at the bar; and there he pleaded for himself, as a common rogue or thief must have done; and when the mayor hesitated a little, or slackened his pace, he bawled at him, and, stamping, called for his guards—for he was general by commission. Thus the citizens saw their scarlet chief magistrate at the bar, to their infinite terror and amazement. He then took security of them to answer informations, and so left them to ponder their cases amongst themselves. At London, Sir Robert Cann (the mayor) applied, by friends, to appease him, and to get from under the prosecution; and at last he granted it, saying, 'Go thy way; sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.' The prosecutions depended till the Revolution, which made an amnesty; and the fright only, which was no small one, was all the punishment these judicial kidnappers underwent; and the gains acquired by so wicked a trade rested peacefully in their pockets."

One striking effect produced upon every-day life by the mercantile impulse which England had now received, was manifested in that love of travel and locomotion which had become a prevalent characteristic. The growing expansion of the public mind disdained its former limits, as well as mere local enjoyments; and while it sought a wider and more varied range, the rapid opening of highways and multiplication of the means of conveyance gave wings to this new ambition. The middle and even the lower classes could now indulge their love of journeying, not merely on pack-horses, which generally travelled in teams, or in long waggons that conveyed the goods and visitors of one town to another, but also in stage-coaches, which after the middle of the seventeenth century began to be run upon the principal roads, and at moderate charges. The description of one of these earlier stage-coaches is thus given by Taylor, the water-poet:—"It wears two boots, and no spurs, sometimes having two pair of legs in one boot; and oftentimes, against nature, most preposterously it makes fair ladies wear the boot. Moreover, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawn side-ways, as they are when they sit in the boot of the coach." In this awkward posture, the outside passenger travelled, or rather crawled, at the rate perchance of three miles an hour, stoppages included; but however uncomfortable such progress might be, compared with the smooth velocity of modern conveyance, it was a wondrous improvement upon the weary pedestrianism of an earlier generation. Even these facilities for travelling, however, were enough to arouse the alarmists of the day, and England, it was thought, was driving to destruction at full gallop. As stage-coaches, it was alleged, enabled any Londoner, whenever he had occasion, to repair to any place where his business lay, for two, three, or four shillings, if within twenty miles of London, and so proportionately to any part of England, "no man therefore," writes an author on the subject, "will keep a horse for himself, and another for his man, all the year, to ride one or two journeys, unless some noble soul that scorns and abhors being confined to so ignoble, base, and sordid a way of travelling as these coaches oblige him unto, and who prefers a public good before his own ease and advantage." From this strange *diatribe* (written in 1673), we learn the following important particulars in the travelling statistics of the period. Stage-coach conveyance was confined to the three great lines of road leading to Exeter, York, and Chester. The fare from London to any one of these towns was 40*s.* in summer, and 45*s.* in winter, besides 1*s.* to each coachman (four in number, being changed during the journey) for drink-money. Each of these stage-coaches was provided with forty horses, and usually carried eighteen

passengers a-week from London to the above-mentioned towns, and brought back as many to the metropolis. Then, there were short stages within twenty or thirty miles of London, each coach having four horses, and carrying six passengers a-day. Shorter stages still were those of ten miles, to which the coach went and returned on the same day, with an average freight of twelve passengers; and besides these, there were the shortest of all, being within three, four, or five miles' distance from London. Thus, there were stage-coaches that plied to almost every town within twenty and twenty-five miles of the capital, which not only the Londoners, but people of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey kept in constant occupation; and these passengers were gentlemen travelling on pleasure, or to visit their friends or country-houses, and traders and merchants to the fairs and markets. These men, it is added almost with a groan, formerly kept a horse or two of their own, but had now discontinued such a noble and laudable practice.

Few incidents of the period are more astounding than the rapid increase of coaches that had taken place in England, notwithstanding the denunciations of moralists, and even the prohibitory enactments of parliament. At least 6000, we are informed, were to be found in London, the suburbs, and within four miles' compass, in 1636. Of these, we find that 1900 was the number of hackney-coaches belonging to the city of London, chiefly drawn then, as afterwards, by "base lean jades, unworthy to be seen in so brave a city, or to stand about a king's court." As London was such a confused mass of narrow crooked streets before the great fire, every expedient had to be adopted to insure a safe pilotage for these vehicles; and therefore the hackney-coachman, especially after the Restoration, was obliged to mount one of his horses as a postilion, armed with a short whip and spurs; while the coach itself was of such small construction, and so uneasily hung, that it looked like a sedan chair on wheels. Narrow, rugged, and miry streets, however, were not the only evils which the London coaches encountered; for such was the hatred of the populace at these "hell-carts," as they still continued to call them, and the rivalry of draymen, who delighted to drive against them and overturn them, that a coachwreck was as common in the metropolis as a shipwreck in the German Ocean or the Bay of Biscay. Still, in spite of the jeers of the mob, the barricades of cars, and the oaths and curses that pursued the precarious route of the flying vehicle, these hackneys continued to multiply, especially after the rebuilding of London, so that people of the middle and even the lower classes were glad to use them for the purposes of business or pleasure. We need only add, that while from the commencement the common coaches were drawn by two horses, the nobility had the especial privilege of using four. The Duke of Buckingham, placing himself at the head of his order, set up a coach with six horses; upon which the Earl of Northumberland, to rebuke or caricature his pride, caused himself to be driven through the streets in one that was drawn by eight stout nags. Four and even six-horse carriages did not long continue to be an exclusive privilege of nobility.

The principle of rapid conveyance having thus increased with the multiplication of business in every department of life, as well as the general augmentation of means for its gratification, every improvement, whether in safety, comfort, or speed, was certain to be welcomed. Above all, safety and comfort were as yet of chief account. "It is a most uneasy kind of passage in coaches," says the water-poet, "on the paved streets of London, wherein men and women are so tossed, tumbled, jumbled, rumbled, and crossing of kennels, dunghills, and uneven ways." Besides, it was utterly inconsistent with aristocratic dignity that the carman should drive up against a coach filled with "six nobles sitting together," and compel the coachman "to stop and give place to as many barrels of beer." A remedy was soon hit upon that bore the same relation to the old litter that the coach had done to the whirlicot. This was the sedan, which had been in use in Spain somewhat in the form of the Eastern palanquin, and three curious specimens of which Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., brought to England on his return from the court of Philip IV. Of these sedans, he presented two to the Duke of Buckingham, and the proud favourite was not long in using them; "but," says Wilson in his *Memoirs*, "when Buckingham came to be carried in a chair upon men's shoulders, the clamour and noise of it was so extravagant that the people would rail on him in the streets, loathing that men should be brought to as servile a condition as horses." It was indeed a new spectacle in England, where horse-litters had only been used, and that, too, for the conveyance of the sick and infirm. But in spite of the loathsome spectacle of bondage which it presented to a people now fully awake to the blessings of liberty, and determined to win it at whatever cost, the fashion so rapidly increased, that even before the first year of its introduction had expired, the poet Massinger thus alludes to it in his play of the "Bondman:"—

> "O pride of women! Coaches are too common;
> They surfeit in the happiness of peace;
> And ladies think they keep not state enough
> If, for their pomp and ease, they are not borne
> In triumph on men's shoulders."

From the precarious footing of the London streets, as well as the wrath of the mob, which by this time was a "voice potential" in the state, the sedan, instead of being carried upon the dangerous elevation of men's shoulders, was soon borne in the more convenient fashion of a hand-barrow, while the chairmen, chiefly Irishmen—even at this time regarded as "hereditary bondmen" in England—were supposed to be in their proper vocation while they officiated as the pack-horses of Englishmen. From these and other such causes, this mode of conveyance soon became less obnoxious to the public eye; while the charge of effeminacy which it had raised was so thoroughly relinquished, that Cromwell himself could deposit his iron frame in a sedan, and be carried through the streets of London without censure.

But what of the Thames during this progress of revolution? Hitherto it had formed the great medium of metropolitan conveyance. Its banks on either side were studded thick, as far as London extended, with the quays of the nobles and wharfs of the commons, while its waters were peopled with every kind of vessel, from the

Old London Waterman, and the Mercers' Barge.—From Canaletti's View of Westminster Bridge.

bucentaur-like barge of royalty to the nutshell skull or wherry. Of this immense fleet, set apart for London conveyance only, Stow gives us a distinct conception, when he informs us that it employed 40,000 watermen, who could furnish 20,000 sailors for the fleet. But now these royal water processions dwindled into the paltry annual pageant of the lord-mayor's show. The nobility, in imitation of royalty, laid down their gilded barges; the fashionables who dwelt near the Thames, at St. Katharine's, Bankside, Lambeth Marsh, Westminster, Whitefriars', Coleharbour, and other such convenient localities for a water *fête*, preferred an inland *pic-nic* among the gardens or forests, to which their carriages could waft them in an hour or two; while the busy Inns of Court, whose thousands of students and practitioners had hitherto used the facilities of the river alike for business or for pleasure, were now to be found flying along the streets with their books, briefs, and green bags, six in a coach. The Thames, no longer the great highway of London, was little better than a water conveyance, in the absence of bridges, between the city and the borough; and the small clusters of ferrymen that now lingered on at the different crossing-places, looking out hungrily for a chance fare, were but the ghosts of a departed glory, as they uplifted their voices in supplication with, "Boat, your honour!—boat, boat!"

While the uses of the river were thus so greatly relinquished, the streets of London behoved to be proportionably improved: the multiplication of coaches not only demanded but also compelled a correspondent reformation in the streets. During the present period, therefore, we find a renewed ardour at work in the widening and paving of streets, and converting crooked lanes and alleys into straight ones. For this, too, the fire afforded the best facilities, as the sordid temptation of tinkering old pathways and buildings to the last was removed; and, indeed, there was full need for so terrible a visitation, when we recollect what an overgrown congeries of foul uneven streets, dirt, and pestilential smells London had became. All this we learn from the orders that were given by act of parliament, only four years before the great fire, for the amendment of the highways of London and Westminster. From this source it appears that, in consequence of the rapid increase of building, the stopping and filling up of ditches and sewers, and neglect of repairs, the highways between these two great portions of the metropolis, as well as the suburbs, were, and for some years past had been, "so miry and foul, as is not only very noisome, dangerous, and inconvenient to the inhabitants thereabouts, but to all the king's liege people riding and travelling to and from the said cities." In addition to this, we learn that it had been for some time the practice of the inhabitants to throw out "great quantities of sea-coal

ashes, dust, dirt, and other filth," into the streets, lanes, and alleys—a sure welcome to the plague, as well as aggravation of its violence. These evils were ordered to be immediately repaired, by new paving the great streets between London and Westminster, which were specified by name. Every inhabitant, also, was to sweep the street before his own house twice a-week, under a penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* for every case of omission. And as a cure for total darkness, and those deeds of darkness with which the streets of London abounded at midnight, when the "sons of Belial" sallied out, "flown with insolence and wine," every householder whose dwelling fronted the street was ordered to hang out candles, or lights in lanterns, or otherwise, in some part of his house next the street, every night between Michaelmas and Lady Day, from sunset until nine o'clock in the evening, under penalty of 1*s.* Here was at best a glimmer—more perplexing, it may be, than darkness itself—lasting only until the sober part of the community had gone to bed, and kept up only during the winter. Thus was London lighted, not only at this time but for a long period afterwards; and those who went abroad after the hour of nine, had either to grope their way in the dark through the filth and pitfalls of the streets, or carry a flambeau, link, or lantern. Thus a regeneration of London, without a previous destruction, appears to have been impossible, more especially when we take into account the decayed timber and lath and plaster of which it was principally composed. Nothing, however, but the commercial wealth of London, aided by the lately aroused enterprise of the people, could have rebuilt, in so short a time, a metropolis far surpassing the old both in extent and grandeur. Even only eight years after the fire, it so much exceeded its former limits that the old state alarm was excited on the occasion, and the former prohibitions upon metropolitan extension were renewed. These, however, were now so little heeded, that court and parliament were obliged to submit, more especially as the extension chiefly went westward with the courtiers and aristocracy; and in 1685 new acts of parliament were vouchsafed, erecting two new parishes, which were those of St. Anne's and St. James's, in Westminster.

An event so important as the great fire of London, that has no parallel in history except the burning of Rome in the reign of Nero, is too momentous to be dismissed with a passing notice. It was also a conflagration, in the strong glare of which the national character, both in its good and evil qualities, was manifested with most impressive distinctness. Its commencement was at ten o'clock on Sunday evening, the 2d of September, 1666; and its origin was humble enough, being a baker's house or shop in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street Hill, kept by one Farryner. Pepys was awoke by a servant at three o'clock, with the information that there was a fire in the city, which was sufficient to hurry him to the window; but, thinking that the spectacle was too trivial, and too far off to tempt him from his home, he returned to bed, but was told, soon after seven o'clock, that the fire had already burned down 300 houses, and was now burning down all Fish Street by London Bridge. This was enough for the indefatigable sight-seer, who repaired to the Tower, and mounted one of its highest places, from which he saw "the houses, at that end of the bridge, all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge;" and, on descending, he was told by the lieutenant of the Tower that St. Magnus' Church, and the greater part of Fish Street, were already destroyed. He went down to the water-side, took boat, and passed through the bridge, where the whole spectacle was opened to his view. The previous drought of the weather, and the abundance of old lath and timber, of which the houses were mainly built, made the fire go onward like a torrent: "everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs, by the water-side, to another." After waiting an hour, marking the rapid progress of the fire, and seeing that none attempted to extinguish it, all being employed in saving their lives or property, Pepys went up the river for Whitehall to carry the tidings to the court. On the king being advertised of the danger, he sent Pepys into the city with his commands to the lord-mayor to spare no houses—to pull down before the fire in every direction; and, on entering the city for the purpose, the active messenger found that the fire had entered before him, destroying churches, public buildings, and houses by wholesale, while the streets were crowded with people removing their goods in carts or upon their backs. Threading his way with difficulty amidst the throng, Pepys reached Cannon Street, where he found Bludworth, the lord-mayor, stupified and exhausted; who, on receiving the royal message, "cried like a fainting woman," and exclaimed, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." The inept civic functionary also added that he must go and refresh himself, for he had been up all night. By this time it was mid-day. The houses in Thames Street being chiefly warehouses filled with pitch and tar, oil, wine, and spirits,

were catching fire in rapid succession; goods that had been removed to what were thought places of safety, were again being shifted to houses further off, only to require, in a short time, a further removal; and the churches themselves were filled with property, but only to serve as fuel for the advancing bonfire.

In the afternoon, Pepys returned to the city, and found the advance of the fire still steady and resistless. Cannon Street was emptied into Lombard Street, and this rich mart of goldsmiths was now to be visited in its turn. At St. Paul's Wharf he again took boat, and sailed both above and below the bridge, where he saw that the conflagration was so wide that there was no prospect of arresting it. In the streets were nothing but a chaos of people, horses and carts, crowding, driving, and ready to run over each other; while the river was full of lighters and boats taking in goods, a great part of which was also swimming in the water, in the hurry of such a wild removal. In his minute touches of description, he is also careful to mark that "hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it." Upon the water, he also saw the king and the Duke of York issuing orders to pull down houses; but the progress of the fire was too rapid, and its rule too dominant, to be checked by these kingly behests. After a short interval, when the wind had strengthened, his cruise upon the water became more limited from the driving of the smoke, and the showers of fire-drops and fire-flakes, which made a further sojourn upon the Thames both dangerous and intolerable. Thus driven from the water, Pepys and his companions landed at Bankside, and as the evening closed in they took a parting view, for the night, of the devoted city. "We saw the fire grow," he says, "and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more; and in corners and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the city, in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. We stayed till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long. It made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruin."

Old London Bridge, time of Charles II.—After Hollar.

While Pepys was thus noting the appearance and progress of the conflagration chiefly from the river, another distinguished diarist, the accomplished Evelyn, was observing it by land, and has given a full account of the particulars. It was not until after dinner that he went to the bank-side, in Southwark, to witness the dismal spectacle; and he saw, from that point of view, that the whole city near the water-side was in flames, and that all the houses from the bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were consumed. At night he returned to the same place, and found the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill, Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracechurch Street, and so along to Baynard's Castle. And terrible was the close of this first day, which he has described with a breadth that Pepys could never have attempted. "The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures without at all attempting to save even their goods: such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments; leaping, after a prodigious manner, from house to house

and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured after an incredible manner houses, furniture, and everything. . . . Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as, haply, the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor to be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven; and the light seen above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame. The noise, and cracking, and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like an hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that, at the best, one was not able to approach it; so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage, *non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem* [here we have no abiding city]; the ruins resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more."

It will be perceived that the greater part of the mischief was effected during the first twenty-four hours. But on the following day, the fire had got as far as the Inner Temple, while all Fleet Street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paul's Chain, and Watling Street were in a flame, and for the most part reduced to ashes. St. Paul's Church could not escape amidst the ruin; and it the more easily caught fire from the scaffolding with which it was surrounded, as it was about to undergo a thorough repair. The stones of this church, Evelyn tells us, "flew like grenadoes, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied." And still no means appear to have been used to check the wide-wasting and continually spreading destruction. At the first, men had hurried, as we have seen, to preserve their lives and goods, each only thinking of his own safety; but when they were driven from one shelter to another, they either fled from the city leaving all behind them, or gazed in stupid apathy, and did nothing. It was no wonder, if we consider the nature of the calamity, so great, so terrible, and unprecedented, in which all past experience was useless, and all natural courage quelled and paralyzed: "all men stood amazed as spectators," says Clarendon, "only no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give." The first prudent suggestion had been to pull down the houses nearest the fire, by which its progress might have been stopped at once; but the selfishness of the owners opposed this proceeding until it was too late. At last, and when it was scarcely worth while, the remedy was used which should have been adopted at first: it was to blow up the houses with gunpowder wherever the flames were advancing, and thus to save what portion of the metropolis yet remained. This process did not commence until the afternoon of the second day, and with the buildings nearest the Tower; but although the noise of the exploding buildings, as Pepys informs us, frightened the people more than anything, its good effects were soon experienced, so that the practice became general; and such large gaps were made in every direction, as to confine the fire, while the abatement of the wind prevented it from spreading. The conflagration, after continuing to blaze, and finally to smoulder for several days, was exhausted, so that on the eighth day from the commencement Evelyn was able to note in his diary, "I went again to the ruins, for it was now no longer a city."

Miserable in the meantime was the condition of those whom a few hours had unhoused, and driven out in myriads. They had taken refuge in St. George's Fields, Moorfields, and as far as Highgate, and in a circle of several miles, "some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty." Of these, there were 200,000 persons of all ranks and degrees, standing beside what little property they had been able to save; but though they were ready to perish with hunger, not one condescended to beg for relief—"which to me," says Evelyn, "appeared a stranger sight than any I had seen." While they occupied this miserable encampment, a rumour was suddenly raised among them that the French and Dutch, with whom we were at war, had not only landed, but were even entering the city. The thought of the horrors of war thus about to be added to those of pestilence and fire maddened the sufferers; they snatched what weapons were at hand, and could scarcely be prevented from a rush upon the burning city, and an attack upon the strangers who belonged to these countries, until soldiers and guards were sent to lead them back into the fields, and mount guard over them to prevent a

further outbreak. To feed such a multitude, also, the king and council had issued a proclamation requiring all the country round to bring daily and constantly provisions to the various markets established for their relief; to open all churches, chapels, schools, and other places, for the stowage of the goods they had saved; and to make every town patent to the free reception of such as exercised manual occupations.

The extent of this conflagration comprised a space of 436 acres. Its boundaries, as stated in the *London Gazette*, were the Temple Church, near Holborn Bridge, Pye Corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Colman Street, at the end of Basinghall Street, by the postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate Street and Leadenhall Street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch Street, near Clothworkers' Hall in Mincing Lane, at the middle of Mark Lane, and at the Tower Dock. Within this verge were destroyed 400 streets, 13,200 dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, four of the city gates, the Guildhall, with many public buildings, chapels, hospitals, schools, libraries, and noble mansions. The worth of the property thus lost can scarcely be estimated at less than £10,000,000. But strange as well as gratifying to tell, amidst all this confusion and havoc, not more than six persons appear to have lost their lives, and these, too, from venturing incautiously among the ruins. The sick and the infirm were carried off in beds or upon men's shoulders, and conveyed to places of safety, whatever might befall the goods and furniture. The bills of mortality also exhibit no increase, although so many thousands were lodged in frail sheds, hovels, and gipsy tents, from Smithfield to Highgate, and obliged to dwell in these until regular houses could be built to receive them. When the first effect of this overwhelming blow had passed away, the national spirit recovered its wonted healthy energy, and the erection of a new metropolis seems to have been contemplated as calmly as if it had been only the fabrication of a new garment when the old had been worn out. Only eleven days after the commencement of the fire, and while the ruins were still smouldering, Evelyn waits upon the king with the plan of a new capital, and tells us in the same breath, that the queen was going to take the air in her Cavalier riding-habit, horseman's coat, hat, and feather. That which would have stunned any other nation, only served to give England a fresh impulse, and even already a better London than the former could be anticipated. "To the amazement of all Europe," says Burnet, "London was, in four years' time, re-built with so much beauty and magnificence, that we, who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondering where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expense as was laid out in rebuilding the city."

Allusion has already been made to the promptitude with which the difficulty of repairing the calamity was encountered. The metropolis of a great nation, which is commonly the growth of ages, was to be erected at once; the myriads who were unsheltered, were to be furnished with homes, where not merely safety, but comfort could be enjoyed. Palaces and churches, marts and warehouses, behoved to start from the wide waste and ruin with more than the rapidity of a summer's harvest, and the mercantile enterprise and political action of the nation to go onward without stop or check. But there was more than one brave spirit in the country that could meet and surmount the trial. We have seen how speedily Evelyn came forward with his plan of a new London; but prompt as he was, he had been anticipated by Sir Christopher Wren, now appointed surveyor-general, and principal architect for rebuilding the whole city. Receiving the royal order to that effect, he surveyed with great toil and peril the plain of dust and ashes which the conflagration had left, and mapped out the streets which were to be laid upon it. He thus "designed a plan or model of a new city, in which the deformity and inconveniences of the old town were remedied, by the enlarging the streets and lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater conveniences, all acute angles; by seating all the parochial churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most public places into large piazzas, the centre of (six or) eight ways; by uniting the halls of the twelve chief companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall; by making a quay on the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars' to the Tower."[1] From the same authority we learn, that the streets "were to be of three magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the city, and one or two cross streets to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty feet; and lanes about thirty feet, excluding all narrow, dark alleys without thoroughfares and courts."

Such were the principal outlines of the plan by which the new city was to be "the most magnificent, as well as commodious for health and trade, of any upon earth." And such it doubtless would have been if the site had been a virgin soil—an unclaimed territory. But every inch of that lava surface was not only of value, but also private property; and every man of the dispossessed was clamouring for his own allotment of ground, upon which he might again set

[1] Wren's *Parentalia*.

up his shop, warehouse, or dwelling, let the general plan of the new city be what it might. As such a claim could not be refused, a court of judicature had been appointed to ascertain each owner's locality; and so well had this difficult task been discharged, as to give universal satisfaction. And now that each man could identify his own, Sir Christopher found that every man's hand was more or less against him. "The practicability of this scheme," says the author of the *Parentalia*, in speaking of the plan of his father, the architect, "without loss to any man, or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered. The only, and, as it happened, insurmountable difficulty remaining, was the obstinate averseness of great part of the citizens to alter their old properties, and to recede from building their houses again on the old ground and foundations; as also the distrust in many, and unwillingness to give up their properties, though for a time only, into the hands of public trustees or commissioners, till they might be dispensed to them again, with more advantage to themselves than otherwise was possible to be effected." And what mortal skill could have surmounted such difficulties? Where every shopkeeper and householder was standing doggedly and immoveably upon his ground, the straight, comely lines of Sir Christopher's new chart were

1. St. Paul's.
2. Royal Exchange.
3. Guildhall.
4. Bank.
5. East India House.
6. Custom House.
7. Navy Office.
8. Victualling Office.
9. Monument.
10. Christ's Hospital.
11. Ely House.
12. Exeter Change.
13. Bedford House.
14. Somerset House.
15. The Savoy.
16. Northumberland House.
17. Montague House.
18. Southampton House.
19. Cleveland House.
20. St. James's Palace.
21. Burlington House.
22. Whitehall.
23. Westminster Abbey.
24. Westminster Hall.
25. Charing Cross.
26. Newgate.
27. The Fleet.
28. The Marshalsea.
29. The King's Bench.

a. James's Square.
b. Golding Square.
c. King Square.
d. Leicester Fields.
e. Red Lyon Square.
f. Lincoln's Inn Fields.
g. Covent Garden.
h. Smithfield.
i. Charter-house Square.

obliged to wind into many a devious deflection, like rivulets through a rocky soil. Nothing but the Thames itself was allowed to find its onward, proper, because resistless course. As it was, however, more convenience, more health and safety, and a far greater amount of magnificence, especially in the public buildings, was secured for the new capital than had been found in the old. These advantages will at once be perceptible by referring to the illustrations we have given of ancient public edifices, and especially to the accompanying plan of London restored,

as compared with that of the old, given in a previous chapter.[1] The streets are wider, straighter, and more airy, and the centre of the city better ventilated; while the attempts at drainage, although imperfectly carried out, were of a more sanitary character than the choked soil of London in the "golden days of Queen Bess." We need scarcely also advert to the immense advantages derived from the predominance of brick and stone over timber, lath, and plaster. But where are the chief features of Sir Christopher's plan by which these advantages would have been tenfold multiplied? We miss the great lines of communication which were to extend across the capital from one extremity to the other. We miss the streets of the original plan, where even the narrowest were to be wide enough for health and comfortable transit. Where are those chief public structures which, instead of being wedged among common buildings, were to stand apart and insulated, as monuments of the national power and grandeur? And the quay that was to extend along the bank of the river—where is it? Still, they are only to be found in the original paper. And yet, let us not despair. Our own day has not only made a large atonement for past neglect, but given such ample promise of future improvement, that the time seems not far distant when a nobler London will be realized than aught which Wren could have contemplated.

As a gay and frivolous reign was introduced with the Restoration, the costume of the people, and especially of the courtiers, was now a subject of much importance. But English dress was still subject to the same continual mutability which it had undergone in former periods, so that during the reign of Charles II. alone, the fashion underwent three several changes among his male courtiers. Of these, therefore, we can only give a few incidental notices. At the commencement of his reign gentlemen wore a high-crowned and plumed hat, a short-waisted doublet, and petticoat breeches that were flounced and of enormous amplitude, garnished with ribands, and tied above the knees. The waistband was in like manner adorned with ribands; and hanging out over it was the shirt, which, of course, was made of the finest materials, as it was one of the most conspicuous parts of the attire. Below the knee was a long fringe of lace ruffles; and all terminated in a pair of high-heeled shoes tied with ribands. The cloak that was thrown over all this bravery was worn loosely upon the shoulders, but so as not to obscure the falling collar of rich lace that surrounded the neck and

Costumes, time of Charles II.[2]

shoulders. In this fashion we can recognize a memento of the period of Charles I., still dear to the old and loyal courtiers. A later fashion than this, which continued till the following reign, was an entire revolution. In it, the high-crowned hat was turned into a low-crowned beaver, cocked up behind, and surrounded sometimes by a shrubbery of short feathers, or ornamented with a cockade. A long square coat, the sleeves of which only reached the elbows, and from under them the ample shirt-sleeves continuing to the wrists, and plentifully ornamented at the extremity with lace and ribands, and studded in front from top to bottom with buttons, had taken the place of the short-waisted doublet; while under this garment, the waistcoat, buttoned in like fashion, was so long that it almost wholly covered the breeches. The rich collar, also, was supplanted by a new article of dress for the neck, that was now to become permanent in England: this was a cravat, at first made of Brussels or Flanders lace, and tied under the chin with ribands, while its square ends hung down upon the breast. The long hair by which the Cavaliers were distinguished from their opponents during the Civil war, seems now to have become the rage of fashion, as well as the badge of loyalty; and at last, when "the force of nature could no further go," the head was enriched with a peruke, which the wearer could make as long and as loyal as he pleased. This innovation was imported from France into England in 1664, and so obstinately did it retain its hold

[1] See vol. ii. p. 260.

[2] 1, After Wessing. 2, From a print by R. White. 3, After Kneller. 4, 5, From Heath's Chronicle, 1663. 6, From the needle-wrought frame of a looking-glass, belonging to Nell Gwyn.

that more than a century had to elapse before it was fully supplanted. One of the very few arduous attempts of Charles II. amidst these mutations, was to devise a dress that should become a permanent national costume; and with this view, he adopted for his model the loose coat or caftan worn by the Russian ambassador when he first came to England after his majesty's accession. Accordingly the dress, fully completed, was announced by Charles in council, and his resolution to wear it for life—a proceeding that reminds us of the Roman emperor who assembled the senate to deliberate on the best mode of cooking an enormous turbot entire, instead of cutting it into portions! This attire consisted of a loose surcoat of Asiatic form; a vest under it, made of black cloth or velvet, pinked with white satin, that reached to the knees; a sash or girdle; and in lieu of shoes and stockings, a pair of buskins. The courtiers assumed this strange dress at the royal bidding, though they seem to have regarded it as nothing better than a merry masquerade; nay, although the king had declared in council that he never would alter it, they betted with him that at some time he would forego his purpose. They gained their wager; for the fashion lasted only two years, its downfall being effected by French ridicule, when Louis XIV. and his nobles put their servants into this costume, as if it were only fitted for a showy menial livery.

COSTUMES, TIME OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.[1]

In turning from the male to the female attire of this period, we find that, in too many instances, it was but a type of the general profligacy which had become so fashionable among the upper classes. But it could scarcely have been otherwise, as the relationship of cause and effect subsisted between them; and, accordingly, the dresses of high-born dames and court ladies exhibited a nudeness which, in the days of Cromwell, would not have dared to approach within a mile of Whitehall. We need not more fully enter into this subject, or even attempt to describe the extravagance of rich velvet, satin, and lace, with which it was accompanied: all these are sufficiently known in the series of court beauties, painted by Sir Peter Lely, as well as the bold, sensual looks of the wearers, which modern strictness can no longer tolerate. Of jewellery, also, there was no lack, but rather an over-abundance, as the female extravagance of the age did not find the old family caskets sufficient for its maintenance. Among the many notices given to this effect by Evelyn, we find that Lady Castlemaine, at a play, exhibited a blaze of jewellery to the value of £40,000, and that Mrs. Blagg, at a court pastoral, shone

FEMALE ATTIRE, TIME OF CHARLES II.[2]

[1] 1, From a broadside (1697). 2, From a print (1687). 3, From a broadside (1681). 4, From Nichol's View of Hampton Court. 5, From a broadside (1682). 6, From the monumental effigy of Clobery, in Winchester Cathedral (1687).

[2] 1, Frances, Duchess of Richmond, by Lely. 2, Nell Gwyn, by Lely. 3, Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth, by Gascar. 4, Henrietta, Countess of Rochester, by Lely.

in an inferior halo of trinketry worth £20,000. Passing over such generalities, we shall only notice a few of those innovations in female fashion by which this period was particularly distinguished. And first, we may mention perukes, which were adopted by the ladies before they were assumed by the other sex. This, however, was but the renewal of a fashion that for some time had prevailed in the court of Elizabeth, when false locks, and even entire wigs, were sometimes worn by the "divine Gloriana" and her bright train-bearers. On the other hand, patches, which had first been worn by gentlemen who assumed the character of martialists, were now adopted by the ladies. With this creation of artificial moles to set off the natural fairness of the complexion, rouging was introduced to heighten it; and to shade the face from the sun, or perhaps for the purposes of love intrigue, vizards or masks, which had formerly been used by the ladies of England, were once more resumed. Amongst this exchange of fashions from ladies to gentlemen, and *vice versâ*, it would have been strange if there had not been some common costume in which both could harmonize; and this was accordingly effected by the riding dress, in which the ladies became so Amazonian that their sex, at first sight, was often doubtful. Hat and periwig, coat and doublet, Cavalier plume and horseman's overall, were in this case so faithfully adopted, that nothing of the woman remained but a long petticoat that scarcely peeped out between the folds of her male attire. This fashion, as well as the practice of rouging and patching, became so permanent that they continued till a late period.

Such was the external guise of the courtiers, male and female, who paraded the public streets, fluttered in the parks, and thronged the stately apartments of Whitehall. But in proceeding to their character and general modes of life, we find such a combination of light frivolity and heartless sensuality as never before or since has disgraced the page of English history. Of this kind of every-day life, however, the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn are so full, and are now so well known, that little more than a few light notices are necessary. As for Charles II. himself, we find in him the fitting nucleus around which such characters could gather, as well as the predominant principle by which their movements were regulated; and, therefore, a few sketches of his proceedings will suffice to bring the whole court of England before us. Take the following extract of a proceeding which, apparently so worthless in itself, and of frequent occurrence, might yet be enough to regulate a great state intrigue of the period:—"I met (writes Pepys) the queen-mother walking in the Pall Mall, led by my Lord St. Alban's; and finding many coaches at the gate, I found, upon inquiry, that the duchess is brought to bed of a boy; and hearing that the king and queen are rode abroad with the ladies of honour to the park (St. James's), and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also stayed walking up and down. By-and-by the king and queen, who looked in this dress (a white-laced waistcoat, and a crimson short petticoat, dressed *à la negligence*) mighty pretty; and the king rode hand-in-hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; but the king took no notice of her, nor when she light did anybody press (as she seemed to expect, and stayed for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat (which all took notice of), and yet is very handsome but very melancholy; nor did anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to anybody." It was these poutings of some titled prostitute which the statesmen of France and Holland were obliged to watch, as the indications of peace or war between the three nations. Little Pepys thus goes on with his narrative, and gives us a peep into the palace itself:—"I followed them up into Whitehall, and into the queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to see, considering their great beauties and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But above all, Mrs. Stuart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent *taille*, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life, and if ever woman do, exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress; nor do I wonder if the king changes, which I really believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine." The Dutch fleet arrives in the Thames, a national disgrace such as England had not endured since the days of Canute, and her glorious ocean supremacy is about to pass away for ever. But how, in the meantime, is the "merry monarch" employed amidst an event which Cromwell would rather have died than witnessed? Even thus, as Coke, who accompanied him, informs us:—On meeting with Prince Rupert, at the further end of the Mall, "the king told the prince how he had shot a duck, and such a dog fetched it; and so they walked on till the king came to St. James's House; and there the king said to the prince, 'Let's go and see Cambridge and Kendal' (the Duke of York's two sons), who then lay a-dying. But upon his return to Whitehall he found all in an uproar, the Countess Castlemaine, as it was said, bewailing above all others that she should be the first

torn in pieces." To re-assure the pretty favourite was, in the king's eyes, a more important work than to dispel the fears of the nation; and this he did so effectually, that in the evening, at supper at the Duchess of Monmouth's, he diverted the countess and all the assembled company with *hunting a moth*, into which they all entered with full ardour! It was high time that mad Tom Killigrew should have entered booted and spurred, as he did on another occasion, when the king asked him on what journey he was bound? "I am going to hell," replied Killigrew, "to fetch up Old Noll, that he may set matters to rights again, for since he left us everything has gone wrong."

Of a sterner character than even these are the notices of the grave and moral Evelyn, by which we obtain as close an insight as can well be sustained into the character and court of Charles II. Here is one of the king's wonted strolls: "I thence walked with him (says the diarist) through St. James's Park to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between Mrs. Nellie, as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . (here the modest writer leaves a *hiatus*), standing on the green walk under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the king walked to the Duchess of Cleveland, another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation." Matters were not more decorous even in the palace, according to another notice of Evelyn: "Following his majesty this morning through the gallery, I went, with the few who attended him, into the Duchess of Portsmouth's dressing-room, within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment; her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his majesty and the gallants standing about her. But that which engaged my curiosity, was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her majesty's does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabric of French tapestry, for design, tenderness of work, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings beyond anything I had ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. Germain's, and other palaces of the French king, with huntings, figures, and landscapes, exotic fowls, and all to the life rarely done. Then for Japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, table-stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, brasenas, &c., all of massy silver, and out of number, besides some of her majesty's best paintings." But now for the closing scene of all, which was in keeping with the rest, and which Evelyn penned on the night after his majesty's death: "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury, and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of: the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2000 in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust."

Much has been written of the refined habits, elegance, and wit of Charles II. by modern writers, who have either admitted the indiscriminate flattery of the Cavaliers of the day without examination, or have identified him with those brilliant characters of the court with whom he lived in daily intercourse; but a closer inspection into his ordinary life reduces these eulogies into a very common-place compass. That his literary tastes were cold, coarse, and artificial, was shown in his preference of the stilted rhymes of the French drama to the vigour and nature of the English school, which his father could so well appreciate. Of his courteous manners we can think but poorly when we learn that even at the council, where the highest and best of England were assembled, he could not even show an ordinary degree of attention, and was wont to play with his pet dog when he should have been listening to the discussion. That neither his domestic tastes were refined, nor even his perceptions of ordinary delicacy, was manifested in the treatment of his favourite little spaniels, to which he allowed not only the full liberty of the palace, but even of his own bedroom, where they littered at pleasure, and made the whole court filthy and disgusting. And as for his wit, which has been reckoned his best qualification, and even his choicest sayings, not a few of which have been made for him by writers of a later age, the jokes of his pedant grandfather, far-fetched though they generally were, are immeasurably superior to all that Charles ever uttered. He must have been far, indeed, to seek for choice language, when he called Lady Castlemaine a *jade*, and endeavoured to teach his queen English, by inducing her, on a delicate matter that required far other words, to pronounce the vulgar sentence, "Confess and be hanged." The only commendable quality which we can detect in him, amidst such a mass of meanness, selfishness, and sensuality, is his hardy healthy activity. With all his luxurious indulgences, Charles was neither a dainty Sybarite nor drowsy sluggard, but a man of stirring habits, which he continued to the end of his life. Let

the evening be spent as it might, he was an early riser, and this, we are told, was sorely complained of by his attendants, who could not sleep off their debauches so easily. His usual work for the day was a day's walking, and that of such an active, onward kind, that it was a serious toil to keep pace with him. These walks were not limited to the parks, but extended to the streets, and even the rural suburbs; while one great source of his acceptance with the people was the frankness with which he thus intrusted himself to their keeping, and the readiness with which he divested himself of the repulsive forms of royalty. In this way he was personally beloved, even when his counsellors were hated, and his political measures condemned. It was in one of these strolls that he held a brief but well-known conference with his unpopular brother and successor. Accompanied by the Duke of Leeds and Lord Cromarty, after taking two or three turns in St. James's Park, he proceeded up Constitution Hill, at that time entirely in the country, and there met the Duke of York returning from his wonted exercise of hunting. The duke, on alighting to pay his respects, talked of the danger of such long excursions with so small an attendance, to which his majesty good-humouredly replied, "No danger at all, James—no danger at all; for I am sure no man in England would kill me to make you king."

We have been thus particular in the character of Charles II., as he was the glass of fashion by which the courtiers dressed themselves; and in contemplating his faults, we find each and all of them not only copied, but often caricatured by a large portion of the English aristocracy. We have already seen, in the history of this period, how ready each statesman was to follow the royal example of becoming a pensioner of France, and how completely Louis XIV. was thus enabled to buy up the English cabinet, and direct the most important of its proceedings. Strange revelations have been made upon this head, from which it appears that in many cases the highest patriotism of the day was a marketable commodity. As gambling was in vogue in Whitehall, a basset-table was also a regular article of furniture in fashionable houses; and the rage of cards and dice became so violent that ancient estates passed away from noble families at a night's sitting, and whole forests were levelled with a single throw. As the royal concubines were the chief dispensers of court favour and advancement, their society was courted by nobles, by churchmen, by men of letters, and even by the wives and daughters of the high-titled and ambitious; and while female iniquity was thus honoured and exalted, female modesty was ridiculed, and virtue held in cheap account. Hence the fashionable conversation of the period, so startling not only in the plays which profess to give a faithful picture of the times, but in those diaries where the realities of every day were faithfully chronicled. To indecency of language was also added profanity, that ridiculed everything sacred, and sought to give force to its utterances by new-coined oaths and fresh forms of blasphemy. "He is accounted no gentleman, nor person of any honour," said poor Pepys, who was shocked at the change, though he could tolerate much, "that had not, in two hours' sitting, invented some new-modish oath, or found out the late intrigue between the Lord B. and the Lady P., laughed at the fopperies of priests, and made lampoons and drolleries on the Sacred Scriptures themselves." From the same source arose those strange matrimonial alliances that now so frequently disfigured the escutcheons of the English nobility, by which not only the illegitimate daughters of court mistresses, but even low-born actresses — the Nell Gwyns of their respective circles — were metamorphosed into wedded countesses.

In all this rioting, drinking, dicing, and love-making, by which the higher ranks of the period were characterized, we must keep in mind that these were the attributes, not of a people in the last stages of national decay, but of early vigour: it was the heyday and flush of youth emancipated from paternal control, and impatient to sow its wild oats, rather than the last efforts of debauched senility. There was, therefore, anything than effeminacy in this Comus crew who, for the time, had become lords of the ascendant. Thus the witty and worthless Rochester, who sometimes was not sober one day for months together, performed exploits in swimming which Leander could scarcely have rivalled. Similar to these were feats of running, in one of which two young noblemen, for a wager, ran down on foot, and killed a stout buck in St. James's Park, Charles II. being the chief spectator. But neither these desperate exercises, nor the rough gymnastics of a military education, nor the additional competitions of boat-racing and horse-racing, which were now in fuller practice than ever, could give vent to the wild energy that revelled in the consciousness of its strength: it was already half-drunk with enjoyment, and only the more eager to become wholly so. Hence the duels with which the history of this period abounds, and which the slightest cause could provoke. Hence, also, the assassin-like waylayings, in which Coventry had his nose slit, and Dryden was cudgelled well nigh to death. Then there were the bands for midnight fun and frolic, who, in the nomenclature of the day, were called Scowerers, the representatives of the Mohocks of the next period. These Scowerers, consisting of

the young aristocracy of the metropolis, and able-bodied young squires from the country performing their noviciate for court and civic life, scowered through the dark or dimly-lighted streets at night, defacing sign-boards, wrenching off the knockers of doors, storming taverns, and fighting with the watch, after which they often terminated the night's campaign by a sleep upon the pavement or in the watch-house, which only served to give additional *eclat* to their achievements. Even when this reckless spirit expressed itself in a less violent character, it was scarcely less repulsive. Sometimes the balcony of a political club-house, after the gravest matters had been discussed, tempted "the clubsters to issue forth *in fresco* with hats and no perukes, pipes in their mouths, merry faces, and diluted throats, for the entertainment of the canaglia below." On one occasion of a similar kind, Sedley and his companions issued forth in such nude attire, and were guilty of such indecent conduct before the public gaze, that they were subjected to a severe penalty for the misdemeanour. Even the senate-house, as we are informed by Pepys, was not wholly free from such excesses, so that during a long debate many of the members would retire to the neighbouring taverns, and return half-drunk to help the final decision. While such was the character, and such the usual proceedings of the English aristocracy of this period, the female part of the noble and high-born community was but too correspondent. What, indeed, could be expected from the example of such a court as that of Charles II., and the arbitresses of fashion who occupied its chief places? We therefore find everywhere in the pages of Pepys indications not only of a general unblushing profligacy among the female sex, but a coarseness and rudeness now scarcely to be found except in the purlieus of St. Giles' or Billingsgate. In their frolics, especially upon occasions of public rejoicing, they sometimes besmeared each other's faces with soot and candle-grease, or even exchanged dresses with the other sex, so that the ladies of a merry-meeting figured in cocked hats and periwigs, and the gentlemen in fardingales. Sometimes the whole bevy cannonaded the crowd with fireworks, or pelted each other into a mutual conflagration. Ladies, too, under the cover of their vizors, could repair unattended to the theatre, and carry on their wild intrigues undetected, or even disguise themselves for a street frolic, as if to outdo the Scowerers themselves. In this way one of the queen's maids of honour, afterwards Duchess of Tyrconnel, disguised herself like an orange wench, and cried oranges in the streets. It does not surprise us, therefore, to be informed that gentlemen did not choose to select their partners in life from such wild companions, unless, indeed, they happened to be of superior beauty and well-dowried, in which case the necessity of such a union was endured for its *eclat*, or until the bride's fortune was squandered away.

Of the other sports of the nobility and gentry of the period, only a brief notice is necessary. One favourite game was tennis, which had been practised in England at least from the time of Henry V., and seems to have been common throughout Europe from an early period. This game, which required much activity and exertion, was so great a favourite with Charles II., that after weighing himself, he found that he had lost four pounds and a half during a single game. Another was pall-mall, which was so greatly relished, that the *mall* in St. James's Park, a vista half a mile in length, and floored or paved with a mixture of earth and cockle-shells powdered and spread over it, was prepared in this manner for the practice of the game. At the extremity of this walk was a pole, from which an iron hoop was suspended; and the play consisted in striking a ball through this ring from a considerable distance. To these may be added the game of bowls, which was played by ladies as well as gentlemen. Foot-racing was also fashionable, and enjoyed the patronage of Charles II., before whom the young courtiers tried their activity in running-matches. Another active out-

Game of Pall-mall.—From a picture, time of Charles II.

of-door sport was skating. This winter amusement, now so keenly followed in England, had been in vogue after a fashion at the time of Fitzstephen, who informs us that the persons who practised it fastened the leg-bones of a sheep or some animal to the soles of their feet; and armed

Ancient Bone-skate.[1]

with a pole shod with iron, which they carried with both hands, they shot themselves along the ice with the speed of a bullet discharged from a cross-bow. Sometimes two of these skaters would encounter each other in full career, like knights in a tilting-match, and then happy was he who could keep his legs in such a shock! After this, we hear nothing of the practice in England, until it was introduced as a novelty by the exiled courtiers at the Restoration, who had learned the practice in Holland. It astonished many, and Evelyn among the rest, who notes in his diary "the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new canal in St. James's Park, performed before their majesties by divers gentlemen and others with *scheets*, after the manner of the Hollanders; with what a swiftness they pass, how suddenly they stop in full career upon the ice." The Duke of York also appears to have been a keen skater, so that he ventured upon the canal even though the ice was broken, "which," says Pepys, "I did not like, but he slides very well." From the shortness of an English winter, however, and the insecurity of our frosts, some time appears to have elapsed before the amusement, at first confined wholly to London, became general over the island. The multiplication of coaches and chairs had made riding on horseback less necessary, and consequently less frequent than before; but still horsemanship was a graceful accomplishment, and to ride well was regarded as the token of a well-trained gentleman. It was especially essential in a finished education, of which military exercises formed an important part; and therefore the young riders, besides the ordinary lessons in fence, were taught firmness and activity in the saddle by the old practice of running at the ring, firing pistols at a mark, throwing javelins at the figure of a Moor's head, and picking up a glove on the point of a sword, all which were performed at full speed upon horseback.

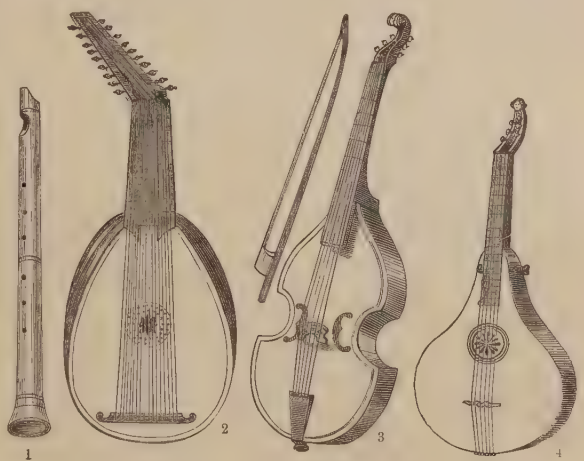
[1] This specimen was dug up in Finsbury, and is in the possession of Mr. J. W. Archer.

The fashionable in-door sports of this period were now beginning to assume a more intellectual character than hitherto, and therefore there was upon the whole less of boisterous merriment, as well as gross feeding, than had previously distinguished the homes of the English gentry. Card-playing and the various forms of gambling were now the chief objects of attraction, especially to old gentlemen and grave formal ladies; while the young scions of nobility could still amuse themselves with the romping games of handy-cap, hunt-the-slipper, and blind-man's-buff. The dramatic spirit, as a source of amusement, had now also been so deeply stamped upon the English character, that splendid masques and private theatricals were frequently got up at the entertainments of the nobility. Something, however, still was wanting to fill up the hours of the day, independently of out-door games and home amusements; and therefore, during this period, the happy idea of a circulating library seems first to have been started. The earliest notice of the kind we can discover is by one Francis Newman, a bookseller near Temple Bar, who invited customers to his English and French histories, romances, or poetry, which they might either buy *or read* "for reasonable considerations." The alternative he presented must have been a welcome one to the book-devourers of the day, who could thus read *ad libitum* without loading their book-shelves and emptying their pockets; and Newman assuredly found these "reasonable considerations" very profitable, from the numbers of his brethren who soon followed his example, and improved upon his plan. As the idea of circulating libraries is so closely connected with that of watering-places, some inquiries about the latter will not here be unseasonable, more especially as London had now so many fashionable inhabitants, whose sole employment was to kill time or hang upon the court, and who had no longer country mansions in which the summer months could be got over. These, as well as the sickly and hypochondriacal, who were now multiplying apace, needed an occasional retreat from the smoke and smother of London; and the neighbourhood of some healing spring presented, in such a case, the greatest amount of attraction. The watering-places of England therefore were, even already, beginning to be places of fashionable solicitude; and of these, Bath was then, as it long continued to be, the chief. For centuries previous, its mineral springs had been noted for the cure of every disease; and their miraculous powers were now so highly extolled by the medical faculty, that the tide of London invalids had begun to flow in this direction. But the accommodations of the town, as we learn from Wood, the architect, were of the poorest description.

"The boards of the dining-rooms," he says, "and most other floors, in the houses of Bath, were made of a brown colour *with soot and small beer*, to hide the dirt as well as their own imperfections; and if the walls of any of the rooms were covered with wainscot, it was such as was mean and never painted. The chimney-pieces, hearths, and slabs were all of freestone; and these were daily cleaned with a particular kind of whitewash, which, by paying tribute to everything that touched it, soon rendered the brown floors like the starry firmament. . . . . With Kidderminster stuff, or at best with chene, the woollen furniture of the principal rooms was made; and such as were of linen consisted only of corded dimity or coarse fustian; the matrons of the city, their daughters, and their maids flowering the latter with worsted during the intervals between the seasons, to give the beds a gaudy look. Add to this, also, the houses of the richest inhabitants of the city were, for the most part, of the meanest architecture, and only two of them could show the modern comforts of sash windows." Such was Bath, until, through the architecture of Wood and the legislation of Nash, it became the most splendid of English cities, and the most fashionable of watering-places.

We now direct our attention to those sports and amusements which were of a less exclusive and aristocratic character. And first of these, we may turn to the festivals in which all could freely participate. May Day was still observed, but without its former pomp of circumstance. The chief observance now used on this occasion was for young women of all ranks to repair to the fields at sunrise, and gather the dew of the first May morning, which was supposed to have a magic power in beautifying the complexion. This practice continued until nearly the close of the last century, when it was utterly laughed out of countenance both in town and country. Another practice of this festive day was peculiar to the milk-maids, who on this occasion danced along the streets in groups, preceded by a musician, and having their pails wreathed with flowers. The day of St. Valentine was still a season of love-making, in which gentlemen sent presents of jewellery, gloves, ribbons, and other such tokens, to their mistresses, accompanied with choice rhyming love-posies. New-year's Day was also a day of gifts, and these chiefly from inferiors to their lords, a practice derived from the old feudal times; and on this occasion the nobles waited on their sovereign, and presented to him their dutiful homage, each in a sum of money graduated according to rank, that of an earl being twenty pieces of gold in a purse. In the same way landlords were waited upon by their dependants, and courtiers by their clients. The chief observance of Christmas was now a good dinner, to which certain dishes were especially consecrated. All this was a sore falling off of those old festivals by which England had been once stirred from her lowest depths; but first the Reformation, and then the Puritan ascendency, and, finally, the predominance of higher cares and pursuits, had rightfully swept away these observances, which had originated in heathenism, and been fostered by the riot and frivolity of a barbarous state of life.

It is delightful to find that music had not yet lost its charms, notwithstanding the confusion of the Civil war and the profligacy with which it was followed. From an early period the English had been essentially a musical people; and not content with the gleemen and troubadours by whom the chivalrous ages were gladdened, they in many instances became their own musicians, so that during the seventeenth century no miscellaneous party could be assembled without the shawm, pipe, lute, or viol-de-gamba, upon which some of the guests were certain to be able performers. Every street also had generally its musical band, under the name of a *noise*, that could be hired for an entertainment at the shortest notice. Even the barbers' shops, instead of being mere gossip-



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE PERIOD.[1]

[1] 1, Pipe. 2, Lute. 3, Viol-de-gamba. 4, Cithern.—From Mercennus de Instrumentis Harmonicis.

stations, were places of musical regale: the small viol, cithern or guitar generally hung upon the wall; and the gallant, while waiting to have his locks curled, his chin shaved, or mustaches trimmed, might call for a concert from the master and his apprentices, or regale himself with a solo until his turn to be operated upon had come round. In the diary of Pepys we learn from many incidental notices, that evening social parties among the higher classes were common, where almost every person could sing by the scale, and play upon a musical instrument; and that it was not unusual for a party embarking upon the Thames for a merry-making in the country, to enliven their aquatic trip by a full chorus of voices upon the water both going and returning. The streets and lanes were equally vocal, where all kinds of tunes were whistled, hummed, or sung, so that at this period barbers, cobblers, and ploughmen were specified as the "heirs of music" at least, if they had no other inheritance. But even already this general spirit of melody was departing. And first it was noticed that the barbers' shops were becoming silent, for the critical task of weaving periwigs absorbed all the time and attention of its inmates. In like manner, the engrossing nature of new political studies occupied the attention of the higher classes, and left no inclination for crotcheting and quavering. But, above all, the mercantile spirit that was obtaining full predominance, and the keen struggle for wealth, or even for subsistence, which it occasioned, made music be abandoned and forgot. How could the voice of song or the tinkling of a lute be expected to issue from shop and warehouse? It would have been regarded as the infallible forerunner of a statute of bankruptcy. A century and a half of this ominous silence followed, in which the jaded spirit of society, after the toils and anxieties of the day, contented itself with the hireling music of singing men and singing women, and only listened that it might be laid to sleep. It is only now that there is the promise of something like a revival.

In passing to the more public out-of-door sports of this period, we must not overlook the game of football, so long the delight of the English people, because so well adapted to stir up the national gravity into full excitement and glee. It was now practised in London, chiefly by the apprentices, and that, too, in places of public resort—Cheapside, Covent Garden, and the Strand—and there the peaceful pedestrian had often to encounter such a whirlwind of eager players as the whole *posse comitatus* of London police could not have withstood. On flew the ball; and wherever it passed, out rushed shopman and 'prentice, allowing business and customers to shift as they might; while the progress of the game might be marked by overturned beaux, and frightened rearing horses. "I would now made a safe retreat," says Davenant's sarcastic Frenchman, "but that methinks I am stopped by one of your heroic games, called football; which I conceive (under your favour) not very conveniently civil in the streets; especially in such irregular and narrow roads as Crooked Lane. Yet it argues your courage, much like your military pastime of throwing at cocks. But your metal would be more magnified (since you have long allowed those two valiant exercises in the street), to draw your archers from Finsbury, and during high market, let them shoot at butts in Cheapside." In this passing allusion to Finsbury, we are reminded of the trials of archery that still lingered there, although with immeasurably less stir and splendour. In the days of Henry VIII., when the bow was still the chief national weapon, the establishment of archers which he founded, under the title of the "Fraternity of St. George," were empowered "to exercise shooting at all manner of marks and butts, and at the game of the popinjay, and other games, as at fowl and fowls, as well in the city as suburbs, and in all other places;" and even if the flying arrow by mischance killed a man, the shooter was to go free, if he had cried "Fast!" before he let loose the bow-string. But now that London was a crowded city, and archery a mere amusement, the toxophilites of this period were cooped up for exercise in Finsbury Fields, where the old butts were reduced to an eighth part of their former number, and the mark to little more than a fourth of the distance. The streets of London, however, were by no means free from strife, riot, and bloodshed during this stormy and changeful period, and chiefly originating in political causes, where the chief arguments were blows, and the combatants frequently men of different nations. Such was the case in 1661, when a fierce conflict occurred in Cheapside between the trains of the French and Spanish ambassadors, in which both parties met on purpose fully armed for battle. The Inns of Court also, although the homes of law and order, had their feud against the civic authority, in which the students compelled the lord-mayor's sword of office to be depressed in their presence, and otherwise conducted themselves so riotously, that a strong military force had to be marched to the rescue of the worthy magistrate.

During the Puritan period an unwonted gravity had pervaded the streets of London, because, while the cruel and immoral public sports were prohibited as sinful, those of a more innocent character were discountenanced as frivolous. Of course, bull-baiting and cock-fighting, instead of being displays in the open air for the amusement of a gaping crowd, were driven into private

corners, and bear-baiting was visited with heavy penalties. This last sport especially was so obnoxious to the heads of the Commonwealth, that one of the first acts of Cromwell's supremacy was a general slaughter of the bears, by which the evil was struck at the root. It was equally characteristic of the new spirit of the Restoration that these sports were restored, and people were allowed to torture and massacre cocks, bulls, and bears according to their own liking. Of the nature of the exhibitions at one of the most noted of these re-opened public places, the following example from Evelyn's *Diary*, of date 16th June, 1670, will be reckoned a sufficient specimen:—"I went with some friends to the bear-garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolf-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeed, who beat a cruel mastiff. One of the bulls tossed a dog *full into a lady's lap*, as she sat in one of the boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poor dogs were killed, and so all ended with the ape on horseback; and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before." Attempts were even made to revive the old savage Anglo-Saxon sport of horse-baiting; and Evelyn informs us of an exhibition of this kind, in which a gallant horse was brought out into the ring to be baited to death by mastiffs, under the pretext that it had killed a man. The steed beat off every assailant, and at last was stabbed to death with knives, that the clamorous mob who looked on might see it die. Descending to less obnoxious exhibitions, we find from Davenant's poem entitled "The Long Vacation of London," that popular amusements were exhibited in almost every street, and were performed in the open air; and in examining these, we find that they were of the same character as those which in the present day can scarcely obtain a locality even in the most silent alleys of the metropolis, or a throng of children for spectators. There were tumblers, conjurors, rope-dancers, and other such public exhibitors, whom he has thus enumerated; and who, when the "Long Vacation" of the capital had arrived, were wont to betake themselves to the country, to make a harvest among the peasantry:—

> "Now vaulter good, and dancing lass
> On rope, and man that cries, Hey, pass!
> And tumbler young that needs but stoop,
> Lay head to heel to creep through hoop;
> And man in chimney hid to dress
> Puppet that acts our old Queen Bess;
> And man that whilst the puppets play,
> Through nose expoundeth what they say;
> And white oat-eater that does dwell
> In stable small at sign of Bell,
> That lift up hoof to show the pranks
> Taught by magician, styled Banks;
> And ape, led captive still in chain
> Till he renounce the pope and Spain:
> All these on hoof now trudge from town
> To cheat poor turnip-eating clown."

The chief place where these wonder-workers congregated was Fleet Street, so that the lounger who was in quest of amusement of this kind, knew whither to direct his steps. The great civic fairs also, especially those of Southwark and Smithfield, gathered the whole fraternity of conjurors, tumblers, and showmen into one focus, and helped both to promote and enliven the serious business which had originally called the crowds together. The more superior kinds of these exhibitions, that were deemed too good for mere indiscriminate display in the open air, had buildings set apart for their performance, while a considerable price was levied for admission, and the aristocracy and wealthier citizens did not disdain to be spectators. Of these, puppet-shows were the chief, where scriptural pieces, such as the Deluge, Solomon, or the Twelve Apostles, were fashioned into plays, like the miracles and mysteries of the earlier ages, and performed by puppets. Other performances advertised during this period, indicate the taste of the higher classes who frequented them. Of these was Joseph Clark, the wonderful posture-master, whose body was of such flexibility that he could throw it into any shape, and exhibit every phase of deformity. In this way he perplexed a tailor, who tried to measure him as a hump-backed man, but found the hump shifting from one shoulder to the other, or totally disappearing, with such rapidity, that he abandoned the attempt as hopeless. Of raree-shows, there was a room or hall in Hatton Garden dignified with the name of the "Paradise," which was furnished with all sorts of animals handsomely painted on boards or cloth, "and so cut out and made to stand, move, fly, crawl, roar, and make their several cries." To this magical display there was a fitting hierophant, for Evelyn adds, "The man who showed it made us laugh heartily at his formal poetry." In feats of agility, there was the Turkish rope-dancer, who capered blindfold upon the tight-rope with a boy suspended from his heels about six or seven yards below. Another thaumaturgist was a Frenchman, Florian Marchand by name, who taking a draught of only fountain water, returned it from his mouth in every variety of wines and sweet cordials. (The same experiment, though in a less repulsive form, has equally gratified the fashionable circles of our own day.) The feats of strength, leger-demain, and fire-eating, it is needless to particu-

larize; it is sufficient to state, that the displays of this kind, which can scarcely now attract the attention of the humblest spectators, were in those days regarded by the aristocracy of England with delight, and were often hired to grace their most important festivals and entertainments. Of this, take the following specimen:—Lady Sunderland, on giving a dinner at Leicester House, sends for Richardson, the famous fire-eater, as the chief dish of the entertainment; and his feats on this occasion would scarcely be palatable to a modern high-born party. "He devoured brimstone on glowing coals before us, chewing and swallowing them. He melted a beer-glass and ate it quite up; then, taking a live coal on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster: the coal was blown on with bellows till it flamed and sparkled in his mouth, and so remained till the oyster gaped and was quite boiled; then he melted pitch and wax with sulphur, which he drank down as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth a good while. He also took up a thick piece of iron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing-boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it between his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone; but this, I observed, he cared not to hold very long." Happy digestion of our ancestors, who could view such an after-dinner scene not only unmoved, but, like the elegant Evelyn, with positive admiration and delight.

As during the Commonwealth, the theatre as well as the bear-garden had been closed, the opening of the former accompanied that of the latter at the Restoration; and to frequent the play-house became one of the most distinctive marks of a gallant Cavalier, and stanch adherent of church and state, in opposition to the Puritans, who regarded all such buildings as tents of Kedar, and temples of abomination and idolatry. Fortunately, too, it happened for the exhibition of the English drama, that Sir William Davenant superintended it, and that his inventiveness and artistic taste were adequate to such a charge. Under his management, therefore, improvements were introduced by which the glorious productions of Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson were embodied in a fashion worthy of their high excellence. The stage was lighted up with wax-candles, so that light was thrown over its whole amplitude. The orchestra, instead of consisting of a fiddler or two, or a musician who, like "Goodman Dull," could "play upon his pipe and tabor to the worthies," was filled with a whole band of some ten or a dozen well-trained performers. The actors too, who had hitherto been entirely of the male sex, and who, in acting female parts, had been obliged to speak in a "monstrous small voice," no longer held exclusive possession of the stage; and the introduction of beautiful talented women as actresses, imparted fresh reality to the representation. Correctness in costume, also, was more carefully studied than even at a later and more improved period; so that, as Pepys informs us, when Queen Elizabeth was introduced upon the stage, it was with her own head-dress, starched ruff, long boddice, and voluminous fardingale, although these must have seemed grotesque antiquities to the beaux and belles of the merry court of Charles II. Nor was scene-painting omitted amidst all this solicitude; and towns, castles, and rural landscapes took the place of those placards, with their mere names, which were hung up on the front of the stage, to direct the imaginations of the audience. These improvements, however, important though they were, and in proper taste and character, seem to have been too much in advance of the age, as appears in the abuses with which they were very speedily followed. The attractions of music, scenery, and dress, soon constituted the chief excellence of dramatic representation, so that trumpery spectacles, manufactured chiefly in reference to these, often superseded the regular drama. It was not yet the time that female modesty could confront a public miscellaneous auditory and remain unsullied, and therefore the actresses accustomed to the language with which they were greeted, as well as the characters they were required to perform, either commenced their stage career as worthless courtezans, or very speedily became so. In this way, with audiences but too apt for such representations, they exhibited such shamelessness in dress, attitude, and deportment, as only deepened and confirmed the general depravity. And still, all this was anti-puritan and most loyal, and well fitted to secure the patronage of "Old Rowley," whose indentured servants the actors and actresses were by royal patent. As music and dancing received such a fresh impetus from the restored drama, and as the taste of the king and courtiers had been formed upon foreign models, native talent was soon set aside in favour of performers from the Continent; and thus Italian singers and French dancers inundated the English stage, and at last eclipsed its drama, so that Dryden himself could scarcely obtain a hearing, while Shakspeare was condemned as a barbarian.

Of the general features of metropolitan life and manners, a hasty notice may suffice. The age of club-houses had now fully commenced, and was so congenial to the English character, that it bids fair to be perpetual. Here, every political subject of the day was subjected to free and close examination; and as not merely the higher but the middle classes attended these new places of entertainment, a knowledge of

public affairs was more widely diffused, and the spirit of national liberty nursed into full vigour. Besides these club-houses, where pipes and tobacco, as well as wine and strong drink were always at hand to animate the discussion, there were coffee-houses of a more temperate character, where not merely politics, but also the subjects of religion and literature, were debated by their frequenters, who usually repaired to them when the business of the day was over. The beverages chiefly used at these last places were coffee, chocolate, and tea; and the introduction of this important herb into England, by which the whole established economy of diet was changed, as well as temperance promoted, health improved, and life itself lengthened, is worthy of particular notice. Although known by report in Europe as a favourite Chinese beverage, during the sixteenth century, it was not introduced until the earlier part of the seventeenth, and that too in small quantities, by the Dutch East India Company. Its introduction into England is attributed to Queen Catherine; and while her example brought it into partial fashion among the courtiers, its qualities were so highly appreciated by a few, that Waller, who calls it, in a royal birthday ode, the "best of herbs," thus eulogizes it:—

> "The muse's friend, tea, does our fancy aid;
> Repress those vapours which the head invade;
> And keeps that palace of the soul serene,
> Fit on her birthday to salute the queen."

Its first entrance, however, was in such small packets, that they were presented to the king as rarities; so that it was not till about eighteen years after, that so large a shipment as 4713 lbs. of this precious plant was imported into England by the East India Company. This consignment, however, was so overwhelming, that for six years little more than 400 lbs. of tea followed. In its first form as an article of traffic, it was sold in a liquid state, and in this way also it was taxed at the rate of 8*d.* per gallon. Thus it continued to be sold in single cups, and at a high price, until after the Revolution, when the use of it became more general, and the art of making it was a household accomplishment; while, fortunately for tea-drinking, a female sovereign ruled over Britain:—

> "Thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
> Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes—tea."

In turning our attention to the progress of science, literature, and the fine arts, as manifested in the productions of the present period, the department of architecture first solicits our notice. This at once is evident from the fact, that the metropolis of the empire, which, in a few days was swept away, was replaced by another, richer, statelier, and larger than the former, and that so great a work was accomplished in a very few years. No other nation could have achieved such a stupendous feat; and London restored was a triumph of English wealth, resources, and enterprise, that gave full promise of the ascendency which the country was afterwards to attain. On this occasion, too, it may emphatically be said that the emergency called forth the man, so that when a new metropolis worthy of the national grandeur was to be created, a great architect was at hand to direct the undertaking. The vast, varied, and creative mind of Sir Christopher Wren, extending over a long life, sufficed not

Sir Christopher Wren.—After Sir G. Kneller.

only to commence but complete the work, so that upon the gates of the capital itself, as well as upon his tomb in St. Paul's, the motto might have been engraved:—*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*

This great architect, who at the commencement of his career seems to have been ignorant of his proper vocation, as well as the great work which he was destined to accomplish, was originally a student at Oxford, where mathematics and astronomy occupied his chief attention; and such was his proficiency in these sciences, that at the early age of eighteen, he was one of the most distinguished of those illustrious philosophers who afterwards, in 1660, constituted the Royal Society. England, however, was to be sufficiently enriched by her Newton; and therefore Wren, after obtaining a high reputation in the mathematical and astronomical sciences, turned his attention to their practical application by the study of architecture, so that, in 1661, he was appointed coadjutor to Sir John Denham, the poet, who, on the death of Inigo Jones, had been

raised by royal favour to the post of surveyor-general. Of course, the duties of such a partnership would fall upon Sir Christopher, and one of the first was to survey and plan the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, now gradually falling into ruin. Sir Christopher soon found that such a restoration would at best be but a patch-work; and while the question was pending whether the building should be repaired or wholly rebuilt, the great conflagration stepped in to decide the controversy. Both capital and cathedral were now a heap of rubbish, and all must be made anew. It would be unfair to ask how much the exultation of Wren at being thus emancipated from the tinkering-up of an old worn-out city, may have qualified his regret at the demolition, and sympathy for the sufferers; it is enough to know that he set to work to repair the evil, and soon created a better London than the former. Never upon any one architect, perhaps, had such a task been devolved since the days of the building upon Shinar. As the legislature had now a full opportunity for passing such enactments as might secure comfortable healthy houses and commodious streets, it was decreed, that in future all buildings in London should be of brick or stone; that party-walls, of sufficient strength and thickness, should separate one house from another; and that rain-water pipes should be substituted for the spouts that had been wont to pour their torrents from the house-tops upon the heads of those who walked below; while builders were exhorted to devise improvements for their structures by making mouldings, and projections of rubbed brick. In the meantime, Wren had surveyed the ruins, and presented his plan for laying out the new town. Need it be added, that this plan, though grand, regular, and comprehensive, was crossed, altered, and curtailed, through the caprice, the jealousy, or poverty of those at whose expense it was to be realized, and who therefore claimed a principal voice in its details? Still, much was accomplished, although it fell far short of the original. Such was also the fate of St. Paul's, the crowning work and master-piece of the great architect, the plan of which the Duke of York altered to suit the Popish ceremonial, when Romanism should be restored in Britain, although Wren with tears remonstrated against the interference. Such, too, in a still greater degree was the fate of the London Monument, the original plan of which, as presented by Sir Christopher, was highly graceful and appropriate; but which had the fate to fall into the hands of the civic authorities for realization. Let us forget, if we can, what they made of it:—

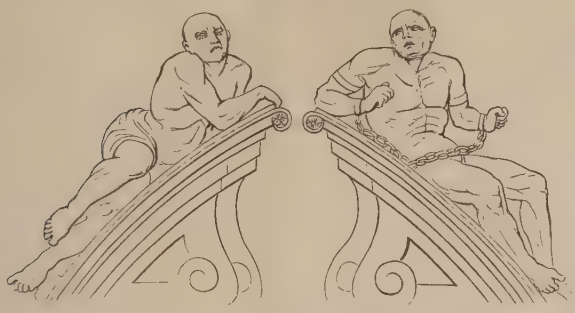
> "London's column pointing to the skies,
> Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies."

The amenities of modern society have prevailed at last. The lie is expunged, and the "tall bully," as if he had just escaped the infliction of the pump, stands shivering and crestfallen in a corner.

Besides St. Paul's, which Sir Christopher had the singular good fortune to complete as well as plan, he superintended the erection of fifty-one churches in London, which still constitute the chief architectural ornaments of the now greatly changed and improved metropolis. To these might be added public buildings both in London and elsewhere, of which a mere list would exceed our limits. After having done so much for his country, and raised the character of its architecture to so high an eminence, his fate was that which usually awaits the greatest of benefactors: society united to persecute that excellence which it could not equal, and return injuries for those benefits which it could not repay. Deprived of his office of surveyor-general, which he had held for forty-nine years, he calmly exclaimed, "*Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari;*" and retired to the country at the age of eighty-six, where he spent the remaining five years of his life in contemplation and reading, and chiefly in the study of the Holy Scriptures. There, also, he closed his career; "cheerful in solitude," says his son, "and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." His final resting-place, as well as fittest monument, was the vault of St. Paul's, in which his remains were deposited. His fame was so great, and his excellence so transcendent, that during the present period no other English architect is named. Whether his place has been adequately filled at any period since his departure, can be best learned by a glance at our public buildings.

In passing to the imitative arts, we find that English sculpture was still in infancy, its principal efforts being confined to carving in wood and the decoration of houses. It was natural that such should be the case in England, as, of all the fine arts, sculpture is the least ostentatious, and requires the highest refinement in taste to be properly appreciated. Hence it is generally the latest step in the progress of national civilization. One sculptor, however, this age produced, who, under adequate encouragement, might have risen to high excellence. This was Caius Gabriel Cibber, who, although not an Englishman, but a German, prosecuted the study of the art in England, and signalized himself by his bas-reliefs on the London Monument, but still more by his two figures on the gate of Old Bethlehem Hospital, representing "Raving and Melancholy Madness." Another sculptor was Grinling Gibbons, who carved the marble statue of Charles II. which stood in the centre of the Royal Exchange, and

that of James II. in bronze in the privy garden of Whitehall. Here the scanty list of our statuaries terminates for the present. With regard to painting, a more promising era seemed to have commenced in England with Charles I., whose



Cibber's Statues of Raving and Melancholy Madness, in Bethlehem Hospital.

patronage of eminent foreign artists is well known, and whose splendid collection of paintings gave promise of a school in which native talent would have been fully cultivated. But the Civil war arrested this tendency, as well as dispersed the collection; and the Restoration introduced in their stead the French school of painting, with all its absurdities of allegory and classical mythology, as well as the meretricious moral taste, which was the chief characteristic of the age. The chief instructor of the nation in painting at this period was Antonio Verrio, whom Charles II. invited to England, and whose pencil was employed in decorating the walls and ceilings of some of our principal public buildings, which he did with gods and goddesses, Roman triumphs and regal deifications in extraordinary profusion, and gave a direction to the progress of the art in England which finally destroyed itself by its own extravagance. The best native painters of this school were Robert Streater, serjeant-painter to Charles II., whose chief work is the painted ceiling of the theatre at Oxford; John Freeman, a dramatic scene-painter; and Andrew Fuller, a specimen of whose artistic talent may be seen in the dome of St. Mary Abchurch. The eminent portrait painter of the day was Sir Peter Lely, a native of Westphalia, and successor of the celebrated Vandyke, whom he excelled in delicacy of execution, although greatly inferior to him in the higher qualities of the art. He came to London in 1643, and gave himself wholly to portrait painting, in which he became so great a proficient, as well as such a pleasing flatterer in his likenesses, that no beauty or fashion belonging to the court was considered to be genuine until it had received the signature of his recording pencil. Of course, his style of painting, so profitable in itself, and so certain of popularity, was sure to find many followers, and not a few rivals; so that while foreign painters crowded to England as to a newly-opened market, native talent began to rouse itself, and prepare for a similar competition. The chief of these who followed in the steps of Sir Peter, were Henry Anderton, who almost equalled his master; Michael Wright, a Scot; and John Greenhill, a pupil of Lely, but who died in the midst of high promise. Toward the close of this period, also, on the death of Sir Peter Lely, his place was fully supplied by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Of all the fine arts, none suffered so rude a shock from the Civil war as music. Among the religious grievances of which the Puritans had complained since the days of Elizabeth, the use of musical instruments in the celebration of public worship had always formed an important part; and therefore, when their season of rule arrived, they removed or destroyed the church organs, and drove the choristers from their stalls. In the same reforming spirit they closed the theatres, and silenced every place where *profane* music had been wont to be cultivated. Even a violin was enough to set their teeth on edge, so that the poor street *Crowdero* was obliged to exercise his harmless vocation in corners and by-places. But as the love of music is so universal that it can neither be utterly silenced, nor yet wholly satisfied with psalmody, its recovery was far easier at the Restoration than that of sculpture and painting. Accordingly, on the re-establishment of monarchy, both cathedrals and theatres were once more opened, and bishops and actors replaced in their several offices. In the same manner, organs were repaired, or built anew; and every effort was made to recall those musicians whom the civil discord had scattered, and where those could no longer be found, new performers were invited from the Continent. As for Charles himself, although his taste in music was questionable, he loved the art as a recreation and source of pleasure; and therefore, both for the royal chapel and the palace, a well-selected choir was speedily established. But in this, as in other matters, his predilections were so essentially French that the band of the chapel royal consisted of twenty-four violins, while the music of his palace entertainments was too exclusively such as would have suited the festivals of a Sardanapalus. "God forgive me!" exclaims Pepys, on returning from one of his visits to Whitehall, "I never was so little pleased with a concert of music

in my life." As Pepys felt, so, no doubt, felt many a Cavalier of the old English stamp; and thus the national spirit could not be so easily perverted in its music as in departments of still higher import. A proof of this is to be found in the popular musical compositions of the period, in the form of songs and ballads, and especially in the national airs of "Lillibulero" and "God save the King." A still higher proof is exhibited in the popularity of Matthew Lock's music to "Macbeth," with which the play was first performed in 1674, and which retains its attractiveness undiminished to the present day. A musician, too, appeared at this period of such surpassing genius, that his works alone would have sufficed, in the absence of others his contemporaries, to purify the stream of English melody, and make it flow in its own native direction. This was Henry Purcell, who was not only superior to every English predecessor, but without a rival among the great continental musicians of his day. That his excellence, also, was of no adventitious character, is proven by the fact that his popularity continued after new styles of music had been introduced, and that his compositions are more highly appreciated than ever by the best musical critics of the nineteenth century.

Of English progress in the study of the exact sciences, it is enough to observe that the silence and seclusion they so urgently require was wanting during the previous public commotions, and that even an apprenticeship to profound calculation could scarcely be commenced until the din and insecurity of civil contention had passed away. Hence it was that few eminent students in these sciences appeared until the present season of political strife had closed. Such, however, was not equally the case in those other departments of intellect which are always in demand as well as in active exercise, and which a time of public contest often tends to invigorate. We need not here allude to the thunder-shower of pamphlets that continued to deluge the political horizon, from the *Killing no Murder* of Colonel Titus, to the last discussion of the veracity of Titus Oates; or the controversies, both in theology and politics, which were occasioned by the encroachments of Popery and arbitrary power. It is enough to remind the reader, by the repetition of a few names suggestive of the different departments in which the intellectual leaders of the age had put forth their strength. Of these, we have for historians the Earl of Clarendon, and Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury—the former the solemn Johnson, and the latter the minute, gossiping Boswell, of English history during the seventeenth century. At first sight, it might seem utterly incongruous to place these names in such close juxtaposition; but when we recollect the paucity of facts with which the stately history of Clarendon is chargeable, and the diligence with which these are made subservient to mere party purposes, and contrast this with the fulness and minuteness of Burnet, we can scarcely hesitate in preferring, for all the useful purposes of history, the bishop to the chancellor. In philosophy, we have for the present era that universal genius, Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, who, besides being an ethical, metaphysical, and political writer, in every department of which he attained the highest eminence, was an historian and a poet withal, or at least a translator of poetry. But his reputation has descended to the present day chiefly on account of the atheism and materialism of his theology, by which he is thought to have deepened and confirmed the general depravity of the period, and furnished plausible arguments for the excesses of the court of Charles II. His great antagonist, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, appeared at the same time as an antidote, whose *True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is Confuted*, is an imperishable monument of learning the most recondite, as well as of thinking the most profound, exact, and original. Another distinguished writer, both in science and theology, was Richard Boyle; while the most elegant moral essayist of the age was Sir William Temple.

We have already adverted in a former chapter to the state of English poetry during the Civil wars, and afterwards under the Commonwealth. It was a period full of fierce earnestness, and rapidly succeeding incident; and therefore, instead of modulating their thoughts into tuneful numbers, men of genius were obliged to speak boldly and briefly in unpremeditated prose during the intervals of action, and express themselves more in deeds than words. In this way, whole Iliads were fought, not sung, and Odysseys embodied in actual travel and adventure. And then came the re-action, but such a re-action!—and poets, but such poets! The impress of a profligate king that was stamped so deeply upon the court, was exhibited with still greater fidelity upon the soft sensitive spirit of poetry; and thus, in the indignant language of Macaulay, "Venal and licentious scribblers, with just sufficient talent to clothe the thoughts of a pander in the style of a bellman, were now the favourite writers of the sovereign and the public. It was a loathsome herd, which could be compared to nothing so fitly as to the rabble of Comus—grotesque monsters, half-bestial, half-human, dropping with wine, and reeling in obscene dances." It was strange that amidst such jarring din and dissonance, the organ-like music of Milton should have risen with a *Te Deum* such as the world had never yet

heard. But it sounded in an empty cathedral; for the worshippers who would have borne the burden were silenced or driven away; and the sacred minstrel was obliged to console himself with the thought that the strain, like its subject, was imperishable, and that the time was coming when its undying echoes would be cherished by generations willing to listen, as well as able to appreciate.

As we have already seen, it was as a controversialist that Milton was first distinguished. Poetry, indeed, he had written, and that also from an early period; while the eminent acquirements which he made as a student, and the observations with which he enriched his mind during a course of travel, seem to have been especially directed towards his chosen vocation as a poet. Already, also, he had discovered where his surpassing strength lay, as well as given evidence of its existence by his "Comus," "L'Allegro," "Penseroso," and other early productions. On his return to England, however, at the commencement of the Civil

JOHN MILTON.—From the print by Faithorne.

war, other duties awaited him, from which he did not shrink for a moment; and while every man was arming himself for battle, he chose a more difficult and self-denying course of action. "I avoided," he says, "the toil and danger of a military life, only to render my country assistance more useful, and not less to my own peril." And we know how well this duty was discharged in his controversial and political writings over a course of twenty years, in which he was the champion of English liberty against the whole literary world, which he opposed single-handed. It was only when this was done that he turned himself to his long-contemplated task, which he had ever regarded as the great work and object of his life, and which he had obscurely intimated as the production of "something which his countrymen would not willingly let die." And this great task, which was nothing less than *Paradise Lost*, he commenced when the middle term of an active laborious life had passed away, and when he had done enough for public duty as well as for fame—when he was reduced to poverty and obscurity—when he was exposed not only to insults from the dominant party who hated him as a regicide, but from his own hard-hearted, ungrateful children—and when, above all, he was blind, and reduced to helpless dependence upon the kindness and fidelity of those to whom his matchless thoughts were intrusted for transcription, and who perhaps repined at it as a weary unprofitable task. But with such a character as that of Milton, perhaps most of these circumstances only the better qualified him for its accomplishment. Men might revile him, but this only threw him back upon the *mens conscia recti*, where all was peace and self-approval; and the world might forsake him, but this little mattered when he was about to create such a world of his own. In the alienation or the absence of all these, he would be better able to clothe his paradise with its loveliness, and his hell with its terrors, and hold communion with the beings that peopled them. His universal reading had made him independent of books, so that he needed nothing more than to recall them to memory, and adapt their information to his own immediate requirements; and for this, the utter obscuration of all external objects is especially favourable. And what though he could no longer behold the changes of day and night, and the bright or shadowy forms which they disclose in such impressive variety as to constitute a twofold world? Had he not seen them all? Could he not remember them vividly? Nay, could he not now invest them with every addition of grandeur or loveliness, untrammelled as he was by the sight of every-day reality, or the feeling that with every day, as old age advanced, the aspect of nature was waxing more common-place and tame? All that the wisest of sages had written, that the best of poets had sung, and the loveliest of nature unfolded to his view, were but the plastic elements which he now might mould at will, and out of them evolve the scenes of Eden, or the dialogues of the blest. Taking these circumstances, hitherto reckoned so disqualifying, into account, we not only assert that *Paradise Lost* was all the better by reason of Milton's age, injurious treatment, neglect, poverty, and blindness, but that such a poem would scarcely have been attempted, or at least successfully accomplished, without them. In his case they refined, spiritualized, and made all but angelic a mind for which humanity had already done its uttermost. Let none then de-

plore his calamities and bereavements, unless for a Milton they would have been contented with an English Tasso or Ariosto.

No one who has heard of the *Paradise Lost* can be unaware of its transcendent merits; and therefore, as in the case of Shakspeare's writings, any critical disquisition is unnecessary. It is needless also to mention the neglect with which its first appearance was treated, as nothing else could have been expected from political prejudice, as well as the depraved taste of the age of Charles II. It was not till after the Revolution, when the principles for which Milton had contended so ably were re-acting upon society at

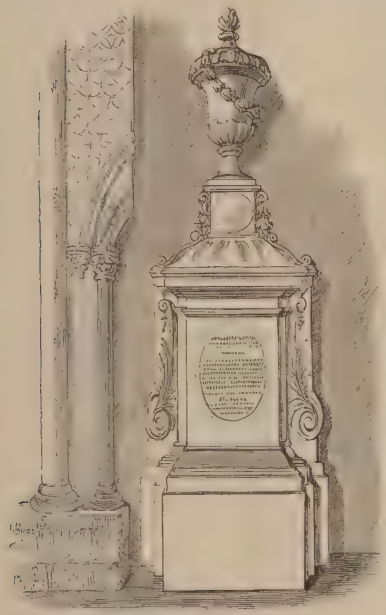
Milton's House and Tree, in Petty France, Westminster.
Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

large, that justice began to be rendered to the greatest and best of epics. This, however, he had anticipated, and the conviction was sufficient to cheer him onward to the close. Besides this master-work, he wrote *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, which are only not the greatest of English poems, because he had produced a greater. The last years of his life were chiefly spent in the study of theology, of which the chief result has been published in our own day in the form of a posthumous body of divinity. After having thus lived, laboured, and suffered during a period of which he was so far in advance, he died in 1674, and three years after was commemorated by a tomb in Westminster Abbey. But how little of the fame of the author of *Paradise Lost* will have been diminished when the last stone of the building will have passed away!

The next poet in order worthy of mention is Abraham Cowley, who, during his day, enjoyed more celebrity than Milton himself. Cowley was born in London in 1618. Being a posthumous child, and of humble birth, for his father had been nothing more than a grocer, the circumstances of his family were so scanty, that his widowed mother had great difficulty in procuring for him a classical education. The promise of excellence which he gave, however, was well worthy of her exertions; for when he was only fifteen years old he published a volume of poems, of which one, entitled "Pyramus and Thisbe," was written when he was only ten years old, and another, entitled "Constantia and Pheletus," was composed when he was not more than two years older. His own account of his first poetical inspiration is highly interesting. In the window of his mother's apartment lay a copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, and over this he pored with such enthusiasm that he became irrecoverably a poet. Not content with one style of poetry, he also attempted the drama, and while still a school-boy, wrote a comedy, entitled "Love's Riddle," afterwards published when he removed to Cambridge to complete his education. On becoming a student of Trinity College, Cambridge, his early predilections still continued to predominate; and here, besides his "Naufragium Joculare," which he published at the age of twenty, he wrote the sacred poem entitled, "Davideis," intended to be a complete epic, but of which only four books were finished. The notes with which he illustrated this work sufficiently prove, that with all his devotedness to the muses, he was by no means neglectful

[1] This was one of the garden-houses for which Milton appears to have had a preference; but the ground is now walled off, and appropriated to the house formerly inhabited by Jeremy Bentham. The cotton-willow tree, planted by the great poet, still flourishes, although the trunk shows signs of decay. The depth of the premises is 46½ feet. The present frontage of the house, which has been rebuilt, answers to No. 19, York Street, but it is evident that the original front was that facing the park. On this side Jeremy Bentham placed a small tablet, inscribed as follows—"Sacred to Milton, prince of poets." In the old wall which bounds the garden on the St. James's Park side, opposite the house, are the indications of a door, now built up, which was probably used by Milton in passing between his house and Whitehall during his intercourse with Cromwell, in the capacity of Latin secretary. In the house itself the arrangement of the windows has been entirely changed. It is probable they extended along the whole front, with sliding frames or lattice divided by panelled spaces. The original panelling remains in the large room (21 feet by 13 feet) on the first floor. The upper rooms are small, and the staircase, which has not been altered, is steep and narrow. The ground floor appears to have been comprised in one large room, as the original fireplace was evidently situated about the centre of the wall, on the west side. This was probably the family room, or compromise between kitchen and parlour; common to the economy of houses of respectable pretensions in the olden time. This distinguished house was afterwards the residence of William Hazlitt.

of the more literary and laborious departments of a university education. They are, indeed, a mass of profound and varied erudition. His college life was rudely interrupted by the commencement of the Civil war: he was ejected from Cambridge by the parliamentary visitors, and obliged to take refuge in Oxford; and when that peaceful seat of learning was compelled to surrender, Cowley fled to the court of the exiled queen, Henrietta, in France, and was employed by her as confidential secretary, in the management of her political correspondence with England. From the nature of his employment, his return to England was attended with considerable danger: he was apprehended, but released



Cowley's Monument in Westminster Abbey.

after a short confinement, when he betook himself to the peaceful study of medicine, to escape suspicion as well as procure a livelihood. At the Restoration he experienced the usual neglect which awaited those who had toiled or sacrificed in the service of royalty; but at length, tardy justice was done to his services, by a lease of some of the queen's lands, upon which he was enabled to spend the rest of his days in studious retirement. He died in 1667, at the age of fifty-nine, and was interred with a splendid funeral in Westminster Abbey, between Chaucer and Spenser, while Charles II. might be said to pronounce his funeral eulogium in the brief comprehensive declaration, that "Mr. Cowley had not left behind him a better man in England."

Besides the works we have already mentioned, Cowley published a collection of poetry under the title of *Miscellanies;* the *Mistress*, a collection of love poems; translations of Pindar's odes; odes in the style of Pindar; Anacreontics; and a Latin work on plants in six books, partly in heroic and partly in elegiac verse. As a poet, none of his day equalled him in popularity: his works went through numerous editions, and were eagerly read by all classes; while Milton himself rated him so highly, that he declared the three greatest English poets were Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley. From this high estimation, however, the succeeding age dissented; and the estimation of Cowley at length diminished into somewhat less than that of a second-rate poet. Like many of the period, he was an imitator of Donne; but while he succeeded in the quaintness of phraseology and play upon words by which the writings of Donne are distinguished, he missed that which was of far higher importance—the warmth and depth of feeling by which the poetry of the dean of St. Paul's was chiefly characterized. Unimpassioned coldness is unfortunately the chief quality of Cowley's writings, with the exception of a few of his Pindarics and Anacreontics. Even his most importunate love-suits are either hard metaphysical demonstrations, or far-fetched conceits, in which the speaker is evidently thinking more of himself than his mistress; while his figures of speech, instead of being the natural living off-shoots of the subject, are flowers made of coloured cambric, or feather, stuck on with gum and wire. Such, indeed, was the prevailing taste of the age; but no poetry, however excellent, if constructed on such principles, can hope to descend to posterity.

Of a far more original and natural character as a poet, was Samuel Butler, the immortal author of *Hudibras*, the type of his age in political character and sentiment, as Cowley was of its intellectual habits and poetical taste. Of Butler's early history we know nothing, except that he was born at Strensham, in Worcestershire, in 1612, and was the son of a farmer. Whether he studied at any of our universities is uncertain; but at all events no doubt can be entertained of the extent and variety of his scholarship, which would have insured him distinction in any department of literary occupation, and which obtained him the friendship of Selden. He first lived in the family of the Countess of Kent, and afterwards in that of

"A valiant Mameluke
In foreign lands y'clep'd Sir Samuel Luke."

This was one of Oliver Cromwell's officers; and it does not speak much either for the honour or the honesty of the poet, that he requited the hospitality of the good knight, and violated the

sanctity of his bread and salt, by consigning him to universal and undying ridicule under the character of Sir Hudibras. As the greater part of this poem was written during the protectorship, it is probable that it was chiefly sketched under the protecting roof of Sir Samuel, and while the unconscious hero of the tale was daily before his eye. At the Restoration, Butler became secretary to the Earl of Carbery; but having been so unfortunate as to lose his wife's fortune, he became author from necessity, and published the first part of *Hudibras* in 1663. The genuine wit and droll mirthful language and rhyme with which this singular poem abounded, was rewarded with peals of popular laughter, while the derision which it heaped upon the Puritans made it the choice text-book of the Cavaliers, and favourite of the king and courtiers, who found in it an inexhaustible source of humorous quotation, and piquant provocative to witty conversation. It might have been thought, that Butler was entitled to

Samuel Butler.—From a print by Vertue, after G. Soest.

as much court favour at least as merry Tom Killigrew; but those who were thus delighted with his wit, forgot the poet who furnished it, and allowed him to languish in obscurity. No incident, perhaps, in the whole reign of Charles II. so completely illustrates the heartless selfishness which was now the prevailing attribute of both king and courtier. This is the more apparent, when we consider that the poem, independently of its own intrinsic merits, was the deadliest attack which their antagonists the Puritans had ever yet encountered. After a year of interval, the second part of *Hudibras* appeared, while the third was not published till 1678, when the author, wearied out with poverty and disappointment, threw down his pen, left the work unfinished, and died two years after.

In the different portions of this singular poem, those circumstances we have mentioned of the unmerited neglect with which Butler was requited, may be distinctly traced, the second part being inferior to the first, while the third is a grievous falling off from both. But as a whole, *Hudibras* is without a rival, unless it be the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes. Like Cowley, Butler was of the school of Donne; but the stilted artificial language which was so cold when applied to subjects of high or deep feeling, finds its proper place and use in the burlesque of *Hudibras*. There, it is a comic actor taking off the pompous strut and solemn gravity of a Hidalgo, and shaking pit, boxes, and gallery by the imitation. But amidst all this drollery, there is not only an amount of learning, but also a power of argumentation, and an occasional flash of tender feeling throughout the work, which impart to it the authority of a Mentor even amidst its wildest merriment, and show how capable the author was of the highest flights of genius. Such was the popularity of *Hudibras*, that it produced many imitators; while its sterling excellence, so well adapted for every age, has scarcely diminished its estimation even in the present day, when the once-stirring names of Cavalier and Roundhead are nothing but empty words.

But the greatest poet of the age next to Milton, and the most influential in forming the spirit and developing the maturity of English literature, was John Dryden, the Chaucer of the seventeenth century. He was born at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, in 1632, and educated first at Westminster School under the celebrated Dr. Busby, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. His first poetical attempt, which he gave to the world in 1649, was an elegy on the death of Lord Hastings, a young nobleman of high character and promise; but a subject so well fitted to call forth affectionate enthusiasm at least, if not poetical inspiration, from a young poet of seventeen, was such a tissue of cold conceits and overstrained artificial figures, as to give no promise whatsoever of the excellence he was afterwards to attain. The young lord had died of the small-pox, and Dryden, directing his admiration to the pustules, converts them into ornaments on the soil of Venus—into jewels—into rosebuds—and finally into pimples, each having a tear in it to bewail the pain it was occasioning! This was enough; and he remained in silence for nine years afterwards—not idly, however, as was manifested not only by his general scholarship, but the superior taste of his next production, in which he had the resolution to abandon his models of Donne and Cowley, and become a genuine follower of nature. This poem, entitled "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell," was a proper theme

for Dryden, who had been educated among Puritans, and patronized at the court of the protector. With the Restoration, however, he was ready with a palinode under the title of "Astræa Redux," welcoming the return of Charles II., and predicting from the event a millenium of political happiness; and in 1666 appeared his "Annus Mirabilis," the subjects of which were the Dutch war and the fire of London. It was only now, indeed, that his mind broke forth in full vigour after so thorough a maturing, and established him in the highest rank of poetry. Long before this, however, his republican and Puritan sympathies had expired; the new king and court were more to his taste; and as his small patrimonial estate yielded only about £60 a-year, while his wants equalled a tenfold amount, his chief dependence was royal favour, which he was ready to purchase at any price. And seldom, indeed, has such an

JOHN DRYDEN.—From a print by Vertue, after Kneller.

amount of genius been so mercilessly exacted, or so poorly repaid. It was Samson in the prison-house grinding for his daily subsistence; and his task is well characterized by one of the greatest of modern poets:—

> "A ribald king and court
> Bade him toil on to make them sport,
> Demanded for their niggard pay
> Fit for their souls a looser lay,
> Licentious satire, song, and play—
> The world defrauded of the high design,
> Profaned the God-given strength, and marr'd the lofty line."

This "high design," which Dryden had long contemplated, was a great national epic, of which King Arthur was to be the hero—but where was the devotedness and self-denial, the solemn meditation and more solemn prayer, under which *Paradise Lost* was at that same period arising into form and beauty, and preparing, like a newly created world, to take its place among the host of heaven? As a court poet, Dryden was not only deprived of the leisure, but gradually losing both the power and the inclination to realize such a noble conception. In the meantime, he resigned himself to the wants of the day and the humours of the court, and was not only of every phase of poetry but every change of creed, murmuring all the while at his hard fate, and declaring that he had no reason to thank his stars that he was born an Englishman. To better his condition, he married, in 1665, Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire; but this marriage scarcely increased his fortune, while it embittered his life with an evil-tempered partner. To add to his calamities, the Revolution of 1688 threw him out of office as poet-laureate, so that for the rest of his days he was obliged to depend upon the penurious remunerations of Tonson, and the other publishers of the day. His death occurred in 1700, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey between the graves of Chaucer and Cowley.

During a literary life, continued to such a period, and urged to such constant exertion by the claims of necessity, the productions of Dryden were both numerous and diversified. Besides many smaller poems, which of themselves would fill several volumes, he wrote eight of considerable length, of which the *Hind and the Panther*, and *Absalom and Achitophel*, are the most distinguished. As a dramatic writer he wrote twenty-eight plays. Besides a poetical version of Virgil, he gave translations from Ovid, Theocritus, Lucretius, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. He also wrote adaptations, under the name of *Fables*, from Chaucer and Boccacio, which, though produced in his old age, constitute the most popular and pleasing of his writings. Indeed, it is perceptible throughout the course of his writings, that although his mind was slow in maturing, it continued in active operation to the close, and that, too, with growing improvement, so that his latest productions were also his best. It is to be remarked, too, that while the poetry of Dryden was so varied, and so excellent in every department—while he sketched a character, conducted an argument, or narrated a tale in such a manner as transcended all his predecessors, and developed those treasures of poetic art which hitherto had been unknown, or but imperfectly explored—he was not only the father of our modern English poetry, but also of its criticism; and while his numerous prefaces and dissertations enlightened the public judgment, they were written with such power and felicity of language, that his prose fully rivals his poetry. Evil was the age that converted such a genius into a

court pander and parasite. And bitter was the punishment arising from the consciousness of his own powers and worth, combined with the bondman's feeling that his servitude was so confirmed that it was too late to cancel the agreement.

After the distinguished four we have particularized, the other poets of the period may be dismissed with a brief notice. And first of these we may mention Sir William Davenant, born at Oxford in 1605, and who died in 1668. Not only his whole life was a poetical medley of change and adventure, but he wished to make its very commencement poetical also, by countenancing the report that he was the son of William Shakspeare, although by adultery, thus sacrificing the fame of his mother and his own legitimacy to a crazy selfish vanity. While a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and with a halter in prospect, for his adherence to the cause of Charles I., he composed the greater part of *Gondibert*, a heroic poem, which he never completed; and afterwards, on being pardoned and set at large, he became theatrical manager and dramatic writer, in which offices he continued till he died. With all its merits, and they are not few, *Gondibert*, from its general style, and the structure of its versification, is an unwieldy poem, and as such, it speedily found its way to the lowest depths of oblivion. A better, or at least a more popular poet was Edmund Waller, who was also born in 1605, but who lived till 1687. These stirring times produced in many cases a precocious manhood; and it has been alleged that Waller was admitted into parliament when only in the eighteenth, or, as some even say, the sixteenth year of his age. At the age of eighteen, also, he commenced authorship, by a poem on the escape of Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) from shipwreck at the port of San Andero, in the Bay of Biscay. Neither as poet nor statesman, however, was his political consistency of much value; for after trimming between king and parliament until he was distrusted by the former and heavily fined by the latter, he wrote a panygeric upon Cromwell at the death of the protector, and was ready with a new song in welcome of Charles II. at the Restoration. Little praise can be accorded to his poetry, except mere smoothness of versification, in which he followed the French model; and this, with the triviality of his subjects, and low tone of sentiment, seems to have recommended him to the flippant courtiers of the day, with whom his works were in high favour. From this general censure, however, his eulogy on Oliver Cromwell, written while his heart was evidently glowing with unaffected gratitude, must be excepted, as it rises to the height of impassioned as well as graceful poetry.

Of the high-titled courtier-poets of this period, the rank as well as notoriety of the Duke of Buckingham entitles him to the first place, although he was not the best of the "titled rhymers" of the day. Besides writing the "Rehearsal," he is supposed to have aided in the composition of the "Town Mouse and Country Mouse," which is generally included among the poems of Prior. The Earl of Rochester, like Buckingham, a universal genius, has shown by a few of his fugitive pieces, and especially his poem "On Nothing," to what excellence in poetic art he might have attained, but for his profligacy and wild excesses, which cut him off in the prime of his strength at the age of thirty-four. Another of this courtly Comus crew was Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, a statesman and naval soldier, who was so fortunate as to be in favour sucessively with Charles II., James II., and William, thus showing the versatility both of his talents and public principles. His poetry consisted of only a few fugitive pieces, among which his celebrated song, said to have been written on the evening previous to the naval victory of the 3d of June (1665) and commencing with—

"To all you ladies now on land,"

long retained its popularity, not only on account of its poetical smartness and simplicity, but the occasion on which it was produced, and its nautical character, so congenial to the national spirit of Britain. Not dissimilar to the preceding in poetical worth, was Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, who, after accomplishing himself by travel in Italy, and distinguishing himself by collecting relics of classical antiquity, returned to England after the Restoration, plunged into the excesses of the English court, and, finally, disgusted with such a kind of life, resumed a course of decorous regularity and study till his death in 1684. His poems are few, while their character is scarcely above mediocrity; but to his honour it may be said that he was the very Abdiel of the poets of his age, so that

"In all Charles's days
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays."

He alone had the virtue and self-denial to struggle successfully against the tide to which men of higher genius than himself so shamefully succumbed. In this enumeration of the second and third rate English poets of the seventeenth century, we must not omit Sir John Denham, the friend of Cowley, and who shares with Waller the honour of having been one of the fathers of English verse, on account of the regularity and harmony of which he was the first to set the example. This, however, is his highest praise, as his poems, with the exception, perhaps, of "Cooper's Hill," published in 1643, scarcely rise above mediocrity.

As has been already noticed, the drama of the present period, in its externals at least, had greatly improved upon the preceding age. But very different was the fate of dramatic poetry itself, so that while the stage was amplified, and adorned with every allurement that could captivate the senses, the living soul had departed. So far from producing a Shakspeare, a Marlow, or a Jonson, their writings were now scarcely even tolerated, on account of the French taste, frivolity, and licentiousness which the Restoration had introduced, as well as the rhyme by which blank verse was for a time superseded. Dramatic writing, therefore, was either abandoned, or only adopted by those who were willing to write after the new fashion, and become the mere playwrights of the day. It was in this spirit that Dryden himself was compelled to write his plays; and who then can wonder that they are so greatly inferior to his other productions? Even in their highest flight, he seldom goes beyond the artificial sublime, that is, bombast, while his pathos is little better than puling. All this, however, was popular with the king and court, and consequently with the public, so that Dryden was obliged to toil on against his better judgment; and he has himself confessed, that of all his dramatic productions, "All for Love" was the only one which he wrote according to his own taste and sense of fitness. Another prolific play-writer was Sir William Davenant, who produced twenty-five tragedies, comedies, and masques. But of those who were exclusively dramatic poets, this period presents us with the names of William Wycherly, Sir George Etheridge, Nathaniel Lee, and Thomas Southerne, most of them prolific writers, and all of them evincing such genuine talent in the midst of their perversity as makes us regret the bondage to which they had submitted. It is needless to add that they are all more or less tainted with that indecency and sensuality without which they could scarcely have obtained possession of the stage. But the worst offender in this particular was no other than a woman, who far distanced her male competitors, and proved herself the very Atalanta in the race of dramatic profligacy. This was Mrs. Aphra or Aphora Behn, whose plays in four volumes no one would now adventure to read, unless he wished to be "written down an ass"—and something worse besides. And yet she was eulogized in her day as the "divine Astræa!" Descending to the very bathos of the dramatic writers, we are stopped by the names of Thomas Shadwell, Elkanah Settle, and Nahum Tate, beyond which we can go no lower. The memory of these men would have perished for ever but for Dryden, who consigned to Tate the execution of the second part of his *Absalom and Achitophel*—gave Shadwell to unenviable immortality in his satire of "MacFlecnoe"—and honoured Settle with a niche in *Absalom and Achitophel*, under the character of Doeg. It speaks little for the taste of the age, that the last two were not only for a time set up as rivals to Dryden, but that their plays, which expired at last before their own paternal eyes, were preferred to his.

But apart from these altogether, and worthy of separate mention, was Thomas Otway, incontestably the best dramatic writer of the age. Even his life, of which little is known, is itself a mournful heart-moving tragedy. He was born about 1651, at Trottin in Sussex, and was the son of an English clergyman. He was educated at Oxford; but having left the university without a degree, he came to London, and betook himself to the precarious life of an actor. A gleam of good fortune afterwards fell upon him when he obtained a commission in the army in Flanders; but this did not long continue, for he was cashiered, and once more thrown loose upon the world. He then became a dramatic writer; but owing either to his own imprudence, or the scanty remuneration of the managers of the day, he was continually in poverty, and often in utter want, although several of his plays were very favourably received. At length he is said to have died in the street, in consequence of voraciously swallowing a morsel of bread that choked him, after one of his long compulsory fasts. Such was his fate, which has often been used to "point a moral." During this short life, which terminated at the age of thirty-four, he wrote a considerable amount of miscellaneous poetry; but his chief productions were six tragedies and four comedies. In looking over the earliest of his tragic compositions, we are astonished at the amount of his plagiarisms from Shakspeare, not only of entire speeches, but almost of whole scenes—and still more so at the general ignorance of the audiences, who could not detect and condemn such literary felonies. This alone may sufficiently show the general neglect into which the writings of Shakspeare for the time had fallen. Otway, however, had evidently caught inspiration from his model; and in his later productions, especially the "Orphan" and "Venice Preserved," he has exhibited an originality, truthfulness, and depth of feeling which Shakspeare himself would have regarded almost with envy.

In looking over the distinguished literary names of the age, the mournful conviction strikes us that never—in England at least—was iniquity so strongly supported, and licentiousness so abundantly pampered. A sovereign who was eminently the king of profligates, was certain to call forth into the light of day, and the sunshine of royal favour, those swarms of "obscene birds"

whose uncouth presence would otherwise have been condemned to everlasting darkness and oblivion. But it is gratifying to think that they were the representatives, not of the nation at large, but of its Frenchified king and courtiers, and that the bulk of the people remained untouched by the contagion that was mainly confined to Whitehall and its purlieus. If the present period was also renowned for intellectual iniquity, it was still more distinguished by genius that was consecrated for its highest and holiest mission, so that the virulence of the bane was exceeded by the strength of the antidote. An account of the eminent theological writers of this period, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, or sectarian, would of itself require a lengthened history, and the choice of a few illustrative examples becomes a work of difficulty. From this fertility, especially remarkable in the Church of England at this its period of depression and recovery, we are compelled reluctantly to pass unnoticed the writings of such men as the profound and acute Owen—Barrow, whose sermons are a complete body of divinity in all its fulness and minuteness — and many more whose names are still endeared to the religious world as if they had lived but yesterday, and whose works are still the sources of general instruction as well as the text-books of modern theologians. Of those few to whom we can but briefly advert, the first place is perhaps due to Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor.

This illustrious ornament of the English church was born at Cambridge in 1613. After he had completed the clerical course of education, as a sizar, or poor scholar, at Caius College, he was admitted to holy orders before the age of twenty-one; and was soon so distinguished for the remarkable power and eloquence of his discourses, as well as the graces of his person and elocution, as to obtain the patronage of Laud, in consequence of which he became chaplain to the primate, and subsequently to Charles I. On the breaking out of the Civil war, his connection by office with royalty, and his strenuous efforts as a disputant and apologist in the cause of Episcopacy, exposed him to those manifold hardships with which the adherents of church and state were visited, so that at one time he was a fugitive, and at another a schoolmaster in Caermarthenshire. But if he had at any time sympathized with the intolerance of his patron, Laud, the wandering and precarious life which he led for years had the effect of purifying, instead of hardening his gentle spirit, as was manifested in the tolerant and comprehensive character of his writings, and especially of his "Discourse on the liberty of Prophesying; showing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's faith, and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions." This remarkable work, and so seasonable for a time of intolerance, was published in 1647; in 1650 appeared his "Rule and Exercises of Holy Living," and

Jeremy Taylor.—From the portrait by Lombart, in his Ductor Dubitantium.

in the year following his "Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying." His next important work, which was published in 1653, was "The Great Exemplar; or the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus," a folio which speedily obtained universal notice and general approval. This was succeeded within two years by a "Treatise against Transubstantiation;" and "*Unum Necessarium;* or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance," a work too Arminian even for his own brethren. Besides these, he wrote various other tracts, which were collected and published in one volume; and a course of sermons for the whole year. After such labours, achieved not in tranquil ease and comfort, but a shifting and precarious life, in which his temporary home appears more than once to have been exchanged for a prison, Jeremy Taylor, like his brethren, obtained relief by the Restoration, very soon after which he published his elaborate and remarkable work, entitled "*Ductor Dubitantium;* or, the Rule of Conscience in all her general measures;" and in the same year (1660) was promoted to the bishopric of Down and Connor. Being now in Ireland, where the Romish church had complete popular predominance, Taylor published, in 1663, "A Dissuasive from Popery;" and in consequence of the answers that appeared to it, he prepared a second part, which, however, did not appear till after his death. He died in 1667; and although he had written so much and so well, he was only in his fifty-fourth year when he entered into his rest. His polemical works, distinguished though they were by learning and

profound thought, were only suited for the age, and are now seldom consulted. But this cannot be said of his practical works, and especially of his "Holy Living," and "Holy Dying," which still hold, and long will continue to occupy the foremost place among the religious classics of English literature. In one word, Jeremy Taylor stands alone as the Milton of theology.

Another name renowned among the religious writers of the period, was that of Richard Baxter, the pride of English Presbyterianism, as Jeremy Taylor was of English Episcopacy. Baxter was born at Rowton in Shropshire, in 1615; and after having prosecuted his studies at Wroxeter, he repaired to London at the age of eighteen, to seek employment at court. He applied at Whitehall, and obtained for his patron Sir Henry Herbert, master of the revels, to whom he was recommended—but in little more than a month he turned his back upon a court life, and hastened away to his obscure but peaceful home. Devoting himself to the clerical profession, he became minister of Kidderminster; and on the outbreak of the Civil war, he joined the parliamentarians, and became an army chaplain; but his feeble health obliged him to return to his parish and its peaceful duties. Here, however, he had a conflict to maintain more trying than mere military campaigning; for his sensitive mind could not join in the violent measures of his party, against which he both protested and preached; and his recommendations of a return to loyalty when that cause was at the lowest, were so conspicuous, that after the Restoration he was appointed one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. But evil days were now in store for Presbyterianism, and in these Richard Baxter had an ample share. Being hindered by the dominant party from returning to Kidderminster, where he was all but worshipped by the people, he preached occasionally in the neighbourhood of London; but on the passing of the act against conventicles in 1662, he was deprived of even that limited opportunity of doing good, and obliged to betake himself to retirement, where, however, he could not escape from persecution, for he was repeatedly imprisoned although suffering from sickness, and visited with heavy fines. But in spite of these punishments he persisted to the close of his life in preaching wherever he had an opportunity; and he died in 1691, aged seventy-six years. Nothing but the most careful and abstemious course of life could have enabled him to work so incessantly and live so long, for his constitution had been weak and sickly from childhood. The productions of Baxter from the press were so numerous, as to comprise 145 separate treatises, of which four were folios, and seventy-three quartos, independently of sermons, prefaces, and tracts, which he produced in marvellous abundance. And yet, notwithstanding such profusion, all his works were stamped with such superiority, that, according to the high testimony of

RICHARD BAXTER.—From the original in Dr. Williams' library, London.

Barrow, "his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom refuted." Similar, too, was the testimony of Dr. Johnson, when Boswell inquired of him which of Baxter's works he should peruse:—"Read any of them," replied the doctor, "they are all good." Their effect also has been such, that, according to Dr. Adam Clarke, they "have done more to improve the understanding and mend the hearts of his countrymen, than those of any other writer of his age." Amidst such a variety of writings, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* was so popular, that 20,000 copies of it were sold in one year; it was speedily translated into most of the languages of Europe, and it still continues to be a cherished household book in Britain among every rank and religious denomination.

Another illustrious divine, one of the master-spirits of the age, and whose writings are still cherished, was John Howe, the Independent. He was born at Loughborough, in 1630, in which parish his father was minister, until he was dismissed for his Puritanical sentiments by Laud, his patron, by whom he had been appointed to the living. After a diligent course of study, both at Cambridge and Oxford, John Howe, at an early age, became minister of Great Torrington, in Devonshire, and was soon noted as one of the most eloquent Puritan preachers of the day, in which character he became known to Oliver Cromwell, who at a glance saw his worth, and selected him for his private chaplain, although he had only reached the age of twenty-six. In

this situation, Howe's conduct was marked by such disinterestedness, that the protector at last was obliged to say to him, "You have obtained many favours for others; but I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for anything for yourself, or your family." At the Restoration, Howe returned to his charge at Torrington; but, in consequence of the passing of the act of uniformity, he was one of the 2000 sufferers who preferred the abandonment of their livings, to the violation of their consciences. As yet he appears to have published nothing except two sermons; but, now that the pulpit was generally closed against him, he had recourse to the press, by his remarkable volume, the *Blessedness of the Righteous*, which was published in 1668, and welcomed by the religious portion of the community with cordial admiration. After this, Howe's career was one of uncertainty, not only owing to the restrictions laid upon Nonconformists, but the attempts in the reign of James II. to establish Popery in England; and, accordingly, Ireland, London, and Utrecht became successively his home, until 1687, when James's declaration for liberty of conscience enabled him to return to his own country. He heartily sympathized with the bishops in their stand against the infatuated sovereign; and when William was seated in Whitehall, it was Howe who headed the deputation of Dissenting ministers to the new king, and delivered their congratulatory address. Esteemed, honoured, and beloved, and with a reputation which continued to increase to the close, John Howe died in 1705. His numerous productions, which he published at various periods of his changeful life in single volumes, tracts, and sermons, were afterwards collected by Dr. Edmund Calamy into two folio volumes, which were published in 1724. But in this form they have not been suffered to remain: the popular admiration they first excited, without diminishing in intensity, has been widened in extent, and in single treatises or collective volumes, they have been repeatedly published in our own day—a proof of their still abiding influence, as well as superior excellence.

John Howe.—From a print by R. White.

An age so distinguished by the extremes of Popery and religious unbelief, and so ripe for debate and disputation, not only needed an able controversialist for the defence of pure Christianity as established in England, but was certain to call one into the field. And such a man was found in Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who was born at Cranbourne in Dorsetshire, A.D. 1635. He studied at Cambridge, where his proficiency was so remarkable, that at the age of seventeen he obtained the degree of bachelor of arts, and in the year following was chosen a fellow of his college. While a tutor, he commenced his learned work, entitled *Irenicum*, which was published in 1659; and such was its amount of learning and depth of thought, that it was reckoned a wonderful production, even by those who were not aware that its author had only reached his twenty-fourth year. It was a defence of Episcopacy; but so moderate were his views, and so little in accordance with the high-church extravagance of the period, that it was decried as an attack upon, rather than a defence of the cause which it professed to advocate. Yet, angry though both extremes of the church were at its calm, dispassionate moderation, "the argument was managed with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it."[1] Two years before the *Irenicum* was given to the press, Stillingfleet entered into holy orders; and while performing the duties of a faithful and laborious pastor in the diocese of Lincoln, he wrote *Origines Sacræ*, which was published in 1662. This was a more important theme than the Divine right of Episcopacy, for it was, as its title-page expressed it, "a rational account of the Christian faith, as to the truth and Divine authority of the Scriptures, and the matters therein contained." A work against Popery was his next production, which, under the title of "A Vindication of Archbishop Laud's Conference with Fisher the Jesuit," was a masterly defence of Protestantism, and a complete establishment of the fact that the charge of schism rests, not upon the Reformation, but the Church of Rome itself. Stillingfleet's course of ministerial duty was now exclusively confined to London, where he was one of the royal chaplains, and canon residentiary of St. Paul's. In 1669, having published a series of sermons, in

[1] *Burnet.*

one of which the "Reason of Christ's Sufferings for us" was the subject, this involved him in a controversy with the Socinians; but they found him an unanswerable antagonist, and were glad to leave him in possession of the field. Passing from these, he once more directed his controversial powers against Popery; and so formidable were his discourses and treatises in this department, that the Papists, unable to answer him with arguments, had recourse to menaces, and even threatened his life. But in spite of personal danger, and the royal frown of James II., he continued the warfare, which he considered to be a sacred duty, to the close of his career, intermixed with treatises against the Deists and Socinians, and vindications of the political rights of bishops. But even a mere list of his numerous and able productions, in which he combated with all the prevalent forms of religious error, would greatly exceed our limits. At the Revolution he was raised to the bishopric of Worcester, in which he died in 1699, worn out, not with years, but hard study and incessant intellectual action.

In alluding to Tillotson, the contemporary of Stillingfleet, we mention a name which is still of undiminished lustre in the church of which he was the honoured primate. His biography is a compend of the history of the church itself, with the chief parties of which he was connected, and in whose mutations he had a more than ordinary share. John Tillotson was born in 1630; and being the son of a very strict Puritan, he was trained in Puritan principles, and continued to study under Presbyterian teachers at college, until a work of Chillingworth inclined his views to the theology of the Anglican church. But during the protectorate he still adhered to the Presbyterian plan of church government, and at the Restoration preferred to take Episcopal ordination from Thomas Lydserf, the Scottish Bishop of Galloway, because he could receive it from him without oaths or subscriptions. This attachment to his old Presbyterianism, combined with his preference for Episcopal rule in the church—a peculiarity which would have suited the earlier days of English Puritanism—was indicated in his after-career, and during the stages of his clerical advancement, so that even to the end of his days his favourite aim and wish was a plan of comprehension by which churchmen and dissenters should be gathered into one fold. These leanings made him suspected by his brethren at the outset, and would have ruined his prospects in the church, had it not been for his remarkable pulpit talents, which speedily secured for him the character of being the most eloquent preacher of the day, and, in 1690, gained him the archbishopric of Canterbury. Although he died the Primate of all England, he was able to bequeath nothing to his family but the lustre of his name, in addition to his own original poverty.

From the majestic periods of Jeremy Taylor, the metaphysical profundity of Baxter, the glowing Platonisms of Howe, the profound learning and dialectic skill of Stillingfleet, and the oratorical excellence of Tillotson, we pass to one whose college was a hedge-school, whose whole attainments were confined to reading and writing, and whose chief, if not sole text-book was an English Bible. And yet, in mere power of genius—the power that widest extends and longest endures—what man of that learned and intellectual age

JOHN BUNYAN.—From a drawing by R. White, in the British Museum.

has won a higher place than he who is familiarly and affectionately known as the "Tinker of Bedford?" John Bunyan was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. His early career, as well as his inward religious history, has been fully detailed by himself in his "Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners," one of the most singular as well as interesting psychological autobiographies which has ever yet been written, and which serves as a complete key to his *Pilgrim's Progress*. Leading a career of vulgar profligacy, in which, perhaps, it might have been said, that he was not worse than others, he was arrested by those convictions which deprived him of that flattering unction, and haled him before a different tribunal than that of his reckless companions. He became an altered man; joined in 1655 a Baptist society at Bedford; and carried onward by that feeling of superiority which told him that higher duties lay before him than the low pursuits of his mechanical calling, he became in religion what he otherwise must have been in vice—the leader and instructor of others. But the laws against holding conventicles not only silenced him as a preacher, but

threw him into prison, where he remained twelve years and a half, until he was liberated, and restored to the ministerial office, in which he died in 1688. The works of this untaught, unpolished, but strong-minded and original English intellect, extend to no fewer than sixty treatises, chiefly practical and allegorical, among which may be enumerated, besides those already named, "The Greatness of the Soul," "The Jerusalem Sinner Saved," "Come and Welcome," "The Strait Gate," "A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity," "The New Jerusalem," "The Holy War," &c.[1] They are generally of great merit, overflowing with rich thoughts, characterized by a faithful exhibition of Divine truth, and written in a remarkably clear and simple style, but are to some extent thrown into the shade by the surpassing popularity of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Like Spenser, he followed the bent of his genius, by impersonating important truths in the likenesses of flesh and blood, and giving them a local habitation and field of stirring action; but there the comparison ends. In the *Faerie Queen*, we see at a glance that we are in a land of shadows, whose fleeting forms a puff of wind may disperse; and as for the moral which it is meant to convey, we can neither guess its nature, nor detect its development. But how different the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan! Although an allegory, it is a truthful story, an every-day reality, in which the interest goes on unabated to the close; and it is only when the narrative is ended, that the captivated reader falls back with full interest upon its hidden and spiritual meaning, which now stands before him in sunny distinctness and beauty. And whence had Bunyan that marvellous power as an allegorist, which was denied to such a poet as Spenser? The reason can easily be found in Bunyan's autobiography. We there see that the Pilgrim was himself, and the Progress his own path in life. It was himself who had fled from the City of Destruction, floundered in the Slough of Despond, been allured out of the good way by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, and finally had entered the narrow gate. He had travelled through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, wrestled with Apollyon, been the captive of Giant Despair, and finally reached the banks of the Jordan with a full view of the glorious city beyond it. He knew, and he also makes his readers to know, every step of the way, and every man with whom he meets, so that we can count the journey by miles, and describe the characters by voice, gait, and feature. It was no wonder that an allegory so written should have won such popularity; that religious truth so taught should have been so intelligible to all. Not only therefore with every class, but in every country, the *Pilgrim's Progress* has been a cherished work, while its acceptance, instead of being impaired by old age, seems only to brighten with every successive generation. What, compared with such celebrity, were the Sybarite writers of the court of Charles II., whose works are now consigned to merited oblivion? They and Bunyan have equally had their reward.

With regard to Ireland, no change had as yet taken place worthy of particular notice since the days of Elizabeth, and therefore in the history of intellectual and social progress, it must unfortunately be passed over for the present without further notice. With regard to Scotland, that country will more fitly re-appear in the succeeding department of our history as an incorporated portion of the British empire.

[1] Various editions of Bunyan's works, more or less accurate, but none of them entirely complete, were published between 1692 and 1780. The first complete edition appeared so recently as 1853, and in it all the treatises have been carefully collated with the first or other edition published during the author's lifetime. It forms three volumes large 8vo, and is edited by George Offor.

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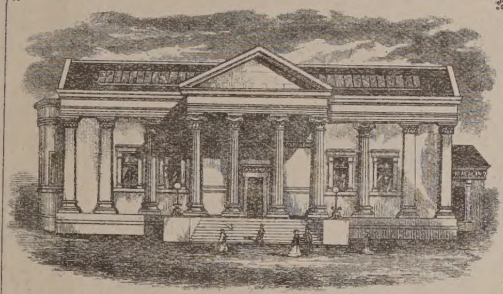

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